A Companion to the Swiss Reformation

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A Companion to the Swiss Reformation

Edited by

Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi

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Contents

Acknowledgments VII
List of Illustrations VIII
List of Maps X
List of Contributors XI
Abbreviations XIII

PART 1
Background

Introduction 3
Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi

1 The Swiss Confederation Before the Reformation 14
Regula Schmid

PART 2
The Reformation

2 The Reformation in Zurich 59
Emidio Campi

3 The Reformation in Bern 126
Martin Sallmann

4 The Reformation in Basel 170
Amy Nelson Burnett

5 The Reformation in Schaffhausen 216
Erich Bryner

6 The Reformation in St. Gallen and Appenzell 238
Erich Bryner

7 Failed Reformations 264
Sundar Henny

8 **The Reformation in the Three Leagues (Grisons)** 291
Jan-Andrea Bernhard

9 **Francophone Territories Allied to the Swiss Confederation** 362
Michael W. Bruening

10 **The Swiss Anabaptists** 389
Andrea Strübind

PART 3
Outcomes

11 **Theological Profile** 447
Emidio Campi

12 **Polity and Worship in the Swiss Reformed Churches** 489
Bruce Gordon

13 **Schools and Education, 1500–1600** 520
Karin Maag

14 **Swiss Society: Family, Gender, and the Poor** 542
Kaspar von Greyerz

15 **Reformation Culture** 567
Irena Backus

16 **Religious Stalemate and Confessional Alignments: Dynamics and Stagnation in the Confederation from 1531 to 1618** 590
Thomas Maissen

Index 619

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Lincoln, NE, USA—Baden, Switzerland—A.N.B.—E.C.
January 2016

List of Illustrations

1.1 Zurich delegates welcomed to Basel *Fastnacht* (1507) 30
1.2 Military recruiters in a general room (ca. 1521) 42
1.3 The Confederates as defenders of the liberty of the church 44
1.4 Searching for bodies of men killed in battle during the Swabian War 45
1.5 Nicholas of Flüe is asked for mediation during the Stans impass, 1481 49
1.6 Prayer after the battle of Laupen, 1339 54
2.1 Sixteenth-century map of the city of Zurich (1576) 60
2.2 Huldrych Zwingli 67
2.3 The First Zurich Disputation, held on 29 January 1523 73
2.4 Storming of the Ittingen monastery in July 1524 84
2.5 The "milk soup" of Kappel 87
2.6 Heinrich Bullinger 92
2.7 Title page of the first matriculation register of the *Schola Tigurina* (1559) 103
2.8 Professors at the Schola Tigurina during Bullinger's era 105
2.9 The Second Helvetic Confession (1566) 115
2.10 The Great Sumptuary Law of 1550 123
3.1 Stained glass window depicting Bern's rural districts (1640) 129
3.2 Bird's-eye view of the city of Bern 130
3.3 Niklaus Manuel Deutsch 139
3.4 The Seller of Indulgences 141
3.5 The Bern Disputation of 1528 145
3.6 Title page of the Bern Disputation Acts (1528) 147
3.7 Iconoclasm in Bern 148
3.8 Berchtold Haller 154
3.9 Title page of the *Berner Synodus* (1532) 156
4.1 View of the city of Basel 172
4.2 The citizens of Basel confirm their new alliance with the Confederacy 174
4.3 Title page of Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament (1516) 178
4.4 Johannes Oecolampadius 182
4.5 Evangelical Preaching 183
4.6 The Baden Disputation 187
4.7 Title page of the Basel Reformation Ordinance (1529) 195
4.8 Oswald Myconius and Simon Grynaeus 199
4.9 Simon Sulzer 205
4.10 Johann Jacob Grynaeus 211
5.1 Birds'-eye view of the city of Schaffhausen 217
5.2 Oath of the new confederates of Schaffhausen, 1501 217

5.3 Johann Conrad Ulmer 233
6.1 Birds'-eye view of the city of St. Gallen 240
6.2 Joachim von Watt (Vadian) 241
7.1 Zwingli as heretic 266
7.2 Birds'-eye view of Lucerne 268
7.3 Birds'-eye view of Fribourg 271
7.4 Birds'-eye view of Solothurn 273
7.5 The flight of the Locarno religious refugees 282
8.1 Birds'-eye view of Chur 304
8.2 Pier Paolo Vergerio 326
8.3 Title page of Chiampell's translation of the Psalms (1562) 329
8.4 The Confessio Raetica of 1553 334
9.1 Guillaume Farel 371
9.2 Jean Calvin and Pierre Viret 376
9.3 Theodore Beza 383
10.1 Balthasar Hubmaier 402
10.2 Execution of Felix Mainz 433
10.3 Secret meeting of Anabaptists near Zurich 435
11.1 Zwingli memorial at the Wasserkirche Zurich 449
11.2 Title page of the Zurich Bible (1531) 455
11.3 The Consensus Tigurinus (1549, printed in 1551) 474
11.4 Title page of Heinrich Bullinger, *De testamento* (1534) 482
12.1 Examination and ordination of pastoral candidates 502
12.2 Bullinger's sermon notes 509
13.1 Founding of the University of Basel 522
13.2 Advertisement for a Basel schoolteacher (1516) 524
13.3 Leo Jud's "wall catechism" (1525) 526
13.4 School lesson (1549) 529
14.1 The Frail beggar (1654) 557
14.2 Feeding the poor as a work of charity (c. 1505) 561
15.1 Title page of Bullinger's *Lovely Play on the History of Lucretia* (1533) 569
15.2 Genesis 2 from the Zurich Bible (1531) 572
15.3 Broadsheet describing an apprentice's encounter with the devil 573
15.4 Witch-burning in Bremgarten, 1574 578
15.5 Drowning of Anabaptists in Zurich in 1528 586
16.1 Meeting of the Confederal Diet in Baden, 1531 597
16.2 Christoph Murer, Wilhelm Tell (1580) 611
16.3 The old and new prophet of Switzerland (ca. 1607) 613
16.4 Nicholas of Flüe counseling the 13 Confederates (1586) 617

List of Maps

1.1 Physical map of Switzerland 16
1.2 Political map of the Swiss Confederation in 1515 28
2.1 Map of Heinrich Bullinger's correspondence 119
6.1 Appenzell and the territories of the abbey of St. Gallen 239
8.1 The Three Leagues 292
8.2 Confessional Situation in the Three Leagues 307
9.1 Pays de Vaud 364
16.1 Religious Divisions within the Swiss Confederation in the 17th century 591

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Abbreviations

ABER	Steck, Rudolf, and Gustav Tobler (eds.). *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation 1521–1532*. 2 vols. Bern: Wyss, 1923.
ABSR	Dürr, Emil, and Paul Roth (eds.). *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534*. 6 vols. Basel: Historische und antiquarische Gesellschaft, 1921–1950.
AnSR	*Annales de la Societad Retorumantscha*
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History*
ASRG	Strickler, Johannes (ed.). *Actensammlung zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521–1532*. 5 vols. Zurich, 1878–1884; repr. Zurich: Theologische Buchhandlung, 1989.
AZHR	Egli, Emil (ed.). *Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Zürcher Reformation in den Jahren 1519–1533*. Zurich, 1879; repr. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf/Scientia, 1973.
B&A	Staehelin, Ernst (ed.). *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads, zum vierhundertjährigen Jubiläum der Basler Reformation.* 2 vols. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1927–34.
Baden Disp	Schindler, Alfred, and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin (eds.). *Die Badener Disputation von 1526. Kommentierte Edition des Protokolls*. Zurich: TVZ, 2015.
Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*	Bächtold, Hans Ulrich. *Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat: zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatswesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575.* Bern: Peter Lang, 1982.
Backus, *Disputations*	Backus, Irena. *The Disputations of Baden, 1526 and Berne, 1528: Neutralizing the Early Church.* Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1993.
Baschera, *Zwingli*	Baschera, Luca, Bruce Gordon, and Christian Moser (eds.). *Following Zwingli. Applying the Past in Reformation Zurich.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014.

BC	*Basler Chroniken,* 11 vols. Leipzig/Basel: Hirzel/Schwabe, 1872–1987.
Bekenntnis	Leu, Urs B., and Christian Scheidegger (eds.). *Das Schleitheimer Bekenntnis 1527. Einleitung, Faksimile, Übersetzung und Kommentar.* Zug: Achius, 2004.
Benedict, *Christ's Churches*	Benedict, Philip. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: a Social History of Calvinism.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
Biel, *Doorkeepers*	Biel, Pamela. *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy, 1535–1575.* Bern: Peter Lang, 1991.
Blickle, *Communal Reformation*	Blickle, Peter. *Communal Reformation: The Quest for Salvation in Sixteenth-Century Germany.* Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1992.
Bolliger, *Contemplatio*	Daniel Bolliger, *Infiniti Contemplatio. Grundzüge der Scotus- und Scotismusrezeption in Werken Huldrych Zwinglis.* Leiden: Brill, 1991.
Bruening, *Battleground*	Bruening, Michael. *Calvinism's First Battleground: Conflict and Reform in the Pays de Vaud, 1528–1559.* Dordrecht: Springer, 2006.
BSKO	Campi, Emidio, and Philipp Wälchli (eds.). *Basler Kirchenordnungen 1528–1675.* Zurich: TVZ, 2012.
Bündner Geschichte	Simonett, Jürg, et al. (eds.). *Handbuch der Bündner Geschichte.* 4 vols. Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt 2000.
BM	*Bündner Monatsblatt: Zeitschrift für Bündner Geschichte, Landeskunde und Baukultur*
Büsser, *Bullinger*	Büsser, Fritz. *Heinrich Bullinger. Leben, Werk und Wirkung.* 2 vols. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2005.
Bundi, *Flüchtlingsschicksale*	Bundi, Martin. *Flüchtlingsschicksale am Alpensüdfuss im 16. Jahrhundert. Lebensbilder italienischer Glaubensflüchtlinge im Veltlin und in den Bündner Südtälern.* Chur: Calven Verlag, 2015.
Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*	Burnett, Amy Nelson. *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

BZGA	*Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*
Campi FS	Moser, Christian, and Peter Opitz (eds.). *Bewegung und Beharrung. Aspekte des reformierten Protestantismus 1520–1650. Festschrift für Emidio Campi*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
Campi, *Maria*	Campi, Emidio. *Zwingli und Maria. Eine reformationsgeschichtliche Studie.* Zurich: TVZ, 1997.
Campi, *Patterns*	Campi, Emidio. *Shifting Patterns of Reformed Tradition*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.
Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*	Christ-von Wedel, Christine, et al. (eds.), *Basel als Zentrum des geistigen Austauschs in der frühen Reformation.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014.
CO	Baum, Johann Wilhelm, August Eduard Cunitz, and Eduard Reuss (eds.). *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*. 59 vols. Corpus Reformatorum 29–87. Braunschweig/Berlin: Schwetschke,1863–1900.
Cons Tig	Emidio, Campi, and Ruedi Reich (eds.). *Consensus Tigurinus (1549): die Einigung zwischen Heinrich Bullinger und Johannes Calvin über das Abendmahl: Werden—Wertung—Bedeutung.* Zurich: TVZ, 2009.
EA	Strickler, Johannes, et al. (eds.). *Amtliche Sammlung der ältern eidgenössischen Abschiede.* 8 vols. Lucerne et al., 1839–1890.
Gäbler, *Zwingli*	Gäbler, Ulrich. *Huldrych Zwingli. Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk*. Third ed. Zurich: TVZ, 2004. English translation of the first (1983) edition: *Huldrych Zwingli: his Life and Work*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.
Garside, *Arts*	Garside, Charles Jr. *Zwingli and the Arts.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
Gordon, *Calvin*	Bruce Gordon, *Calvin.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
Gordon, *Discipline*	Gordon, Bruce. *Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation. The Synod in Zürich, 1532–1580.* Bern: Peter Lang, 1992.

Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*	Gordon, Bruce. *The Swiss Reformation*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
Gordon/Campi, *Architect*	Gordon, Bruce, and Emidio Campi (eds.). *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger, 1509–1575.* Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2004.
Guggisberg, *Bern KG*	Guggisberg, Kurt. *Bernische Kirchengeschichte*. Bern: Haupt, 1958.
Hamm, *Freiheit*	Hamm, Berndt. *Zwinglis Reformation der Freiheit.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988
HBBibl	Bullinger, Heinrich. *Werke*; Erste Abteilung: *Bibliographie*. 3 vols. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972–2004.
HBBW	Bullinger, Heinrich. *Werke*. Zweite Abteilung: *Briefwechsel*, 17 vols. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1973–.
HBD	Bullinger, Heinrich. *Diarium* (*Annales vitae*) *der Jahre 1504–1574.* Edited by Emil Egli. Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatsbuchhandlung, 1904; repr. Zurich: Theologische Buchhandlung, 1985.
HBGA	Gäbler, Ulrich, and Erland Herkenrath (eds.). *Heinrich Bullinger, 1504–1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag.* 2 vols. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975.
HBLTI	Campi, Emidio and Peter Opitz (eds.). *Heinrich Bullinger. Life—Thought—Influence. Zurich, Aug. 25–29, 2004 International Congress Heinrich Bullinger* (*1504–1575*). 2 vols. Zurich: TVZ, 2007.
HBRG	Hottinger, J[ohann] J[akob] and H[ans] H[einrich] Vögeli (eds.). *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte. Nach dem Autographon*. 3 vols. Frauenfeld, 1838–1840; repr. Zurich: Theologische Buchhandlung, 1985.
HBSchr	Campi, Emidio, et. al. (eds.). *Heinrich Bullinger Schriften.* 7 vols. Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004–2007.
HBST	Bächtold, Hans Ulrich, et al. (eds.). *Heinrich Bullinger, Schriften zum Tage.* Zug: Achius, 2006.

HBTS	Bullinger, Heinrich. *Werke*. Dritte Abteilung: *Theologische Schriften*. 7 vols. Zurich: TVZ 1983–.
HLS	*Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz.* 13 vols. Basel: Schwabe, 2002–2014. Accessible in German, French and Italian at http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/index.php
HS	*Helvetia Sacra*. 28 vols. Basel: Schwabe, 1972–2007.
HZW	Furcha, E.J. and H. Wayne Pipkin (eds.). *Huldrych Zwingli: Writings*. 2 vols. Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1984.
Jecker, *Ketzer*	Jecker, Hanspeter. *Ketzer—Rebellen—Heilige. Das Basler Täufertum von 1580–1700*. Liestal: Verlag des Kantons Basel-Landschaft, 1998.
JHGG	*Jahrbuch der Historischen Gesellschaft von Graubünden*
Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*	Leu, Urs B. and Christian Scheidegger (eds.). *Die Zürcher Täufer, 1525–1700.* Zurich: TVZ, 2007.
Locher, *Thought*	Locher, Gottfried W. *Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives.* Leiden: Brill, 1981.
Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*	Locher, Gottfried W. *Die Zwinglische Reformation im Rahmen der europäischen Kirchengeschichte*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.
LW	Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works.* Edited by Helmut T. Lehmann et al. 59 vols. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–.
Moser, *Dignität*	Moser, Christian. *Die Dignität des Ereignisses: Studien zu Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichtsschreibung*. 2 vol. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
MQR	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
Opitz, *Theologe*	Opitz, Peter. *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe. Eine Studie zu den "Dekaden."* Zurich: TVZ, 2004.
Pfister, KGS	Pfister, Rudolf. *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*. Vol. 2: *Von der Reformation bis zum zweiten Villmerger Krieg.* Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1974.
Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*	Pfister, Ulrich. *Konfessionskirchen, Glaubenspraxis und Konflikt in Graubünden, 16–18. Jahrhundert.* Würzburg: Ergon-Verlag, 2012.
QGTS	Muralt, Leonhard von, et al. (eds.). *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*. 4 vols. Zurich: Hirzel/TVZ, 1952–2008.

RBS	Faulenbach, Heiner, et al. (eds.). *Reformierte Bekenntnisschriften*. 6 vols. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002–.
Roth/Stayer, *Companion*	Roth, John D., and James M. Stayer (eds.). *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
RGG^4	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th edition, (ed.) Hans Dieter Betz, Don S. Browning, Bernd Janowski, and Eberhard Jüngel. 8 vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1998–2007. English translation: *Religion Past and Present*. 14 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2006–2013.
RHV	*Revue Historique Vaudoise*
Schnyder, *Reformation*	Schnyder, Caroline. *Reformation und Demokratie im Wallis (1524–1613)*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002.
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*
SDS	*Sources du Droit Suisse/Sammlung der Schweizerischer Rechtsquellen*. Aarau, Basel, 1898–, online at http://ssrq-sds-fds.ch/online/
SKA Chur	Synodal- und Kirchenratsarchiv, Chur
SPM	*Die Schweiz vom Paläolithikum bis zum frühen Mittelalter—vom Neandertaler zu Karl dem Grossen = La Suisse du Paléolithique à l'aube du Moyen-Age: de l'Homme de Néandertal à Charlemagne = La Svizzera dal Paleolitico all' Alto Medio Evo: dall' Uomo di Neandertal a Carlo Magno*, 7 vols. Basel: Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, 1993–2014.
StAGR	Staatsarchiv Graubünden, Chur
StAZ	Staatsarchiv Zurich
Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*	Strübind, Andrea. *Eifrieger als Zwingli. Die frühe Täuferbewegung in der Schweiz.* Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2003.
Synodus	Locher, Gottfried W. *Der Berner Synodus von 1532*. 2 vols. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988.
SZG	*Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*
VBS	Arbenz, Emil, et al. (eds.). *Die vadianische Briefsammlung der Stadtbibliothek St. Gallen*. 7 vols. St. Gallen: Fehr, 1891–1913.

Vuilleumier, *Histoire*	Vuilleumier, Henri. *Histoire de l'Eglise réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois*. 4 vols. Lausanne: Éditions la Concorde, 1927–1933.
WA	Luther, Martin. *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 123 vols. Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1883–2009.
WA Br	Luther, Martin. *Werke.* Abt. 4: *Briefwechsel*. 18 vols. Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930–1985.
Walton, *Theocracy*	Walton, Robert C. *Zwingli's Theocracy.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
Wandel, *Idols*	Wandel, Lee Palmer. *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
Wandel, *Images*	Wandel, Lee Palmer. *"Always among us." Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Z	Zwingli, Ulrich. *Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*. Edited by Emil Egli et al. Corpus Reformatorum 88–108. Leipzig/Zurich: Heinsius/TVZ, 1905–2013.
Z&B	Bromiley, Geoffrey W. (ed.). *Zwingli and Bullinger: Selected Translations with Introductions and Notes.* Library of Christian Classics 24. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953.
ZHKO	Campi, Emidio and Philipp Wälchli (eds.). *Zürcher Kirchenordnungen 1520–1675*. 2 vols. Zurich: TVZ, 2011.
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZLW	Jackson, Samuel Macauley (ed.). *The Latin Works and the Correspondence of Huldreich Zwingli: Together with Selections from his German Works*. 3 vols. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1912–29.
ZSK	*Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*
ZSW	Jackson, Samuel Macauley (ed.). *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli (1484–1531), The Reformer of German Switzerland.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1901.
ZZB	Zentralbibliothek Zürich

PART 1

Background

∵

Introduction

Amy Nelson Burnett and Emidio Campi

The Reformation was unquestionably one of the major events of Swiss history. It was accompanied by social conflicts that shook the relationship of trust between Catholic and Protestant cantons, risking the cohesion of the Confederation. Radically new religious conceptions emerged that shaped the perspective from which contemporaries viewed their situation. Yet it is difficult to date the beginning of the Swiss Reformation. It could be argued with good reason that Erasmus's move to Basel in 1514 was the first step in a gradual process that eventually led many in the Swiss lands to reject the authority of Rome. Some see Zwingli's assumption of the position of parish priest (*Leutpriester*[1]) at Zurich's Grossmünster on 1 January 1519 as the start of a new era; others give that distinction to the deliberate breaking of the Lenten fast in Zurich (the so-called "sausage-eating") in 1522. As it spread outward from the cities where it first took root, the Swiss Reformation would continue to follow an independent path. The strong influence of Erasmian humanism, the rapid diffusion of Luther's works, the long-standing tradition of self-government in the members of the Swiss Confederation, the balance of power within the Swiss cities, and the religious autonomy of many rural communes all combined to give the Reformation in the Swiss lands a different profile than it had in the Holy Roman Empire, let alone the British Isles, the Netherlands, Scandinavia or east-central Europe.

Descriptions of the Swiss Reformation in textbooks are generally limited to developments in Zurich, subsumed under the categories of urban reformation and the Eucharistic controversy, and presented as background to the ministry of Jean Calvin and the development of "Calvinism." This cursory treatment not only neglects the spread of the Reformation through the lands of what is now Switzerland; it also ignores the slow and gradual development of institutionalized Reformed churches that, in competition with Roman Catholicism, would decisively influence Swiss society, culture, and politics for the next several centuries.

1 The *Leutpriester* (Latin *plebanus*), sometimes literally translated as "people's priest," was the priest who exercised the duties of pastoral care in a parish. It was used especially for priests who provided pastoral care in parishes that were incorporated into an ecclesiastical institution, whether a cathedral chapter, collegiate church (such as the Grossmünster, in Zwingli's case) or monastery; Gerald Dörner, *Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996), 127–29.

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The textbook treatment of the Swiss Reformation reflects the fact that research on the Swiss Reformation has traditionally had three foci: Calvin and Geneva, Zwingli and Zurich, and the Swiss origins of Anabaptism.[2] The dominance of the first topic is not surprising in view of the significant impact of Calvinism on Reformed theology. The older practice of identifying the Reformed family of churches as "Calvinist" has long caused theologians and church historians to look to the Genevan reformer as the key figure in the development of their religious tradition. As late as the mid-20th century the American historian John T. McNeill still wrote about *The History and Character of Calvinism*, presenting the Zurich Reformation merely as the precursor to more important developments in Geneva that would influence churches and society throughout Europe and North America.[3] Although theology continues to hold pride of place in contemporary research on the Genevan Reformation, since the 1960s social historians have also had a significant impact.[4]

The identification of Geneva with "the Swiss Reformation" is, however, problematic on two accounts. To begin with, Geneva was an independent city-republic in the 16th century, and it did not become a part of what is now Switzerland until the early 19th century. As several of the essays in this volume make clear, the relationship of the Genevan city-republic and church to the Swiss Confederation was substantial and significant, but Geneva cannot be regarded as central to the Swiss Reformation, let alone as paradigmatic for it. Even more importantly, the Reformation came relatively late to Geneva, and its establishment and course in that city were strongly influenced by both earlier and concurrent developments in the Swiss Confederation. In order to understand the Genevan Reformation, then, it is necessary to be familiar with the course of the broader Reformation in the neighboring Swiss lands.

This has led scholars to the second major focus, the study of Huldrych Zwingli and the Zurich Reformation; more recently there has also been a growing emphasis on the later contributions of Heinrich Bullinger and his colleagues to the Reformed tradition. Progress on the critical edition of Zwingli's works from the beginning of the 20th century prompted a wave of

2 For an overview of the historiography, see Bruce Gordon, "The Swiss," in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: A Guide to Research,* (ed.) David M. Whitford (Kirksville, MO.: Truman State University Press, 2008), 309–27.

3 John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calv*inism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954).

4 See the annual bibliography on Calvin and Calvinism published in *Calvin Theological Journal* and available through the website of the H. Henry Meeter Center for Calvin Studies, http://www.calvin.edu/meeter/publications/calvin-bibliography.htm (accessed 24 February 2016).

research that reached significant proportions in the 1940s and after. The publications of Emil Egli, Georg Finsler, Walther Köhler, Oskar Farner, Fritz Blanke, and Fritz Büsser, all associated with the critical edition, drew new attention to the Zurich reformer and brought a reappraisal of this thought and influence, while the journal *Zwingliana*, founded in 1897, became a major platform for the publication of specialized research on the Swiss Reformation.[5] The creation of the Institute for Swiss Reformation History at the University of Zurich in 1964 provided further impetus to the study of the Zurich Reformation, which bore fruit in Gottfried W. Locher's magisterial study of the Zwinglian Reformation in its European context, published in 1979.[6] Although most of the work on the Zurich Reformation was produced by Swiss and German scholars, some of it was translated into English, as were a number of Zwingli's major works.[7] By the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Zwingli's birth in 1984, a handful of British and North American scholars were contributing to this research as well.[8]

Significantly, the Institute for Swiss Reformation History had by this time begun to publish the correspondence of Zwingli's successor, Heinrich Bullinger.[9] This not only made available an extremely rich collection of primary sources but also drew attention to developments in Zurich after Zwingli's early death in 1531. While research on Zwingli and the early Zurich Reformation has

5 For a detailed discussion of research on Zwingli, see Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli im 20. Jahrhundert: Forschungsbericht und annotierte Bibliographie* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975), 13–100; see also Chapters 2 and 11 below.

6 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*.

7 See, for instance, the biographies of Oskar Farner, *Zwingli the Reformer: His Life and Work* (Hamden, Conn: Archon books, 1968), and Gäbler, *Zwingli*, as well as Locher, *Thought*. In the early 20th century, Samuel Macauley Jackson oversaw translations of what would become four volumes of Zwingli's works in English: ZSW and ZLW (the individual volumes of which have reen reprinted at various times with individual titles: *Early Writings*; *Commentary on True and False Religion*; and *On Providence and Other Essays*). These translations were later supplemented by Z&B and HZW.

8 These included Garside, *Arts*; Walton, *Theocracy*; G.R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986); and the scholars who contributed to E.J. Furcha and H. Wayne Pipkin, (eds.), *Prophet, Pastor, Protestant: the Work of Huldrych Zwingli after Five Hundered Years* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick, 1984), and to E.J. Furcha, (ed.), *Huldrych Zwingli, 1484–1531: A Legacy of Radical Reform. Papers from the 1984 International Zwingli Symposium, McGill University* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1985).

9 HBBW. Slow but steady progress has also been made on the critical edition of Bullinger's writings; see HBBibl and HBTS.

continued,[10] since the mid-1970s scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have turned their attention to Bullinger's theology and his leadership of the Zurich church.[11] Bullinger's colleague Peter Martyr Vermigli also attracted scholarly interest, aided by the founding of a new series, the Peter Martyr Library, which made available a bibliography of works by and about Vermigli as well as English translations of his correspondence and many of his Latin works.[12] These translations have in turn encouraged further research.[13] The new interest

10 Alfred Schindler, *Zwingli und die Kirchenväter* (Zurich: Kommissionsverlag Beer, 1984); Walter Ernst Mayer, *Huldrych Zwinglis Eschatologie*: *reformatorische Wende, Theologie und Geschichtsbild des Zürcher Reformators im Lichte seines eschatologischen Ansatzes* (Zurich: TVZ, 1987); Hamm, *Freiheit;* Wandel, *Images*; W. Peter Stephens, *Zwingli. An Introduction to his Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Fritz Büsser, *Die Prophezei: Humanismus und Reformation in Zürich. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 12. Februar 1993* (Bern: Lang, 1994); Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis* (*1531*) (Mainz: von Zabern, 1995); Campi, *Maria;* Wandel, *Iconoclasm*; Martin Sallmann, *Zwischen Gott und Mensch. Huldrych Zwinglis theologischer Denkweg im De vera et falsa religione commentarius* (*1525*) (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Bolliger, *Contemplatio;* Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus*.

11 One of the earliest in North America to study Bullinger was J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant. The Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980). The state of research on the Zurich Reformation in the early 1990s is summarized by J. Wayne Baker, "The Reformation at Zurich in the Thought and Theology of Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger," in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research II*, (ed.) William S. Maltby (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1992), 46–73. Baker's essay does not mention three books that were published at about the same time: Gordon, *Discipline*; Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism: Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition. With a Translation of de testamento seu foedere Dei unico et aeterno* (*1534*) (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991); and Aurelio Garcia Archilla, *The Theology of History and Apologetic Historiography in Heinrich Bullinger* (San Francisco: Mellen Press, 1992). The essays in Gordon/Campi, *Architect*, have made available in English the research of several Swiss scholars; recent monographs include Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern: Lang, 2001); Cornelis P. Venema, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Doctrine of Predestination: Author of "the Other Reformed Tradition"?* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002); Opitz, *Theologe*; Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich, 1531–1558* (Zurich: TVZ, 2006); Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theory* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Moser, *Dignität*; and Daniel Timmerman, *Heinrich Bullinger on Prophecy and the Prophetic Office* (*1523–1538*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

12 John Patrick Donnelly et al., (eds.) *A Bibliography of the Writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Publishers, 1990).

13 Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975); John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's*

in Bullinger, Vermigli, and the later Zurich Reformation was particularly important for offering a Swiss counterpart to the interest in confessionalization that dominated research on the German Reformation through the end of the 20th century, and it was stimulated by a series of conferences that strengthened the international community of scholars and disseminated their research.[14] Two books published in 2002 illustrate the impact of this new research. Bruce Gordon's *Swiss Reformation* can be seen as the English language counterpart to Locher's earlier work, with Zwingli and the early Zurich Reformation at its center, but with over half of its contents devoted to developments after Zwingli's death and extending to 1566, the year of the publication of the Second Helvetic Confession.[15] Phillip Benedict's study of the long-term development of Reformed Christianity, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, also demonstrates a new appreciation of the role of the Zurich church in the development of the Reformed tradition.[16]

Finally, the 500th anniversary of the births of Heinrich Bullinger in 2004 and of Jean Calvin in 2009, as well as the 400th anniversary of the death of Theodore Beza in 2005, promoted a remarkable renaissance of international scholarship, much of it in English. Conference volumes and essay collections, biographies, and new editions of primary sources have all contributed significantly to the development of this specialized field of Reformation studies,

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Doctrine of Man and Grace (Leiden: Brill, 1976); Frank A. James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); and the papers collected in Joseph C. McLelland, (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980). More recent and useful monographs indicate that the trend is unbroken: Luca Baschera, *Tugend und Rechtfertigung. Peter Martyr Vermiglis Kommentar zur Nikomachischen Ethik im Spannungsfeld von Philosophie und Theologie* (Zurich: TVZ, 2008); Jason Zuidema, *Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) and the Outward Instruments of Divine Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008); and the special issue of *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 15 (2013), edited by Jordan J. Ballor, "Studies on the the Living Legacy of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562)."

14 See, for instance, the proceedings of the Bullinger Congress in 1975, HBGA; Alfred Schindler and Hans Stickelberger, (eds.), *Die Zürcher Reformation: Ausstrahlungen und Rückwirkungen. Wissenschaftliche Tagung zum hundertjährigen Bestehen des Zwinglivereins (29. Oktober bis 2. November 1997 in Zürich)* (Bern: Lang, 2001); Emidio Campi, (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002); and Frank A. James III, (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

15 Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*.

16 Benedict, *Christ's Churches*.

providing insights into previously unexplored areas as well as changing existing patterns of interpretation.[17]

Both Locher and Gordon devoted a chapter of their books to the third area that has drawn considerable attention from scholars with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds: the radicals in Zwingli's circle who became the first Anabaptists.[18] A striking proportion of research on Swiss Anabaptism has been published in English, much of it by scholars from the Mennonite tradition. Beginning in the 1970s, revisionist social historians provided new insight into the Anabaptist movement by placing its origins squarely in the unrest and demands for social justice associated with the Peasants' War, and more recent studies have moved towards a synthesis of both approaches.[19] While studies of the Radical Reformation are by no means limited to its Swiss form, Swiss Anabaptism continues to generate both German- and English-language research.[20]

This very brief overview of approaches to the Swiss Reformation points to three lacunae, which this volume is intended to fill. The first concerns the chronological limits of the Reformation. Historians have increasingly come to see the importance of the late medieval context for shaping the response to the early evangelical movement. In Chapter 1, Regula Schmid describes not only those characteristics shared by the Swiss lands with other parts of Europe

17 Conference volumes and essay collections include HBLTI; Emidio Campi, (ed.), *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit* (Zurich: TVZ, 2004); Irena Backus, (ed.), *Théodore de Bèze* (*1519–1605*). *Actes du Colloque de Genève* (*septembre 2005*) (Geneva: Droz, 2007); Irena Backus and Philip Benedict, (eds.), *Calvin and His Influence 1509–2009* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2011); Torrance Kirby et al., (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Baschera *Zwingli;* and Campi, *Patterns*. The most important new biographies are Büsser, *Bullinger;* and Gordon, *Calvin.* Some of the most important source editions are *Cons Tig*; *Baden Disp;* BSKO; ZHKO; and RBS, as well as the on-going edition of Bullinger's works, HBBW and HBTS.

18 Although German terminology has shifted from *Wiedertäufer* to *Täufer*, English works continue to use "Anabaptist" to avoid confusion with the Baptists who emerged in England and its American colonies in the seventeenth century and who today form a major denomination distinct from the Mennonite tradition; see James M. Stayer, "Introduction," in Roth/Stayer, *Companion,* xiii–xxiv, which also gives a useful brief survey of the historiography.

19 For a good sense of how Anabaptist studies have evolved, compare James M. Stayer, "The Anabaptists," in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research,* (ed.) Steven E. Ozment (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 135–59, with R. Emmet McLaughlin, "Radicals," in Whitford, *Reformation and Early Modern Europe*, 80–120, esp. 103–10. For the development of Anabaptist studies in German, see Strübind, *Eifrieger als Zwingli,* 19–47; Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer.*

20 See Roth/Stayer, *Companion*, and Chapter 10 below.

in the later Middle Ages but also the unique political structures and cultural values that would influence developments there in the 16th century. All of the remaining chapters in this volume go beyond the traditional narrative, which concentrates on the earliest, most dramatic phase of the Reformation, to look at developments into the early 17th century. Much recent research has concentrated on the "long reformation," the religious, institutional, and ecclesiastical-political changes that extended through the 16th and into the 17th century, and this research is incorporated into the chapters contained in this volume.

The second lacuna concerns the geographical range of the Swiss Reformation. Significant in this respect is the structure of the Swiss Confederation itself. In the 16th century, the lands that now make up modern Switzerland were not an early form of nation-state but were instead independent, self-governing political entities joined together through a series of alliances. The Swiss lands fell into several different categories or concentric circles.[21] At the core was the Swiss Confederation proper, divided between the eight "old *Orte*"[22] whose confederation dated from the mid-14th century (Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus), and the five areas that joined this Confederation between 1481 and 1513 (Fribourg, Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell). The Confederates also administered jointly a group of mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*)—roughly the areas of the modern cantons of Thurgau and Aargau, the Rheintal (the Rhine valley between the river's alpine sources and Lake Constance, which is now part of the canton of St. Gallen) and, as a result of Swiss involvement in the Italian wars of the early 16th century, the Italian-speaking territories whose remnant would become the modern canton of Ticino/Tessin. These areas were governed by bailiffs (*Vögte*) sent from the Confederation's members in rotation. The jointly-governed areas would become a significant source of friction after the Reformation, as both Catholic and Reformed Confederates sought to support their co-religionists in the mandated territories. Finally, a number of other territories were linked to the Swiss Confederation or to one or more of its members by treaties of alliance. Some were self-governing: the free states of the Three

21 On the historical development of the Swiss Confederation, see Chapter 1 below; on the francophone areas, see Chapter 9 below.

22 Literally, "places;" usually translated as "cantons." "Canton" is appropriate when used in a geographical sense. Politically, however, the early modern *Orte* differed markedly from the modern canton. The city-republics of the Confederation ruled over rural territories whose inhabitants were their subjects and so did not have the same rights as citizens. Urban populations likewise were divided between those with citizenship rights and those who were merely inhabitants.

Leagues (modern Graubünden/Grisons) and the Valais/Wallis, as well as the cities of St. Gallen and Biel/Bienne in Switzerland, Mülhausen/Mulhouse in Alsace, and Rottweil in Germany. Others were ruled by princes of the church: the bishop of Basel (much of the modern canton of Jura) and the abbots of the Benedictine abbeys of Engelberg (now part of the canton of Obwalden) and St. Gallen (the areas of Toggenburg and the *Fürstenland*, "the prince's territory," now part of the canton of St. Gallen). Through their alliances with the cities of Bern and/or Fribourg, the county of Neuchâtel and the city-republic of Geneva belonged on the fringes of this group. The Free State of the Three Leagues had its own subject lands: the Italian-speaking valleys of Bormio, Valtellina, and Chiavenna, now part of Italy.

As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, the political, geographic, demographic, and economic differences between these disparate territories had major implications for the response to reformatory movements. In Chapter 2, Emidio Campi describes the course of the Zurich Reformation under the leadership of Zwingli, Bullinger, and their successors, showing the interrelation between political and ecclesiastical affairs and highlighting Bullinger's importance for institutionalizing and therefore preserving the reforms introduced by his predecessor. Just as the Genevan Reformation cannot be taken as a model for developments in the Swiss Confederation, however, neither can the Zurich Reformation be seen as the only model of reform within the Confederation. The next three chapters look at the three city-republics that adopted the Reformation in the 1520s. In Chapter 3, Martin Sallmann highlights the close link between religious reform and state-building in Bern. The Reformation in this powerful city-republic not only placed the church under the control of the magistracy but also allowed the city to strengthen its control over its large rural territory, especially the newly-acquired area of the Vaud. As Amy Nelson Burnett shows in Chapter 4, the Basel Reformation followed a different path. Larger and more cosmopolitan than the other Swiss cities, Basel had long-standing political, economic, and cultural ties with the Upper Rhine region. These ties led the city to favor a mediating religious course through most of the 16th century, at a time when religious boundaries elsewhere were becoming ever more sharply defined. In Chapter 5, Erich Bryner looks at the Reformation in Schaffhausen. That city's earliest reformers were closely linked with Zurich, but after their expulsion in the wake of the Peasants' War, the church in Schaffhausen lacked effective leaders. The adoption of the Reformation in 1529 was as much a reflection of political realities as it was of religious convictions, and only in the later 16th century did the city again move closer to the Zurich church.

The spread of the Reformation to the rural cantons and to the mandated territories followed another pattern. In Chapter 6, Erich Bryner describes the

impact of reformed teachings in the city of St. Gallen, the lands governed by the abbot of St. Gallen, and the rural canton of Appenzell. His survey of developments makes abundantly clear the negative impact of Zurich's defeat in the Second Kappel War on the Reformation in eastern Switzerland; it also highlights the political and economic consequences of the reform movement for territories ruled by a prince of the church. In Chapter 7, on "Failed Reformations," Sundar Henny surveys the many areas within present-day Switzerland where reformed teachings made some inroads but were unable to gain dominance as the established form of Christianity. Depending on the existing political situation, the desire for autonomy could lead either to embracing the new faith or reaffirming the old one. Henny also stresses the significance of the Second Peace of Kappel for ending the spread of Protestantism, and he concludes that external factors played a major role in determining the eventual success or failure of Protestantism in these areas.

The next two chapters examine the impact of the Reformation in allied territories. Jan-Andrea Bernhard examines the Free State of the Three Leagues (Graubünden/Grisons) in Chapter 8. The Ilanz Articles of 1526 granted each commune the right to choose the Reformed faith or remain loyal to Rome. As a result the process of reform in the Three Leagues was extraordinarily complicated, especially as religious tensions increased, but by the last quarter of the 16th century the Protestant churches of the Three Leagues consciously identified with the broader communion of Reformed churches throughout Europe. Chapter 9 looks at the francophone territories allied with the Swiss Confederation. Michael Bruening describes the many sources of tension between Geneva and the Swiss Protestants, especially Bern, as they were played out in the Bernese *Pays de Vaud*. Only the passage of time—and the deaths of the first generation of reformers—allowed the gradual rapprochement between Zwinglian and Calvinist versions of Reformed teaching. Last but not least, in Chapter 10 Andrea Strübind describes the development of Swiss Anabaptism as a movement that originated in Zurich and quickly spread through all of the Swiss lands. Assuming many of its chief characteristics as the result of persecution, Swiss Anabaptism managed to survive and even grow underground into the 17th century.

Part III looks at the third area that has only recently become a significant topic of research: the long-term impact of the Reformation on Swiss society, culture, and politics. In Chapter 11, Emidio Campi discusses the theological profile of the Swiss Reformed churches. He stresses that Swiss theology shared central features with Reformation theology more generally and emphasized its conformity with the Apostles' Creed. He identifies, however, three pronounced and long-lasting characteristics: the approach to church government and discipline, the theology of the sacraments, and covenant theology. Bruce Gordon

describes the major changes to worship and religious life in Chapter 12. He points out that in some ways the reformers were conservative, retaining institutions and practices from the late medieval church; they were also constrained by practical problems of finance and by the opposition of political authorities. Nevertheless, despite regional variations, the Swiss churches developed a distinctively Reformed religious identity by the end of the 16th century. In Chapter 13, Karin Maag analyzes the ways in which both Reformed Protestants and Roman Catholics reorganized and strengthened education, from catechetical instruction through university-level studies. She focuses on the challenges of financing schools, the role of education in shaping communities' confessional allegiances, and the importance given to the training of clergy. In Chapter 14, Kaspar von Greyerz describes the impact of the Reformation on marriage and sexuality as well as on attitudes towards the poor and the provision of poor relief. Both areas, he argues, illustrate the increased emphasis on social control and social disciplining that may have predated the Reformation but that was given new impetus by it. In Chapter 15, Irena Backus examines the values that shaped Swiss religious culture in the 16th century, especially as they were articulated by Zurich's pastors. The reformers used both classical literature and the Bible to validate an understanding of prophecy that had the authority to shape beliefs and behavior. The writings of the Zurich clergy also demonstrate their acceptance of a host of popular religious beliefs such as the significance of omens and portents and the harm caused by witchcraft. Finally, in Chapter 16 Thomas Maissen sums up political developments in the 16th century, showing how developments discussed in the previous chapters resonated at the level of the Confederation as a whole. He highlights the importance of alliances with various foreign powers—France, the Empire, and Spain—for influencing developments both within the Confederation as a whole and between its individual members. The Confederation's religious differences may have prevented a united foreign policy, but they also prevented dangerous foreign entanglements and so ultimately contributed to the Confederation's political stability.

The end of the Swiss Reformation is as difficult to date as its beginning. By the early 17th century, however, the Swiss Reformed churches had settled into a pattern that would endure until the Napoleonic era. They had well-established institutional structures, educational practices, and patterns of worship. The leaders or *Antistes*[23] of the Swiss Reformed churches understood the importance of communication and mutual consultation, and they corresponded regularly with their counterparts both at home and abroad. Swiss Reformed

23 This title was used first for Zwingli as the leader of the Zurich church and was then applied to the senior pastor in the other Reformed cities.

theologians contributed substantially to the development of Reformed theology and they participated in the Synod of Dort, which initiated the period of Reformed Orthodoxy.

The essays in this volume reveal how the Swiss Reformation evolved from a diffuse movement into a disciplined group of churches with well-defined beliefs and practices, in the process shaping a distinctively Swiss Reformed culture. They are intended to make better known to an English-reading audience the most recent research on the rich variety and complex development of the Reformation in the Swiss lands over the course of the long 16th century. The authors draw from a variety of primary sources in Latin, German, French, Italian, and Romansch, whether newly available in critical edition or in digitized versions of their early modern form. They also build on the significant research of the past two decades on the religious, ecclesiastical, political, social, and cultural history of the Swiss lands. Given the vastness and complexity of the Swiss Reformation this kind of work can no longer be done by a single scholar or contained within geographical boundaries. Fortunately, the world of learning is international and inter-connected. In a joint effort, Swiss, German, and North American contributors to this volume have not only synthesized the most recent work in their area but on the basis of their own research have produced new insights and interpretations. We offer them to our readers in the hope that this may help advance the knowledge of the Swiss Reformation.

CHAPTER 1

The Swiss Confederation before the Reformation

Regula Schmid

1.1 Introduction

In September 1532, Zurich's leading minister, Heinrich Bullinger, drafted a potentially revolutionary proposal. He stated that the Swiss Confederation of thirteen rural and urban communities had turned into a prison for his town.[1] The only way to prevent further war and to regain Zurich's freedom of action was to abolish its participation in its old confederal alliances. Intimate friends whom Bullinger had consulted on the proposal—St. Gallen's burgomaster Joachim von Watt (Vadian), Bern's parish priest Berchtold Haller and the influential Bernese politician Peter Im Hag—eventually advised against the plan.[2] Instead, Zurich and Bullinger developed a far-reaching and carefully mediated diplomacy based on personal connections and used it to strengthen Zurich's ties to other Protestant states.

Bullinger's proposal seems to have had no further effect. But its mere existence shows that the Swiss Reformation was as much a political as a religious event. The choices, actions, and specific discourses of the protagonists cannot be understood without insight into the institutional, social, economic, and cultural framework they interacted with, and without knowledge of its history. Indeed, all the outspoken proponents of Protestant thought and politics in 16th-century Switzerland were avid students of the history of their communities and their alliances.[3] They relied extensively on historical arguments for advancing their project of religious, social, and political renewal. As a new university-educated ecclesiastical and political elite, they took to renovating the medieval church amid a profound political, economic, social, and moral

1 Heinrich Bullinger, "Radtschlag wie man mœge vor kriegen sin/und der v orten tyranny abkummenn. ([September] 1532)," in HBST, 35–55. Cf. Hans-Ulrich Bächtold, "Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532," in HBGA, 269–89, and André Holenstein, "Reformatorischer Auftrag und Tagespolitik bei Heinrich Bullinger," in HBLTI 1: 177–232.

2 Their comments in: HBBW 2: 190, no. 127–8 (Peter Im Haag, Bern); HBBW 2: 246, no. 140 (Berchtold Haller, Bern); HBBW 2: 271–2, no. 154 (Joachim von Watt, St. Gallen).

3 On the uses of history during the early years of the reformation, Regula Schmid, "The Politics of History in the Swiss Reformation," in *The Politics of Reformation. Studies in Honor of Thomas A. Brady Jr.*, (eds.) Christopher Ocker et al., 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 2: 317–43. On Bullinger as historian, see Moser, *Dignität*.

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upheaval of the world they lived in: a world shaped over the previous century by the development of the Swiss Confederation.[4]

1.2 Physical and Economic Environment

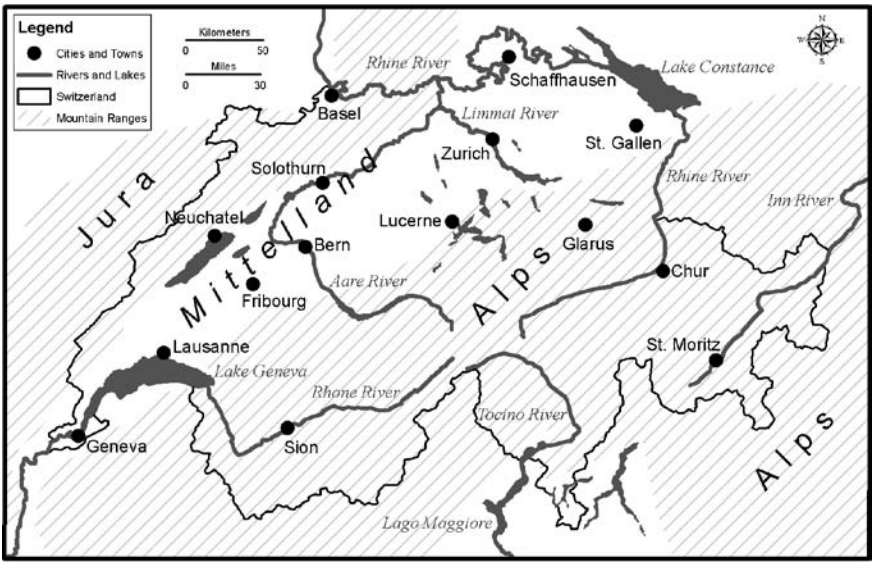
According to well-established imagery, the history and destiny of Switzerland is indissolubly connected to the mountains. By the middle of the 15th century, stereotypes of the Swiss as primitive cowherds, fierce alpine dwellers or noble peasants were common among Europe's political propagandists. Topography certainly played a major role in the historical development of Switzerland. However, it was not the Alps alone (and not even most prominently) that shaped Swiss history, but connections between mountain ranges, hills, and plains situated at the crossroads of distinctive cultures and powers.

1.2.1 *Topography*

Several major European rivers originate in the Swiss Alps. The Rhine flows to the North Sea from sources in the mountains of western Graubünden (Grisons). The Rhone flows west to the Mediterranean from its origin in the Rhone glacier nestled between ridges separating the cantons of Bern, Valais (Wallis), and Uri. The Ticino River flows south to the Po and the Adriatic Sea from the Gotthard. The Inn flows east, into the Danube and the Black Sea, from the deep-cut and glacier-smoothed Engadin.

Mountains and rivers delineate three distinct landscapes: the two dominant mountain ranges, Jura and Alps, and the *Mittelland* (midlands) in between them. The *Mittelland*, formed by tributaries to the Rhine, is a roughly east–west oriented plain between the Alps, the Jura, and their foothills. In the Middle Ages, all major Swiss towns were concentrated there. The only major urban

4 Two excellent, up-to-date English summaries of the history of the Swiss Confederation in the Late Middle Ages are available: the chapters by Randolph C. Head in Clive H. Church and Randolph C. Head, *A Concise History of Switzerland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), and Roger Sablonier, "The Swiss Confederation in the 15th century," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 7: 645–70. In German, see the relevant chapters in Thomas Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz,* 5th corrected and augmented ed. (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2015) and Georg Kreis, (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Schweiz* (Basel: Schwabe, 2014). The recent flow of handbooks of Swiss history can be largely attributed to the work on the recently finished, trilingual HLS. This seminal reference work was also a major source for details used in this article.



MAP 1.1 *Physical map of Switzerland*

settlements of the Swiss alpine region in the 15th century not situated in the *Mittelland* were the episcopal seats of Sion and Chur, whose administrative importance dated back to the late Roman period.

These three landscapes shaped the rural economy as well as the development of social and political structures. The rich soils of the *Mittelland* favored the cultivation of crops. Steeper areas were better suited to a more limited yet mixed economy including small scale animal husbandry. The layout of the land and soils influenced economic development, although climatic factors, local situations, and larger societal shifts were of greater importance in the long run.

1.2.2 *Economic Development*

In the central plains with their rich soil, population growth was accommodated by simultaneous cultivation of two or more crops, with a third area left fallow. This rotation of crops and fallow strips, which allowed the land to recover and reaccumulate nutrients, developed within a changing manorial system. It had far-reaching consequences for rural society. Because every farmer owned plots within each of the three strips, and no paths connected the fields, collective activities and collaboration were called for. In the context of relatively weak local nobility who were stressed by the advance of the towns, the resulting rise of long-lasting self-governance on the village level led to a high degree of political

organization in rural areas.[5] Throughout the Late Middle Ages, and up to the 19th century, attempts by nobles and by urban authorities (the main inheritors of the nobility's prerogatives) to take a firmer hold on their subjects were periodically slowed by well-organized armed peasantry. Even when the authorities subdued impending or full-blown revolts, their dependence on their rural subjects generally forced them to accept at least some of the insurgents' demands.

The rapid development of the towns from the 12th century onwards offered the farmers new financial opportunities but also triggered new economic dependencies. Town and countryside certainly profited from each other. However, the needs of the towns and the investment strategies of their citizens influenced the kind of crops cultivated, leading to agricultural specialization on a regional level. For example, in the course of the 15th century, areas surrounding St Gallen increasingly specialized in providing either meat and milk products, wine, or crops. People concentrating on specific products needed to purchase other items necessary for their daily life, or to obtain them in exchange. Interdependencies accordingly developed between the regions, and the agrarian producers' monetary dependence upon investors (and lenders) in the towns increased.[6]

In the Alps and their foothills, the demographic upturn of the High Middle Ages had far-reaching consequences as well. Almost a third of modern Switzerland's total surface is unsuitable for intensive agrarian or pastoral exploitation. During the medieval warm phase between c. 800 and c. 1300, permanently inhabited settlements appeared at astonishingly high elevations.[7] Their inhabitants lived modestly in locally-oriented agro-pastoral subsistence economies, using available small plots of land to grow grain and vegetables. Goats and

5 Roger Sablonier, "Das Dorf im Übergang vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter. Studien zum Wandel ländlicher Gemeinschaftsformen im ostschweizerischen Raum," in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter, Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, (eds.) Lutz Fenske et al., (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984), 727–45.

6 Stefan Sonderegger, "The Financing Strategy of a Major Urban Hospital in the Late Middle Ages (St. Gallen 15th Century)," in *Assistenza e solidarità in Europa Secc. XIII–XVIII/Social assistance and solidarity in Europe from the 13th to the 18th Centuries, atti della "Quarantaquattresima Settimana di Studi," 22–26 aprile 2012*, (ed.) Francesco Ammannati (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2013), 209–26; Stefan Sonderegger, "Getreide, Fleisch und Geld gegen Wein. Stadt-Umland-Beziehungen im spätmittelalterlichen St. Gallen," in *Bauern als Händler. Ökonomische Diversifizierung und soziale Differenzierung bäuerlicher Agrarproduzenten (15.–19. Jahrhundert)*, (eds.) Frank Konersmann and Klaus-Joachim Lorenzen-Schmidt (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2011), 17–33.

7 Today, Switzerland's (and Europe's) highest permanently inhabited village is Juf (canton Graubünden), 2126 m above sea level.

sheep provided milk, meat, and wool, and the forests offered honey, berries, and resin. In higher areas, the occasional marmot, grouse, and hare added to the daily fare.

But this traditional economic basis was soon to change. The rapid appearance of urban centers in northern Italy and the *Mittelland* after 1100 triggered a major shift in this agro-pastoral economy: the demand for meat by the rising urban centers in Lombardy was met, in part, with cattle raised in the Swiss Alps and Prealps. By the late 13th century, cattle bred in the inner alpine valleys regularly found their way to the Milan market. Meat, milk, and fresh cheese were also increasingly traded on local and regional markets.[8] In a similar, albeit more specialized vein, horse breeding became a lucrative business for those able to invest money in it. In the second half of the 15th century, the horses of the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln—where Zwingli acted as parish priest from 1516 to 1519—were very much in demand among the great of Europe; it was again Milan that offered a key market for the *cavalli della Madonna*. In the course of the Late Middle Ages, new rural elites appeared that were able to profit from these new businesses. On a general level, intensified contact to northern Italian towns offered new opportunities, changed the social structure of these rural, pre- and inner-alpine communities, and advanced the money economy, thus connecting towns and inner-alpine areas even further.[9] By the turn of the 16th century, several regions in the Prealpine zone (the lands of central Switzerland, the Bernese *Oberland*, Gruyères, and Appenzell, among others) were fully specialized in cattle-raising. This then made them even more dependent than before on imports of salt, wine, cloth, and other daily goods.

In contrast to the eastern (Austrian) Alps, the Swiss mountains do not contain much ore, with the exception of some iron. Extraction of lead, silver, and gold remained strictly small-scale and local. Crystal deposits in the Gotthard area were exploited already in the Mesolithic age—instead of silex, which is found only on a few sites in the Jura and its foothills.[10] In the Middle Ages, large

8 Production of the famous, lab-fermented Swiss hard cheese dates only from the years after 1530.

9 Roger Sablonier, "Innerschweizer Gesellschaft im 14. Jahrhundert. Sozialstruktur und Wirtschaft," in *Innerschweiz und frühe Eidgenossenschaft*, (ed.) Historischer Verein der fünf Orte, 2 vols. (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1990), 1: 11–233; Roger Sablonier, *Gründungszeit ohne Eidgenossen. Politik und Gesellschaft in der Innerschweiz um 1300* (Baden: Hier & Jetzt, 2008); Leonardo Broillet, *A cavallo delle Alpi: ascese, declini e collaborazioni dei ceti dirigenti tra Ticino e Svizzera centrale (1400–1699)* (Milan: Angeli, 2014).

10 Margarita Primas, Philippe Della Casa, Biljana Schmid-Sikimić, *Archäologie zwischen Vierwaldstättersee und Gotthard. Siedlungen und Funde der ur- und frühgeschichtlichen*

pieces of clear and smoky crystal found their way to ecclesiastical and secular treasuries, especially in Italy. In the 16th century, local populations in a number of remote alpine valleys made a substantial part of their living from mineral extraction. Topographical names in alpine regions still give evidence of such activities. However, much more important to the shaping of Confederate policies was the dependence on salt imports. Before the middle of the 16th century, when salt was discovered in Bernese Panex (today canton of Vaud), there were no known sources of salt in the region. Switzerland became an independent producer of salt only after 1836, when large deposits at Schweizerhalle were discovered.

Although the high Alps did not provide a lot of direct revenue, they nevertheless offered economic opportunities to inhabitants of nearby valleys. During the medieval warm phase, numerous mountain passes already frequented by the Romans were further developed, and new routes were established. Toll stations, transport business, and hostelry sprouted up along mountainous routes. Inner alpine valleys and towns at the end of the pass routes, such as Lucerne, Chur, and Bellinzona, profited from pilgrims, merchants, kings, and troops traversing the Alps.[11]

Within the period, the alpine regions became increasingly interesting to Europe's secular and ecclesiastical rulers. Up to the 14th century, routes through the eastern Swiss Alps were of special interest to the German kings[12] concerned about maintaining connections between their Italian and their northern dominions. Around 1200, a new, direct path connecting north and south was added to the cols already frequented in Roman times. The previously insurmountable abyss of the Schöllenen gorge on the northern slope of the Gotthard was made traversable by high rising stone bridges and planks hanging on chains, providing a dramatic path for men, mules, and goods.[13] In western Switzerland, the alpine cols were dominated by the dukes of Savoy. In the course of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries, they built a veritable "col-state" centering around the important passes of Mont-Cenis and

Epochen (Bonn: Habelt, 1992); SPM vols. 1–4; Werner Meyer, et al., *Heidenhüttli: 25 Jahre archäologische Wüstungsforschung im schweizerischen Alpenraum* (Basel: Schweizerischer Burgenverein, 1998).

11 Jean-François Bergier, "Le cycle médiéval. Des sociétés féodales aux états territoriaux," in *Histoire et civilisation des Alpes*, (ed.) Paul Guichonnet (Lausanne: Payot, 1980), 163–264.

12 Since not all of the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire in the later Middle Ages were crowned, "king" is a more correct title than "emperor."

13 Rudolf Laur-Belart, *Studien zur Eröffnungsgeschichte des Gotthardpasses. Mit einer Untersuchung über Stiebende Brücke und Teufelsbrücke* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1924).

Great St. Bernard, filling their chests with tariffs collected in toll stations along the routes they controlled.[14] Commerce along trans-alpine routes is a prime example of how the region's history was shaped by Switzerland's location at the crossroads of Europe.[15]

1.2.3 *The Rise of the Towns*

The rapid appearance and rise of towns after 1100 heavily impacted traditional forms of agrarian or agro-pastoral exploitation and associated social organization. Only a small number of late Roman towns in the immediate area survived into the Middle Ages as political and economic centers, most importantly Geneva, Lausanne, Sion, Chur, Basel, and Constance as episcopal seats, and Zurich, a Roman *castrum*, early medieval religious center, and stronghold of the Ottonian kings in the 11th and early 12th centuries. Thereafter, the struggle of major families for predominance irrevocably changed the political and economic landscape of the region.

During the 12th and especially the 13th centuries, the founding, acquiring and upgrading of settlements became major strategies of nobles fighting for land, rights, and status in an increasingly competitive social environment. The most important families of "town founders" in eastern and central Switzerland were the Kyburgs,[16] the Zähringen,[17] and the Habsburgs,[18] whose destiny as a global power lay in the future but originated in the eponymous castle of 1120/30 in the Swiss Aargau. In the west, the counts of Savoy (dukes as of 1416) turned old settlements into towns by granting them privileges. Numerous minor nobles followed their liege-lords' example, thus creating a plethora of mostly miniature towns that sprinkle the landscape of what is today

14 Giovanni Tabacco, "La formazione della potenza sabauda come dominazione alpina," in *Die Alpen in der europäischen Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1965), 233–43; *La Maison de Savoie et le Pays de Vaud*, (eds.) Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Jean-François Poudret (Lausanne: Bibliotheque historique vaudoise, 1989); Bernard Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie et la noblesse vaudoise* (*XIIIe–XIVe s.*)*: supériorité féodale et autorité princière* (Lausanne: Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande, 2005).

15 André Holenstein, *Mitten in Europa. Verflechtung und Abgrenzung in der Schweizer Geschichte* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2014).

16 *Die Grafen von Kyburg: Eine Adelsgeschichte mit Brüchen*, (ed.) Peter Niederhäuser (Zurich: Chronos, 2015).

17 *Die Zähringer*, (eds.) Karl Schmid and Hans Schadek, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986–1990).

18 Bruno Meier, *Ein Königshaus aus der Schweiz: Die Habsburger, der Aargau und die Eidgenossen im Mittelalter* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2008); Peter Niederhäuser, (ed.), *Die Habsburger zwischen Aare und Bodensee* (Zurich: Chronos, 2010).

western Switzerland. Around 1200, the Swiss lands counted about 35 towns (i.e. fortified settlements provided with market and other privileges). By 1300, their number had increased to about 180.[19]

Most towns were defined through their market privileges, which directed agrarian production towards their inhabitants. The towns promised personal freedom to peasants who were for the most part bound to their lords. As job markets for people who did not own land, they were especially attractive to young women who worked as servants, but also to enterprising men who found employment in town-bound trades. By changing the legal status of the migrating population, however, the towns eventually created a fundamental tension between noble and communal rule.

In the long run, the success of towns derived in large measure from their interaction with the surrounding countryside. Fribourg and Bern, founded by the dukes of Zähringen in 1153 and 1191, respectively, were the most successful. Their economic impact on the surrounding countryside was swift and, in the long term, decisive. Up to the middle of the 15th century, Fribourg's craftsmen and women produced, for export, leather and cloth worked from the wool of thousands of sheep that flocked the countryside.[20] Over thirty mills along the two rivers converging at the east end of Fribourg gave evidence of the town's industrial standing. Bern's success, on the other hand, was due mainly to the town elders' clever acquisition of rights and possessions in the town's hinterland. This tamed regional nobles and laid the basis for what was to become the largest territory of any city-state north of the Alps.[21] Zurich's prosperity rested on its favorable situation at a major transport route, abundant lake and river fish, and a temperate lakeshore climate favorable for intensive viticulture.

Other towns such as Basel or Geneva specialized in trade that did not depend on a political hinterland. Basel was part of a European network of trading towns (a position advanced significantly by the Council of Basel from 1431

19 August Bickel, "Städtegründung," in HLS.

20 Kathrin Utz Tremp and Hubertus von Gemmingen, *Gens du cuir, gens du drap à Fribourg au Moyen Âge* (Fribourg: Société d'histoire du canton de Fribourg, 2013); Hans Conrad Peyer, "Wollgewerbe, Viehzucht, Solddienst und Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Stadt und Landschaft Freiburg i. Ü. vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert," in Hans Conrad Peyer, *Könige, Stadt und Kapital. Aufsätze zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters*, (eds.) Ludwig Schmugge, Roger Sablonier, and Konrad Wanner (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1982), 163–83 (first printed 1975).

21 Barbara Katharina Studer Immenhauser, *Verwaltung zwischen Innovation und Tradition. Die Stadt Bern und ihr Untertanengebiet 1250–1550* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006); Tom Scott, *The City-State in Europe, 1000–1600. Hinterland—Territory—Region* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), on the Swiss towns see especially 164–92.

to 1449), and Geneva was already in the 14th century one of Europe's leading banking centers. Across all major towns, the quality and wealth of highly organized local craftsmen and merchants bear witness to the impact of such extensive economic and social connections.

Late 15th century urban political communities of the Confederation were not particularly big. Around 1500, Basel and Geneva had approximately 10,000 inhabitants, Fribourg, Zurich and Bern between 5,000 and 6,000, Lucerne, Solothurn, and Schaffhausen somewhere between 3,000 and 3,500. Zug was the smallest of the Swiss "city-states," with a population of only about 400.

Demographic numbers for the Swiss rural communities (*Länder*) are even more difficult to come by. At the end of the 14th century, the valley of Glarus might have counted about 4,300 inhabitants. An estimate for Unterwalden (Ob- and Nidwalden) assumes about 7,000 dwelled there in the 13th century (i.e. before the Black Death of the mid-14th century). In those places there are no reliable numbers for the 15th century. Based on lists of households, the entire *Land* Appenzell had probably from 11,400 to 12,700 inhabitants in the first half of the 16th century. No estimates are available for Uri and the land of Schwyz.[22]

The generally favorable economic context of the High Middle Ages gave way, after 1300, to stagnation and eventual crisis. The cooling of the northern hemisphere known as the Little Ice Age clearly affected the region of modern Switzerland, where large parts of the population suffered from cold, wet summers and harsh winters.[23] Famines became more prevalent. They remained largely local but affected farmers, peasants, and lords dependent on their subjects paying dues. Marginal lands exploited during the preceding phase of general growth were largely abandoned.

The arrival of the Black Death in 1348 therefore afflicted an already stagnating Swiss population. The demographic impact was devastating. In the town of St-Maurice in the Valais, 40% of the population died. Nearby Vérassat lost about 30% of its inhabitants.[24] Fear, disappointment in the official representatives of Christian faith, and growing tensions within society

22 All estimates according to the articles in the HLS.

23 "Climat et environnement," in SPM 6: 83–92.

24 Pierre Dubuis, *Le jeu de la vie et de la mort. La population du Valais* (*XIVe–XVIe s.*) (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1994), 133. The author cautions against generalizing the gap between town and countryside reflected in this specific case. On the plague and its effects in the Valais, see also Pierre Dubuis, *Les vifs, les morts et le temps qui court. Familles valaisannes 1400–1550* (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1995), 214–226; on the population in western Switzerland, Hektor Ammann, "Die Bevölkerung der Westschweiz im ausgehenden Mittelalter," in *Festschrift Friedrich Emil Welti* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1937),

converged into general feelings of insecurity and found outlets in violence. In 1348 and 1349, Christian mobs in Bern, Zofingen, Solothurn, Zurich, Basel, and Strasbourg, condoned by local authorities, murdered most of their Jewish neighbors.[25] Various other feuds and raids also took their toll on the rural population.

Historians have argued that the addition of crisis phenomena in the 14th century do not amount to an overall "crisis of the Middle Ages."[26] On a local level, however, the cumulative effects of climatic, social, and economic challenges are apparent. They certainly had a negative impact on large parts of the population, but they also allowed individuals and groups to gain position and find new longer term opportunities. Trends across the diverse topography of the Swiss Confederation are not easily generalized; observations on social and economic movements are accordingly described with some qualification. Nevertheless, the dynamics of economic growth and specialization on the one hand, and the rise of the medieval community on the other hand, can be emphasized as predominant factors underlying the political emergence of the Swiss Confederation.

1.3 The Political World

The Confederation evolved out of centuries-old, interwoven clusters of communal alliances which by the middle of the 15th century were fusing into a hierarchically organized league. This took place against a backdrop of economic change, the creation of complex interdependencies between urban and rural areas, and the establishment of new elites. It involved the almost complete elimination of the high nobility as major players, and the more or less forced integration of the local nobility into the communal territorial states and alliances. The increasingly close-knit Confederation, with well-established processes of communication and decision-making, rested on three elements: communal organization, war, and stories of a common destiny.

390–447. As part of the highly developed Savoy state, the territories in today's western Switzerland yield much better demographic data than those in the east.

25 Hans-Jörg Gilomen, "Aufnahme und Vertreibung von Juden in Schweizer Städten im Spätmittelalter," in *Migration in die Städte: Ausschluss, Assimilierung, Integration, Multikulturalität*, (ed.) Hans-Jörg Gilomen (Zurich: Chronos, 2000), 93–118.

26 Werner Rösener, "Die Krise des Spätmittelalters in neuer Perspektive," in *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 99 (2012), 189–208.

1.3.1 *Medieval Communes*

Medieval communes, urban and rural, were first and foremost sworn associations of men.[27] Communal membership was bought or (later) obtained as a reward for service rendered to the community. For example, in the 15th and 16th centuries, Swiss towns often granted citizenship as a reward for military service. The logic is evident: these men had already proven their ability to act for the benefit of the community as a whole, and at the same time, the large numbers of new citizens helped fill posts depleted by the battles and demographic downturns that marked the century.[28]

Citizenship in medieval Swiss towns was limited to males older than fourteen years of age. Once or twice a year (depending on the town), its citizens promised each other by oath to "suffer together good and bad things" publicly and in the presence of the town's officials. Citizens thus shared both rights and duties. They had to be ready and able to carry arms in favor of their town and their fellow citizens, they had privileged access to the town's market and legal prerogatives, and they participated in setting the common rules within the assembly of all citizens or as elected members of the governing councils.

The indissoluble tie between military service and political participation was the biggest single obstacle to full female citizenship.[29] In practice, some women were able to acquire urban rights of citizenship—most were heads of households as widows or single daughters of citizens. Money payments for mercenaries and town fortifications substituted for military service. But women did not have an active political role in communal decision-making and did not participate in elections.

Urban rule was typically based on the interplay of two assemblies, a "smaller" and a "greater" council (*Kleiner Rat, Grosser Rat*).[30] The members of the smaller council were usually citizens of independent means from the town's upper class. The members of the greater councils were typically tradesmen

27 For the Swiss lands see especially Rainer C. Schwinges, (ed.), *Neubürger im späten Mittelalter: Migration und Austausch in der Städtelandschaft des Alten Reiches* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2002).

28 Regula Schmid, "'Lieb und Leid tragen.' Bürgerrecht und Zunftmitgliedschaft als Kriterien der Zugehörigkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Zürich," in *Status individuels, status corporatifs et statuts judiciaires dans les villes européennes (moyen age et temps modernes). Actes du colloque tenu à Gand les 12–14 octobre 1995*, (eds.) Marc Boone, Maarten Prak (Leuven: Garant, 1996), 49–71.

29 Barbara Studer, "Frauen im Bürgerrecht: Überlegungen zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung der Frau in spätmittelalterlichen Städten," in Schwinges, *Neubürger*, 169–200.

30 For the following see Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz* (Zurich: Schulthess Polygraphischer Verlag, 1978), 48–55.

and artisans. The larger of the two councils—up to 20% of the citizenry—was strictly dependent on the smaller, decision-making council which convoked it by the stroke of the town hall's bell and controlled the election processes for it. At certain times, however, the *Grosse Rat* played an important role, in decisions affecting war or alliances (both entailing obligations requiring assistance of the general citizenry) or in matters where the members of the smaller council were divided and tried to swing opinion by calling in followers among the citizens. In times of crisis, the greater councils were apt to "suddenly develop a transient, volcanic energy."[31]

According to the political writings of Bernese chancellor (*Stadtschreiber*) Thüring Fricker, in 1471, the councils' duties were "to manage, to dispense justice and administer the law, to govern war, land, and people."[32] This job description is a powerful example of the interweaving of executive, legislative, and judicative power that was common during the pre-French revolution period. The ruling councils regulated all matters pertaining to the population's welfare, as conceptualized in the notion *pro bono comune* and its German equivalent *für Nutz und Ehr der Stadt* (for the benefit and honor of the town). This also signified a right and duty of communal governments to provide for their co-citizens' spiritual welfare. The councils also oversaw the churches and the election of the parish priest, prerogatives which communities in the region between Alps and Lake Constance had acquired earlier than in most other regions of Europe.[33]

During the 14th and 15th centuries, the social composition of the councils often changed considerably. A famous example came in 1336, when the old council of Zurich, dominated by nobles close to the Habsburgs, was forcibly ousted and replaced by a guild-based government. In both towns and rural communities, the trend was towards local oligarchies. Fewer and fewer families distributed power among themselves, reserving for their members the

31 Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte*, 50: "… in Krisensituationen … entwickelte der Grosse Rat, der immer wieder beanspruchte, die höchste Gewalt innerhalb der Stadt zu sein, plötzlich eine stossartig vulkanische Initiative."

32 Gottlieb Studer, (ed.), *Thüring Frickards Twingherrenstreit* (Basel: Schneider, 1877), 41: "verwalten, gricht und recht sprechen;" "kriegsloeuf, landt und lüt regieren." See Regula Schmid, *Reden, rufen, Zeichen setzen. Politisches Handeln während des Berner Twingherrenstreits 1469–1471* (Zurich: Chronos, 1995), 111.

33 Paul Oberholzer, *Vom Eigenkirchenwesen zum Patronatsrecht. Leutkirchen des Klosters St. Gallen im Früh- und Hochmittelalter* (St. Gallen: Staatsarchiv, 2002); Dieter Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde und des Niederkirchenwesens* (Köln: Böhlau, 1966); Andreas Thür, "Patronatsrecht," in HLS.

most important functions and the most lucrative offices, both in town and in the territorial administration.

With a background in commercial activity and crafts, these politicians acquired new social roles through their communal leadership. In this sense, they were the legal successors of the traditional power holders, the nobility. Subsequently, the emerging communal ruling classes also came to display outwardly more traditional signs of rule by acquiring rights, lands, and fortified houses in the countryside, titles, armorial bearings, and sumptuous clothes distinguishing them from their simpler co-citizens.[34]

The trend towards social closure was interrupted twice after 1450: after the Burgundian wars when new wealth poured into the communes and military skills gained in popular support, and again in the early Reformation period, when university-educated preachers found positions in newly created offices. In Zurich, especially, Protestant preachers, printers, and other intellectuals formed a new kind of spiritual elite that stood on an equal footing with the social and political elite of the period.

Notwithstanding continuous high social mobility throughout the Middle Ages, by the late 15th century, political power in most Swiss towns was generally concentrated in the hands of small groups of men who could either afford to spend most of their time away from their main sources of income or for whom public service provided the main income source. The social stratification of the town was thus reflected in its power structure, which in turn strengthened already existing social inequalities.

In the city-states, oligarchies ruled over both the town and its subject territories. Rural communities remained meanwhile under the nominal authority of assemblies of males over the age of fourteen, within clearly defined territory (*Land*, since the end of the 13th century). Nevertheless, although the social gap between rulers and ruled was less evident in these valley cantons, their political structures displayed obvious similarities to those in the towns, particularly in that decisions were increasingly made by members of a few dominant families.

Communal governments in the Late Middle Ages were supported by a growing number of scribes and other professionals with access to formal education and legal knowledge (especially familiarity with customary law). At the end of the 15th century, only a handful of scribes and members of the ruling classes in

34 Hans Conrad Peyer, "Die Anfänge der schweizerischen Aristokratien," in idem, *Könige, Stadt und Kapital. Aufsätze zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters*, (eds.) Ludwig Schmugge, Roger Sablonier and Konrad Wanner (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1982), 195–218 (first published 1976).

Confederate towns and valleys were university-trained lawyers. Nonetheless, the rise of writing as an indispensable means of legal action was significant. The rapid development of the chancellery as a center of administrative power is apparent in the replacement, by the mid-15th century, of the general town book that most mid-14th century towns had relied on for nearly all official record-keeping (privileges, sale and purchase of land, names of new citizens, and chronicling of important events) by a range of books each dedicated to a specific topic. The advent of the printing press in the late 15th century thus furthered a quickening of reproduction and distribution of information that had been under way already for half a century, at least in the towns. The rural communities' access to well-versed scribes lagged behind well into the 16th century. This gave rise to considerable complaint during the Reformation period.

At the end of the 15th century, urban and rural communities had become dominant powers in Switzerland. Communities were a bedrock of the Swiss Confederation, and their defining feature as sworn associations of legally (though not socially) equal men, governing their own destiny through elected councils, explains many peculiarities of Swiss Reformation history.

1.3.2 *Alliances and the Structure of the Confederation*

The Swiss Confederation to which Bullinger referred in 1532 was a league of thirteen urban and rural communities, held together by political treaties pertaining to matters of war, law, and economy.[35] These communities acknowledged only the German king as their overlord, having gradually shed legal dependencies to other lords. However, even ties to the king and the Empire loosened considerably in the course of the 15th century. By the 1490s, most members of the Confederation did not pay imperial taxes, nor did they fulfill military duties or attend the recently installed imperial Diet. Nonetheless, even if the relationship to them became purely nominal, the German king and Empire remained a symbolic yet important confederal rallying point well into the 17th century.[36] By the early 16th century, these city-states and rural communities were the dominant powers in the entire region even if a number of noble families, monasteries (the Benedictine abbeys of Einsiedeln, St Gallen,

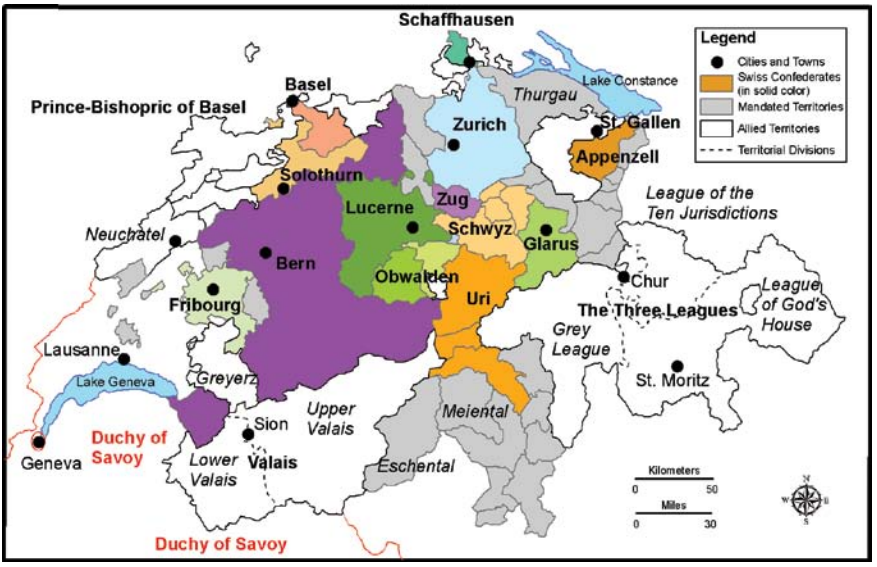
35 The best overview on Swiss political institutions in the Old Regime is still Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz* (Zurich: Schulthess Polygraphischer Verlag, 1978).

36 Karl Mommsen, *Eidgenossen, Kaiser und Reich, Studien zur Stellung der Eidgenossenschaft innerhalb des heiligen römischen Reiches* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1958); Bernhard Stettler, "Reichsreform und werdende Eidgenossenschaft," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 44 (1994), 203–29.

and Engelberg), and bishops (of Basel and Lausanne, plus Geneva, Sion, and Chur, further away) were still present as lords in their own right.

All the major Swiss towns ruled over some amount of surrounding territory. In addition, all or some of the thirteen states jointly and equally ruled over various subject territories. The thirteen members of the Confederation were also allied, by individual or collective treaty, to other political partners. Some of them were distinguished as *Zugewandte* (associates), a term reserved for a handful of long-standing allies like the town of St. Gallen or the Valais. The league of thirteen cantons (*Orte*, literally "places," in the language of the time) with their associates was itself woven together by treaties. It was perpetuated by well developed and institutionalized meetings, financial, legal and military collaboration, common rituals, and symbolic representations.

As of 1513, the thirteen states of the Confederation were Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus, Zug, Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell.[37] The core of this association consisted of



MAP 1.2 *Political map of the Swiss Confederation in 1515*

37 This ordering of the member states was established by the second half of the 15th century. An explanation of the development of this hierarchical order in Regula Schmid, "Liens forts: symboles d'alliance dans l'espace suisse (XIIIe–XVIe siècles)," in *Ligues urbaines et espace à la fin du moyen âge/Städtebünde und Raum im Spätmittelalter*, (eds.) Laurence Buchholzer and Olivier Richard (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2012), 203–25.

the three towns of Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne, together with Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden,[38] Glarus, and Zug. As a group, these eight "old Confederates" expanded their ranks in 1481 to include the towns of Fribourg and Solothurn. In 1501, those ten members were joined by the towns of Basel and Schaffhausen with their subjects. In 1513, the rural communes of the *Land* of Appenzell followed as the thirteenth *Ort* of the Swiss Confederation.

The thirteen *Orte* were by no means on an equal footing with each other. The eight "old" members of the Confederation were mainly defined by the fact that they had participated in the occupation and eventual takeover of dominions of the house of Habsburg in the Aargau in 1415 and Thurgau in 1460.[39] While having to organize the administration of the newly acquired mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften* or condominiums) and more especially the distribution of the income that the new territories generated, the *Orte* also developed commonly acknowledged ways of dealing with each other.

Representatives of individual communities had been meeting occasionally, in order to manage convergent interests, since the earliest known alliances of the 13th century. However, after Confederate troops seized the Habsburg Aargau in 1415, the allies met more often in order to ascertain their possessions and distribute the income of the conquered territory.[40] In decades to follow, the occasional *Tag setzen*, "setting of a day" [for an assembly] became more frequent and more generally known as *Tagsatzung* (Diet). As Confederate relationships intensified, internal procedures developed. Although the *Tagsatzung* lost its character of an ad hoc assembly, it remained for a long time an institution rooted in tradition rather than in bureaucratic procedures. Instead of gathering regularly, meetings were scheduled from one occasion to the next. Around 1500, the spa town of Baden established a meeting hall decorated with a representative series of paradigmatic stained glass windows displaying the coats-of-arms of the members of the Confederation. However, Lucerne, Zurich, and

38 Unterwalden consisted in fact of two communities situated "above" (*Ob-*) and "below" (*Nid-*) a sloping forest, hence Ob- and Nidwalden. Common politics were dominated by Obwalden. See Robert Durrer, "Die Einheit Unterwaldens. Studien über die Anfänge der urschweizerischen Demokratien," *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte* 35 (1910), 1–356.

39 Uri did not take part in the conquest of Aargau, but was integrated into the governing body in 1443. Bern did not participate in the Thurgau occupation and only started to share lordship in 1712.

40 Andreas Würgler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen: Politik, Kommunikation und Symbolik einer repräsentativen Institution im europäischen Kontext (1470–1798)* (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica, 2014); Michael Jucker, *Gesandte, Schreiber, Akten: Politische Kommunikation auf eidgenössischen Tagsatzungen im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich: Chronos, 2004).

FIGURE 1.1 *Delegates from Zurich are welcomed by their new fellow confederates from Basel at a* Fastnacht *in 1507. The Zurich delegates are disguised as the "12* Orte *der Eidgenossenschaft."* Continuation of the Chronicle of Gerold Edlibach*, 1507.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

later Frauenfeld were regularly used as meeting places. Bilateral meetings between representatives of individual cantons continued to take place.

As a rule, each community sent two politically savvy men to the Diet. Usually they were experienced communal council members, but chancellery heads, finance ministers and other specialists were also at times representatives. Each full member of the Confederation was allowed to call its allies to a meeting.

Participants at the Diet were sent from their communes with written instructions, but their frame of independent action was in practice quite large—as it had to be, given 15th-century capabilities for communication. It was up to the judgment of these highly experienced politicians to decide whether and how to consult their local governments. "To bring home" (*heimbringen*)

a matter instead of deciding on it on the spot could be a political necessity, especially if it concerned war or alliances with foreign powers, but it was of course also part of a typical political waiting game. Opinion-making was arduous and protracted as each envoy to the Diet presented his arguments in the established hierarchical order used by the Confederates.

Resolutions, assignments, and notes of particular interest were copied down, conveyed back to home governments, and from there generally found their way into communal archives. These *Abschiede* are the most important source on the inner workings of the Confederation. Although the Diet lacked most defining features of a permanent governing body (it had, among other things, no seal and no exchequer), it nevertheless acted both as indispensable locus for rallying Confederate interests and as an equalizer of varying political cultures. It was also the only venue where foreign ambassadors could reliably find representatives of the communal governments assembled together. As Swiss mercenaries became increasingly desirable for Europe's princes after the Burgundian Wars, dealing with the Confederates became a special branch of European diplomacy.

The challenge of having to negotiate with not one, but more than a dozen political entities, which were each subjected to opaque inner power games and were involved in even more opaque embroilments of mutual support and competition, is expressed by the name "Swiss" itself. It originated in the name of the land of Schwyz, but by the 14th century was being employed in a general way by people looking at the region from the outside. A typical proud citizen of Bern or Zurich would, however, indignantly refuse to be lumped together with pre-alpine peasants. The Confederates as a group started to accept designation as Swiss only in the early years of the 16th century in connection with the humanists' construction of a common fatherland, defined by one destiny, language, and common borders.[41] Although European powers knew how to address the members of the Confederation officially—the pope in 1513, for example, would write to "the beloved sons, the burgomasters, mayors, senators, consuls, citizens, countrymen and communes of Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Basel, Fribourg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, of the lands of the great upper German league"—, it was

41 Wilhelm Oechsli, "Die Benennungen der alten Eidgenossenschaft und ihrer Glieder," *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* 41 (1916), 51–230; 42 (1917), 87–258; Thomas Maissen, "Ein 'helvetisch Alpenvolck': Die Formulierung eines gesamteidgenössischen Selbstverständnisses in der Schweizer Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Historiographie in Polen und in der Schweiz*, (eds.) Krysztof Baczowksi and Christian Simon (Krakow: Nakladern Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego, 1994), 69–86; Georg Kreis, "Schweiz," in HLS.

obviously simpler to just talk about "the Swiss," especially when complaining about their backwardness, their savagery, their greed, and their general lack of finesse.

From the 12th century onwards, urban and rural communities concluded hundreds of alliances with communal, noble, or ecclesiastical partners. Very often, these agreements were struck in order to settle or regulate matters of immediate contention. Typically, they stipulated procedures in case of future disagreement, by assigning places, times, and means of arbitrage. They were either installed for fixed time periods or indefinitely but with requirements for periodic renewal by common mutual oath. Moreover, such "eternal" alliances could be broken or dissolved in a common decision; the word "eternal" therefore has no transcendental meaning. This changed only in the Reformation period where confederate political language took on additional meanings.[42]

The Confederal treaties were also designed to avoid collision with other legal and political obligations of the various participants. This was done by enumerating explicitly all parties and situations to which the stipulations would not apply. For example, terms of alliance between the eight core Confederates would usually exclude the Empire, their own overlord, and the prerogatives of their own communities. Increasingly, these *Vorbehalte* (from *vorbehalten*, to reserve) referred to earlier alliances deemed to be of specific importance, thus forming over time a large but commonly acknowledged set of authoritative treaties eventually connecting all confederal members.[43]

Among the countless pacts, only a few grouped together most or all of the future thirteen cantons. One such example, often quoted during conflicts in the years prior to the Reformation, is the so-called *Pfaffenbrief* ("act of the priests") of 1370. It resulted from a feud involving the provost of Zurich's Grossmünster, who was simultaneously in the service of the Habsburgs, and the mayor of Lucerne. When Zurich wanted to prosecute its citizen for various infringements, Lucerne's mayor asked the Habsburgs for help (Lucerne at this time was still under Habsburg control). Because Zurich and Lucerne were connected by an alliance of 1351, the resulting conflict between them was solved by a convention sealed by Zurich, Lucerne, Zug, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. It required, among other things, that Austrian vassals had to pay homage to the Confederates, and that

42 Regula Schmid, "'Liebe Brüder.' Empfangsrituale und politische Sprache in der spätmittelalterlichen Eidgenossenschaft," in *Adventus. Studien zum herrscherlichen Einzug in die Stadt*, (eds.) Peter Johanek and Angelika Lampen (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 85–111.

43 Regula Schmid, "'Vorbehalt' und 'Hilfskreis.' Grenzsetzungen in kommunalen Bündnissen des Spätmittelalters," in *Grenzen der Netzwerke 1200–1600*, (eds.) Kerstin Hitzbleck and Klara Hübner (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2014), 175–95.

this obligation would take precedence over all other obligations. Only ecclesiastics who were not citizens of the Confederate communities were allowed to access a foreign (i.e. ecclesiastical) court. The *Pfaffenbrief* reflected communal authorities' desires for lordship not only over their territories but also over territories connected through alliances. This document of 1370 is also significant for being the first treaty to contain the expression "our Confederation" (*unser Eydgnoschaft*).[44]

Another broad Confederal agreement was the *Sempacherbrief* of 1393, concluded after the Sempach wars and involving Zurich, Lucerne, Bern, Solothurn, Zug, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Glarus. The deal was triggered by a political revolt in Zurich against the Habsburg-friendly government there. The *Sempacherbrief* included general stipulations for containing violence within Confederal territories. Its main intention, however, was to discipline the behavior of Confederate warriors, against each other and against non-combatants.[45]

In 1481, the Covenant of Stans (*Stanser Verkommnis*), sealed by Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus and Zug, paved the road to accepting Fribourg and Solothurn as new members of the Confederation (see below). It is the most significant document of the Confederation before the Reformation and continued to play an important role as a common set of rules until the end of the 18th century.

1.3.3 *Political Neighbors and Emerging Borders*

The Swiss Confederation was located within a larger region marked by a great number of local or regional communal entities. Its towns were part of a European urban belt stretching from highly urbanized northern Italy to densely populated Flanders. At first blush, the presence of politically active rural communities alongside of these urban communities looks striking within feudal Europe. However, they were part of a geographically wider phenomenon. Long-lasting politically autonomous rural communities abutted the Swiss Confederation in the southwest (Valais), the southeast (Graubünden/the Three Leagues, Tyrol), in the east (the *Bregenzerwald*), and in the south, where the 12th-century association of the men of Blenio valley, for example, transitioned between urbanized Lombardy and the rural associations of the inner Alps. On the western and northern frontier of the Confederation, institutionalized rural communalism

44 Carl Pfaff, "Pfaffenbrief" in HLS; Ferdinand Elsener, "Der eidgenössische Pfaffenbrief von 1370," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung* 75 (1978), 104–80.

45 Bernhard Stettler, "Der Sempacher Brief von 1393. Ein verkanntes Dokument aus der älteren Schweizergeschichte," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 35 (1985), 1–20.

was stifled. In the southwest, the strong presence of the house of Savoy frustrated attempts at communal autonomy in the later Middle Ages. In the north, territorial competition between large imperial towns, the Habsburgs, the bishops of Basel and Constance, and a plethora of smaller noble houses, competed with far-reaching communalization, putting an end to further developments with the suppression of the Peasants' War in 1525.

In the southeast, the Confederation of thirteen cantons adjoined another distinctly separate confederation of communal associations, the *Drei Bünde* ("Three Leagues," i.e. the Grey League, Ten Jurisdictions, and the House of God). It approximately corresponded to what later become the canton of Graubünden/Grisons.[46] In the late 1490s, the relationship of the *Drei Bünde* and the Confederation was formalized by several alliances, and in 1499, they fought as partners against Maximilian of Austria and the Swabian League.

To the southwest of the 15th-century Confederation, the situation was similarly complicated. The dominant powers in the Valais were the bishop of Sion and seven large rural communities (*Zenden*), which coordinated their interests in regular assemblies of elected representatives.[47] Disputes over numerous strategic passes connecting the *Mittelland*, inner alpine regions and northern Italy generated recurring contention between these different political stakeholders and with neighboring communities. Although the bishop and the *Zenden* had been regarded as associates of the Confederation since at least 1416, they continued to sign alliance treaties with individual members of the Confederation. This was especially the case after the Reformation, when the region remained firmly Catholic.

In the west, early 16th-century Bern and Fribourg abutted on territories still mostly dominated by the counts of Savoy, the bishop of Lausanne, and their vassals. The two confederate towns' influence reached far into these committal, episcopal, and noble dominions, and in 1536 they took direct possession in a swift and efficient act of conquest.[48]

Geneva, today Switzerland's westernmost town, remained throughout the Middle Ages largely outside of the gradually more closed-knit Confederation. A first alliance between Fribourg, Bern, and the bishop of Geneva dates from 1477; closer relations came only later in the wake of the Reformation.

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46 *Bündner Geschichte,* vol. 1: *Frühzeit bis Mittelalter*, and the article "Graubünden" in HLS; see Chapter 8 below.

47 See Gregor Zenhäusern, "Wallis: 2.2: Kommunale Bewegung und Territorialbildung im Spätmittelalter," in HLS.

48 Charles Gilliard, *La conquête du Pays de Vaud par les Bernois* (Lausanne: Éditions La Concorde, 1935); see Chapters 3 and 9.

A combourgeoisie treaty between these three in 1526 shows a growing rapprochement of Geneva to the Confederation as well as the bishop's by then almost complete ceding of power to the town. The relative isolation of Zurich and Bern following their defeat by Catholic cantons in 1531 also prompted them to seek alliances outside of their traditional circle.

In the north and along the Rhine, the political landscape was also dominated by imperial towns sharing spheres of interest with the bishops of Basel and Strasbourg, numerous nobles, and the counts of Habsburg. The small town of Mulhouse/Mülhausen (today in France) had long-standing formal and informal relations with Confederate towns. A first defensive alliance was concluded in 1466 with Bern and Solothurn, an alliance with Basel followed by 1505/06, and in January 1515, Mulhouse entered an alliance with all the communities of the Confederation. It remained an associated canton until 1798.

A similar case is Rottweil (today in Germany). An imperial town like Mulhouse, Rottweil held economic, legal, and personal ties to areas farther south during the later Middle Ages, and it had an imperial court of appeal. In 1346, it had concluded an alliance with Schaffhausen, and in 1463 with the eight "old *Orte*." In 1477, after the Burgundian wars, during which Rottweil had fought alongside the Confederates, their treaty was renewed and prolonged until 1519, when an "eternal" (i.e. open-ended) alliance further cemented these links. The close relationship was also expressed on a personal level: Valerius Anshelm, Bernese town historian and early Protestant adherent, and Berchtold Haller, Zwingli's counterpart as *Leutpriester* in Bern, were both from Rottweil. The relationship between the Confederates and this northern ally came under stress during the confessional upheaval (as did the Confederation itself internally). The alliance nevertheless held until 1697 when Rottweil lost its allied status with the Confederation, and close relations continued even after that.

By the end of the Middle Ages, the members of the Confederation and their allies controlled an area bounded by Lake Constance in the northeast and the northeastern shore of Lake Geneva in the southwest. In the north, the sphere of Confederate influence encompassed the Jura and touched southern Alsace, where imperial cities were promising allies and the bishop of Basel and the counts of Habsburg were competitors to be eyed warily.

In the west and southwest, the Swiss territories bordered on the alpine state of the dukes of Savoy, who were, however, severely pressured by the rising communal and territorial states. Savoy lost significant territory to Bern and its allies in the Burgundian wars of 1476. In 1536, Duke Charles II tried to seize Geneva (by then firmly allied to Bern). He not only lost further stakes in the ensuing counter-invasion, but the French king took possession of Savoy and Piedmont,

thus effectively ending the medieval state of Savoy. France was thereafter the direct neighbor of the Confederation along its western frontier.[49]

In the east, power had to be negotiated with the dukes of Habsburg in their capacity as counts of Tyrol. Here, an accepted border was established following the Swabian War of 1499 (see below); however, important economic and sometimes political links persisted between the valleys of Tyrol and the Three Leagues.

In the south, Confederate interests extended across the alpine passes towards the plain of the Po River in northern Italy. Here, the valley communities of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden and to a certain extent the town of Lucerne had been competing with the dukes of Milan for influence since the 14th century. After the turn of the 16th century, they secured possession of several former Milanese strongholds with the help of the other allies. Between 1512 and 1515, the Confederates in their entirety even acted as protectors of the Lombard capital Milan (then a major city in Europe, with about 100,000 inhabitants).[50] The situation of heavily contested and shifting ownership was settled only after the battle of Marignano in September 1515, when the Confederates suffered a devastating defeat against troops of the young French king, Francis I. The ensuing peace treaty of November 1516 between France and the Swiss Confederation defined more or less permanently the southern borders of the Confederate territories and their closest allies (since 1497), the Three Leagues. The latter conquered the Valtellina, Chiavenna, and Bormio valleys in 1512, but after 1516 only the Valtellina remained under their control.[51]

1.3.4 *War as Driving Force*

Warfare was widespread in 14th- and 15th-century Swiss history, and it was the most important exogenous factor of societal and institutional change. It affected the population, altered relations between authorities and subjects, challenged the established order and catalyzed political communication within the Confederation.

Of the numerous conflicts involving towns and rural communities seeking emancipation from their overlords, the battle of Sempach on 9 July 1386 had

49 See Chapter 9 below.

50 Herbert Knittler, *Die europäische Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit, Institutionen, Strukturen, Entwicklungen* (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 2000), 28–9, (Table 5 and Map 1); Jan De Vries, *European Urbanization, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984).

51 Until the Congress of Vienna, which in 1814/15 dispossessed Graubünden of this rich land in the south. See also Chapter 8 below.

probably the most significant effects on Swiss political and ideological history.[52] The confrontation arose out of efforts of Habsburg Duke Leopold III to forcefully consolidate his western territories (the *Vorlande*), with the assistance of local nobility there, against the opposition of Bern, Lucerne, Basel, and Solothurn, who formed a series of leagues against him.

In late 1385, Austrian vassals in the Swiss lands suffered continuing assaults by communal warriors. Attempts at a general peace treaty were fruitless, and at the end of June, 1386, Leopold's knights from Swabia, Alsace, Aargau, Thurgau, and Tyrol, supported by German, Italian, and French mercenaries and by urban foot soldiers, met troops from Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden at Sempach (near Lucerne). The outcome was decisive. Against the odds, the communal foot soldiers inflicted devastating losses on the host of knights, and Leopold was killed "on his own [land], by his own [people], for his own [rights]." The battle of Sempach strengthened the reputation of the Swiss as warriors fighting under God's auspices, or in later Habsburg polemics as brutish peasants who had reversed God's given order. The impacts on local power relations were substantial, and noble rule in the region was weakened beyond recovery.

Sempach is an outstanding example of conflicts breaking out during the "territorialization movement" by which noble, ecclesiastical, urban, and rural rulers in the region sought to expand and consolidate their spheres of influence. The rulers strove to construct continuous, uniformly administered territories out of confusingly tangled bundles of rights and properties using aggression, alliances, and appropriation of people belonging to other lords. This pitted them against each other and acerbated relations between nobles and towns and rural communities that were competing by extending citizenship to people living outside their jurisdictions.

The Old Zurich War from 1436 to 1450 was the most significant of these territorial conflicts. It involved a series of bloody feuds and battles waged by the town of Zurich and its Habsburg allies against the rural community of Schwyz and its communal allies (Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Zug, Glarus as "junior partner," and Bern as well). In dispute was the appropriation of strategically and economically important regions left up for grabs after the death of the last count of Toggenburg in 1436. Zurich was defeated and forced to sever its ties with the Habsburgs. It was then firmly included within a general renewal of a

52 Guy P. Marchal, *Sempach 1386. Von den Anfängen des Territorialstaates Luzern* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1986); Guy P. Marchal, "Leopold und Winkelried—die Helden von Sempach, oder: wie ein Geschichtsbild entstand," in *Arnold von Winkelried: Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Stans: Historischer Verein Nidwalden, 1986), 71–111.

series of earlier Swiss alliances, and this integration of Zurich amounted to a decisive step towards the consolidation of the Confederation.[53]

Swiss towns and rural communities also formed partnerships of convenience when competing territorially with the Habsburgs. The seizing of the Habsburg Aargau in 1415, and to a certain extent also of the Thurgau in 1460, were common actions born less out of lofty goals than out of a desire to grab as much territory as possible before others did. In both cases, the occupation was sanctioned by higher powers. In conquering Aargau, the Confederates profited from a conflict between the German King (later Emperor) Sigismund (1368–1437) and the Austrian duke Friedrich IV (1382–1439). When Friedrich helped Antipope John XXIII escape the Council of Constance, Sigismund asked his subjects to seize Friedrich's territories. The Confederates, especially Bern, complied eagerly, and refused to hand back their prey after the two noble rivals had made peace.[54]

Similarly, the acquisition of the Thurgau was prompted by Pope Pius II, who encouraged the Confederates to strike against his rival, Duke Sigismund of Austria (1427–1496). In 1460, Confederates seized all Habsburg rights and possessions in the area. A majority of prerogatives remained in the hands of local nobles (often urban newcomers from Zurich and Constance), monasteries, and of the bishop and town of Constance, but in 1499 the Confederates acquired high justice as the most important of the legal prerogatives.[55] In both Aargau and Thurgau, royal and papal sanction mainly offered good excuses for acting on longer standing territorial ambitions, and the Confederates only gradually consolidated rights and prerogatives within the lands they conquered.

The geographic scope of warfare widened in the late 15th and early 16th centuries when the Confederation as a whole faced off against ambitious monarchs of the period: Charles the Bold of Burgundy, Maximilian I of Habsburg,

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53 Bernhard Stettler, *Die Eidgenossenschaft im 15. Jahrhundert. Die Suche nach einem gemeinsamen Nenner* (Zurich: Widmer-Dean, 2004); Peter Niederhäuser and Christian Sieber, (eds.), *Ein "Bruderkrieg" macht Geschichte. Neue Zugänge zum Alten Zürichkrieg* (Zurich: Chronos, 2006).

54 Peter Brun, *Schrift und politisches Handeln: Eine "zugeschriebene" Geschichte des Aargaus 1415–1425* (Zurich: Chronos, 2006). See now the articles by Peter Niederhäuser, Dominik Sauerländer, and Bruno Meier in *Argovia* 127 (2015).

55 Peter Niederhäuser, "Der Thurgau im ausgehenen Mittelalter: (k)eine historische Landschaft," *Visuelle Kultur und politischer Wandel—Der südliche Bodenseeraum zwischen Habsburg, Reich und Eidgenossenschaft* (Konstanz: Labhard Medien GmbH/Historisches Museum Thurgau, 2015), 8–21; Rolf Köhn, "Krieg im ausgehenden Mittelalter: Die Eroberung der habsburgischen Nordostschweiz durch die Eidgenossen im Herbst 1460," *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees* 111 (1993), 67–104.

and eventually the French kings Louis XII and Francis I. With its own internal rivalries subdued, at least for the time being, the Swiss Confederation successfully exploited growing and conflicting ambitions between neighboring powers outside of it.

In 1476, territories appropriated by Bern and Fribourg were attacked by Charles the Bold and a military force of some 20,000 men. The hostilities had been several years in the making. The expansion-minded duke of Burgundy had aggressively consolidated the domains inherited from his father, and he suppressed revolt amongst his urban subjects with a determination making him known as the "enemy of the towns." After less than a decade of his reign, however, he became seriously overstretched, having garnered the enmity not only of the Confederates, who sympathized with the rebellious towns, but with a broader array of opponents including the German Emperor Friedrich III and Duke René of Lorraine. The more immediate coalition formed against him consisted of still recalcitrant upper Rhine towns, the bishop of Basel, Count Sigismund of Austria, and the Confederation. Further basis for future action came from a 1474 treaty between the Confederates and Sigismund by which the latter renounced claims to the Habsburg's former territories, and from the sly maneuvering of Louis XI, king of France, who took the opportunity to influence Bernese politics with payments to important members of the government.[56]

Bern and Fribourg were the Confederate members geographically closest to Burgundy, and at the most risk of being brought unwillingly under Burgundian influence. But Bern also profited from the weakness of neighboring Savoy. In a matter of a few weeks in the spring of 1475, troops of Bern and its allies conquered dozens of fortified places in the nearby Pays de Vaud belonging to allies and vassals of Burgundy and Savoy. Charles the Bold responded by closing in on Bern and Fribourg, who in turn called in their allies. In three decisive battles—at Grandson on 2 March 1476, at Morat, on 22 June 1476, and near Lothringian Nancy on 5 January 1477, Charles the Bold and his army were irreparably defeated by the combined Confederate armies. At Nancy, Charles (to contemporary reputation and historical judgment the "most powerful prince of Christendom") was killed. His duchy, this "great and sumptuous edifice," came up for grabs.[57] Its eastern dominions were first occupied by the Swiss

56 Susan Marti, Till-Holger Borchert, and Gabriele Keck (eds.), *Charles the Bold (1433–1477), Splendour of Burgundy* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2009); Claudius Sieber-Lehmann, *Spätmittelalterlicher Nationalismus: Die Burgunderkriege am Oberrhein und in der Eidgenossenschaft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

57 The quotes from French-Burgundian historian Philippe de Commynes: Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, 2 vols., (ed.) Joël Blanchard (Geneva: Droz, 2007).

and later by France. The larger western section was occupied by Maximilian of Habsburg (German king as of 1486 and emperor in 1508). In the wake of Charles' spectacularly rapid demise, Confederal infantry became the military asset most sought-after by Europe's territorial princes.

This sudden rush of opportunities had immediate, lasting, and dramatic consequences for the Confederation. The unprecedented booty captured from Charles the Bold motivated future generations of Swiss mercenaries. Communal authorities were torn between getting their share in money and goods and wanting to maintain peace among their subjects. Revolts broke out when young men from the victorious Confederate armies challenged the authority of urban councils.[58]

The most vexing political problem, however, concerned the respective weight of each *Ort* within the Confederation. Disputes developed over how to distribute present and future booty (rural cantons feared being short-changed by towns) and whether Fribourg and Solothurn—two more city-states—should be added as new members. After a long and arduous Diet of several months in Stans, a new common treaty was eventually hammered out.[59] This *Stanser Verkommnis* (Covenant of Stans) of December 1481 forbade violent actions between Confederates, strengthened mutual military and legal protection, regulated the persecution of criminals throughout all Confederate lands, prohibited assemblies without permission by the authorities, proscribed instigation of subjects in other *Orte*, obliged the *Orte* to arbitrate between insurgent subjects and their authorities, regulated distribution of booty, and confirmed the prior *Sempacherbrief* and *Pfaffenbrief*. Fribourg and Solothurn then joined the Confederation by separate agreement.

The *Stanser Verkommnis* was followed by nearly two decades of relative calm within the Confederation and a growing outflow of its manpower into the armies of Europe's rulers. The outcome of two significant further conflicts then helped to firm up the borders of the Confederation and to determine the political world of the early Reformation.

In 1499, tensions flared up again between the Confederation and the Habsburgs, when border feuds escalated into war between the Three Leagues and Habsburgian Tyrol.[60] The Three Leagues called on their allies in the Confederation for support, while Maximilian, in his capacity as duke of Tyrol,

58 On the most dangerous—to the authorities—revolt of the period, see Ernst Walder, "Das torechte Leben von 1477 in der bernischen Politik 1477 bis 1481," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 45 (1983), 73–134.

59 See the important study of Ernst Walder, *Das Stanser Verkommnis: Ein Kapitel eidgenössischer Geschichte* (Stans: Historischer Verein Nidwalden, 1994).

60 *Vom "Freiheitskrieg" zum Geschichtsmythos. 500 Jahre Schweizer- oder Schwabenkrieg*, (eds.) Peter Niederhäuser and Werner Fischer (Zurich: Chronos, 2000); André Gutmann,

not only tapped military resources available to him as duke of Austria and German king (since 1486) but also secured backing from the Swabian League, a powerful and well organized alliance of towns and nobles north of Lake Constance. The Confederates saw an opportunity to settle their northern border, while Maximilian hoped to regain territories lost to the Confederates in previous wars. Local rivalries and ideological differences between Swiss and Swabians also stoked the conflict. Back and forth trading of vulgar insults became notorious.[61] Such bitter exchanges were prompted in large part by nationalistic propaganda from "patriotic" humanists and by competition between Swiss and German mercenaries.

The Swabian War was pursued in a series of big and very bloody battles. Notwithstanding setbacks and hardships, the Confederates were soundly victorious by June 1499. The ensuing peace settled, permanently, the northern border of the Confederation, and demarcated its spheres of interest as distinct from those of the Habsburgs. Contrary to common misinterpretation, the peace of Basel in 1499 did not "separate the Confederation from the Empire." It did, however, solidly ratify the autonomous position within the Empire that the Confederation had already long enjoyed *de facto*.

Following the Swabian War, Confederate military focus shifted southwards. There, again, separate interests interacted and clashed, on both a local and European level.

When the French King Charles VIII conquered the republic of Florence in 1494 on his way towards Naples, his host of 25,000 troops included 8,000 Swiss mercenaries. In subsequent years, French, papal, Milanese, Austrian, and Spanish troops and diverse Italian towns were involved in almost continuous warfare.[62] All parties enrolled Swiss mercenaries. The Confederation became a battleground of agents from all over Europe recruiting soldiers with the help of bribery, alliances, and promises of military contracts and battle spoils.[63]

Within the Confederation and its *Orte*, parties formed and dissolved almost randomly. A general trend is hard to discern except for the consistent interest of

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Die Schwabenkriegschronik des Kaspar Frey und ihre Stellung in der eidgenössischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010).

61 Claudius Sieber-Lehmann and Thomas Wilhelmi, (eds.), *In Helvetios—Wider die Kuhschweizer: Fremd- und Feindbilder von den Schweizern in antieidgenössischen Texten aus der Zeit von 1386–1532* (Bern: Haupt, 1998).

62 Ernst Gagliardi, *Der Anteil der Schweizer an den italienischen Kriegen 1494–1516*, vol. 1: *Von Karls VIII. Zug nach Neapel bis zur Liga von Cambrai, 1494–1509* (Zurich: Schulthess, 1919).

63 Ernst Gagliardi, "Mailänder und Franzosen in der Schweiz 1495–1499: Eidgenössische Zustände im Zeitalter des Schwabenkriegs," *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* 39 (1914), 1–235; 40 (1915), 1–267.

FIGURE 1.2 *Urs Graf the Elder, military recruiters in a common room* (*ca. 1521*). PHOTO COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

local communities along north–south routes, especially over the Gotthard pass, who were eager to profit from the ongoing conflicts in Italy. Uri, in particular, actively sought to acquire strategically and economically important fortified places on the southern slopes of the Alps.[64]

In 1499, the new French king, Louis XII, negotiated exclusive rights to Confederate troops. The resulting costs and benefits for the Swiss Confederation were distributed unevenly. Thousands of young men died in the ensuing campaigns or returned to their lands handicapped or as brutalized, rootless outcasts. In 1503, the Diet managed to adopt a general treaty regulating mercenary service and the distribution of foreign payments (the so-called *Pensionenbrief*), which, however, had little impact. Ten years later, a series of violent revolts erupted against the ruling classes and military agents in the territories of Bern, Lucerne, and Solothurn, and later Zurich.[65] Members of the governments were accused as "crown guzzlers" and "blood vendors" who would take foreign

64 Karl Tanner, *Der Kampf ums Eschental und der Verrat von Domodossola im Zusammenhang mit der Erwerbung des Tessins* (Zurich: Leeman, 1917); Broillet, *A cavallo*.

65 Philippe Rogger, *Krieg, Geld und Macht. Pensionsherren, Söldner und eidgenössische Politik in den Mailänderkriegen 1494–1516* (Baden: Hier und Jetzt, 2015).

money while scores of young men died miserably abroad. In 1513 authorities were forced to accede to demands of the rural communities.[66] Insurrection in Lucerne, however, ended by the authorities taking a firm stand and punishing the insurgents severely.

The French treaty first negotiated in 1499 was abandoned in 1510 in favor of an all-encompassing mercenary treaty with Pope Julius II. Confederate victories in the Italian states continued. In summer 1512, about 18,000 Confederate troops entered Lombardy, reinstated as a puppet ruler Massimiliano Sforza (1493–1530; son of the former duke of Milan) and effectively established Milan as a protectorate of the Confederation. Victories in the battles of Pavia (in 1512) and of Novara (in June 1513, against Louis XII) marked a pinnacle of Confederate fame. Pope Julius II lavished honors on them, calling them "defenders of the liberty of the church" and presenting them with the papal sword, hat, and two banners as signs of his special grace. Numerous communities were honored with the gift of a sumptuous banner.[67]

For three years, the Confederation was an inevitable power player on the European level. However, it was clear to all concerned that its members with their divergent interests would be unable to manage the politically entangled duchy of Milan longer term. In 1515, Francis I, the 21-year-old successor of Louis XII, struck back. In a swift and decisive campaign, his army appeared before Milan. Profiting from disagreements between the *Orte*, and relying on a well organized interplay of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, on 13 and 14 September 1515, he inflicted a devastating defeat on the Swiss force of about 22,000 troops.[68] Estimates of their losses range between 8,000 and 14,000 men, not counting the wounded. The battle of Marignano—or, in

66 Martin Körner, "Zur eidgenössischen Solddienst- und Pensionendebatte im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gente Ferocissima: Solddienst und Gesellschaft in der Schweiz* (*15.–19. Jahrhundert*), (eds.) Norbert Furrer et al., (Lausanne: Editions d'en bas, 1997), 193–203; Bruno Koch, "Kronenfresser und deutsche Franzosen. Zur Sozialgeschichte der Reisläuferei aus Bern, Solothurn und Bern zur Zeit der Mailänderkriege," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 46 (1996), 151–84.

67 More than 30 of these "banners of Julius" were made. The most lavish of them are made of silk damask and sport an embroidered corner emblem with, usually, the picture of the community's patron saint; A. Bruckner and B. Bruckner, *Schweizer Fahnenbuch* (St. Gallen: Zollikofer, 1942).

68 Amable Sablon du Corail, *1515 Marignan* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2015); Didier Le Fur, *Marignan: 13–14 septembre 1515* (Paris: Perrin, 2004); Walter Schaufelberger, *Marignano: Strukturelle Grenzen eidgenössischer Militärmacht zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Frauenfeld: Edition ASMZ, 1993).

FIGURE 1.3 *The Confederates as "defenders of the liberty of the church." The warriors at the top bear the banners with the papal signs while the others display their communal banners "augmented" by a corner emblem signifying papal privilege.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB, GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG

Italian hyperbole, the Battle of the Giants—brought to an end considerable Confederate influence in northern Italy. The peace treaty of 29 November 1516 put the Confederation firmly within French dominance. In 1521, the *Orte* perpetuated this military relation under French protection with an exclusive mercenary contract. The one exception was Zurich, which under Zwingli's influence and a general refusal to sacrifice even more men in foreign services did not seal this treaty.

The wars between 1476 and 1515 significantly changed the entire political system of the Confederation. For more than a generation, it was a major player in European power politics. Without the military tactics and sheer force of the Swiss fighters and the renown they had won in their victories against Charles the Bold, military service would not have become the biggest (and most controversial) export industry of the Confederation. The human cost of mercenary service was, however, manifested across the Confederation, through an absence of hundreds of economically productive men, in the form of brutalized and pauperized returnees, and by eruptions of popular violence, and this also helped shape the Swiss path to the Reformation.

FIGURE 1.4 *After one of the disastrous battles of the Swabian War of 1499, women and priests of Constance search for the bodies of their dead. From* Die Luzerner Chronik des Diebold Schilling (1513), *property of the Korporation Luzern.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB; REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE KORPORATION LUZERN

1.4 Finding a Common Ground

1.4.1 *Intellectual Innovation and Religious Movements*

The societal and institutional changes of the 15th century were accompanied and influenced by religious and intellectual developments. Humanist thought

was disseminated through the Council of Basel, enabling emerging Swiss intellectuals to explain and defend peculiarities of the Confederation to an international public. Meanwhile, popular religious movements common to the German lands heavily influenced Confederate political views and rituals, helping shape relationships between members of the Confederation in the decades preceding the Reformation.

Although it was convoked by Pope Martin V, who dreaded councils for fear that they would revive the conciliar theory, the Basel Council from 1431 to 1449[69] soon became a major test of papal supremacy. After Martin's death in 1431, the assembly set its own agenda, thereby effectively asserting that the Council was above the pope in authority. Although Martin's successor Eugenius IV later established a competing council in Ferrara, the men assembled in Basel continued their work, eventually deposing the pope in 1439 and electing Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy as antipope Felix V.[70] In the years before it was wound up in 1449, when Felix resigned, the Council played an important triple role as a place of ecclesiastical dispute, an ecclesiastical court ruling on contended elections of church officials, and a court of arbitration in political matters.

In Basel, scholars from all over the Christian world mingled with lay functionaries of the European states and with locals. The presence of numerous important ecclesiastical and secular officials affected intellectual dynamics from northern Italy to the Upper Rhine region, including the Swiss lands.[71]

The Council's most lasting local influence came with the foundation of the University of Basel in 1460 by Pope Pius II (who as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini had participated in the Council since 1432) at the request of the town's government.[72] Basel was the first university within the political orbit of the Confederation, and it remained the only higher school with a supraregional appeal before the Protestant foundation of the academies in Zurich (1525), Bern (1528), Lausanne (1537) and eventually Geneva (1559). It immediately attracted students from across the Confederation,[73] although Pavia, Bologna, Vienna,

69 Heriberg Müller and Johannes Helmrath, (eds.), *Die Konzilien von Pisa (1409), Konstanz (1414–1418) und Basel (1431–1449): Institution und Personen* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007).

70 Bernard Andenmatten and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, (eds.), *Amédée VIII—Félix V, premier duc de Savoie et pape (1383–1451)* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1992).

71 Thomas Maissen, "Weshalb die Eidgenossen Helvetier wurden. Die humanistische Definition einer 'natio,'" in *Diffusion des Humanismus. Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, (eds.) Johannes Helmrath, Ulrich Muhlack and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2002), 210–49.

72 Franz Egger, *Die Universität Basel: Hauptdaten ihrer Geschichte, 1460–2010* (Basel: Reinhardt, 2010).

73 Marc Sieber, *Die Universität Basel und die Eidgenossenschaft 1460–1529. Eidgenössische Studenten in Basel* (Basel: Helbing und Liechtenhahn, 1960).

Heidelberg, Krakow, Paris and Orléans also remained preferred destinations for ambitious sons of town scribes or rich merchants. Basel soon developed into a major intellectual hub attracting leading thinkers of German-speaking Europe. The resulting intellectual exchange and influence were broadened and accelerated by the advent of the printing press in the final decades of the 15th century.

The first known printed books in the Swiss lands seem to have been produced by travelling printers in the Lucerne secular collegiate foundation of Beromünster during 1470 to 1473, in Burgdorf near Bern, in Zurich, and within the bishopric of Lausanne. Within a few decades, Basel had become one of the prime printing places of Europe. By 1470 at least two printers were active there, and by 1500, over 70.

Printers and publishers attracted famous authors like Erasmus (1466–1536) and Heinrich Loriti (called Glarean) (1488–1563). Printers and publishers were crucial to developing humanist circles, and they were important mediators between university-trained scholars and local ruling classes.[74] A prime example is Lucerne court scribe Petermann Etterlin's chronicle (the first of the Confederation as a whole). It was encouraged and corrected by Basel humanist Rudolf Husenegk, a lawyer at Basel's town court (see below), and printed there by Michael Furter in 1507. Basel's fame was also based on the printing of important works in theology, the Talmud, the law, and historical grammars, the publishing of writings by antique writers, and the collaboration of artists such as Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543) and Urs Graf the Elder (ca. 1485–1528).

Scholarly reconceptualizations coincided with waves of religious movements. The politically diverse Confederate communities were also autonomous in local church matters, making them fertile ground for popular manifestation of religious beliefs. Lay congregations of men and women grew out of the burgeoning urban middle class. Beguines and beghards could be found in most of the towns[75] and numerous recluses attracted donations. In the 14th century, important mystical schools aiming at the immediate experience of Christ's presence were active in the upper Rhine region. Heinrich Seuse (1295/97–1366) had a lasting influence on spirituality within Confederate lands. His stays in the Dominican convents Töss, Oetenbach and St. Katharinental, and his

74 Walter Rüegg, "Humanistische Elitenbildung in der Eidgenossenschaft zur Zeit der Renaissance," in *Die Renaissance im Blick der Nationen Europas*, (ed.) Georg Kauffmann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 95–133; Thomas Maissen, "Literaturbericht Schweizer Humanismus," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 50 (2000), 515–44.

75 *Die Beginen und Begarden in der Schweiz,* HS IX/2.

encounter with Töss sister Elsbeth Stagel[76] initiated a widely disseminated literature, written in part by the Dominican nuns themselves.

By its nature, the search for personal experience of God's presence was mainly manifested on an individual level. In general, however, such searches interrelated lay and monastic life, especially when members of the same family chose one or the other way of living. They offered alternatives to people of all social groups, including members of the political ruling classes. Finally, because they connected the faithful directly with God, they challenged the official church, thereby imparting a revolutionary potential. All these traits can be observed in the politically and spiritually most influential mystic of Swiss history: Nicholas of Flüe (1417–1487).

This well-to-do farmer and respected Obwalden citizen left his family at age 50 to follow God's calling.[77] After a few days of pilgrimage, he was stopped by the vision of a burning town, turned back, and established himself as a hermit close to his hometown. Soon he acquired widespread fame throughout the German lands, both as a "living saint" who did not require worldly food and as a wise advisor. A legation of the bishop of Constance found his life to be genuine and his beliefs orthodox. The mystical contemplation and simple prayer form of "Brother Klaus" connected him to popular religious movements of the period and the mysticism of a Heinrich Seuse.[78]

Nicholas of Flüe did not, however, distance himself from the world. On the contrary, scores of visitors also helped him remain very aware of the inner workings of Obwalden, Confederate, and European politics. His advice demonstrably helped resolve the stand-off between towns and rural cantons during the deliberations of 1481, thus paving the way for the final text of the Covenant of Stans. Throughout the Confederation, his accomplishment was honored by the ringing of church bells. In an official letter, the council of Solothurn expressed a general feeling by calling him a "just lover of peace."

Nicholas of Flüe's double role as "living saint" of European fame and unifying "son of the Confederation" is expressed by the soaring popularity of pilgrimages to his hermitage, by the sheer number of biographies, pamphlets,

76 Frank J. Tobin, "Henry Suso and Elsbeth Stagel: was the Vita a cooperative effort?" in *Gendered Voices: Medieval Saints and their Interpreters*, (ed.) Catherine M. Mooney (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 118–35, 235–8.

77 *Bruder Klaus: Die ältesten Quellen über den seligen Nikolaus von Flüe, sein Leben und seinen Einfluss*, (ed.) Robert Durrer, 2 vols. (Sarnen: Ehrli, 1917–1921).

78 Peter Ochsenbein, "Laienfrömmigkeit und Gemeinschaftsbewusstsein. Das Grosse Gebet der Eidgenossen als spätmittelalterliche Volksandacht," in *Laienfrömmigkeit im späten Mittelalter: Formen, Funktionen, politisch-soziale Zusammenhänge*, (ed.) Klaus Schreiner (München: Oldenbourg, 1992), 319–30.

FIGURE 1.5 *Top: Nicholas of Flüe is asked for mediation during the Stans impasse, 1481; bottom: Nicholas's recommendations are presented to the delegates meeting in Stans. From Schilling's* Luzerner Chronik*, property of the Korporation Luzern.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB; REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE KORPORATION LUZERN

and references to his person, by his interventions, and by the range of his spiritual guidance. Nicholas' role as a symbol of unity triumphing over strife reached a pinnacle during the Reformation, when both sides claimed him as a prophet of their conviction.[79]

In the years before the Reformation, popular religious practices had become a striking element of distinctive Confederate behavioral patterns. By 1500, general days of penance and gratitude that included Confederate processions to the Einsiedeln Black Madonna, and even a liturgical procedure called "the Great Prayer of the Confederates" were publicly present, were topics of discussion at the Confederal Diets, and were commented upon by foreign observers. These religious expressions of identity became central to a unique and distinct set of political practices, rituals, and symbols aimed at enabling common action and facilitating the settlement of disputes.

1.4.2 *Symbols and Rituals of Commonality*

Although the legal bonds of the Confederation and the language supporting them were severely stressed during the early Reformation period, political semantics were also enriched and transformed by absorption of biblical notions. Moreover, during struggles to redefine the political and spiritual community of the allied communes, the early covenant ideas of Zwingli and Bullinger, the notion of brotherhood in Christ, and new readings of the Bible were also built upon the late 15th-century political language of the Confederation.

Political language and procedures reflected a combination of common action and conscientious planning. Governors of Confederate communities instructed their populations in the legal and moral commitments of their alliances. Victorious allied troops were publicly thanked. As church bells rang and conquered enemy flags were put on solemn display, allies were hosted and regaled with wine and food.

During the 15th century, governments increasingly sought such opportunities systematically. Solemn receptions accompanied occasional oath-taking ceremonies. By the end of the century, for example, all male citizens over age fourteen assembled in public places where they affirmed oaths on alliances

79 Guy P. Marchal, "Nouvelles approches des mythes fondateurs suisses: l'imaginaire historique des Confédérés à la fin du XVe siècle" in *Histoire et belles histoires de la Suisse. Guillaume Tell, Nicolas de Flüe et les autres, des chroniques au cinéma,* (ed.) Allgemeine Geschichtforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz (Basel: Schwabe, 1989), 1–24. Nicholas of Flüe was beatified in 1648/49 and sanctified by Pope Pius XII on 15 May 1947. He is the patron saint of Switzerland and of the canton of Obwalden.

in front of representatives of their allies. Women were present at least as bystanders if not, on occasion, active participants, and it is known that young boys (representing the future of the alliance) became an integral part of the ceremonies by shouting welcoming greetings, presenting toy weapons, and waving flags. Large public festivities—including wine-spewing fountains and performances of symbolic plays—are also documented, although not before the mid-16th century.[80]

Fairs during church anniversaries and festivities were further occasions for lavish receptions welcoming large groups of men from another town or valley. By the end of the 15th century, shooting competitions were also firmly established. Public practice with increasingly important portable fire arms was thus combined with convivial gatherings for all levels of the society.

By the end of the 15th century, these rituals had acquired distinctive forms following established procedures. Authorities aimed at allowing peaceful sociability and friendly competition while preventing brawls that could (and on occasion did) escalate into full scale military raids. Written invitations to events and welcoming rituals were imbued in Confederate symbolism: words of brotherhood, friendship and mutual military aid, gifts (such as oxen clad in the heraldic colors of the communities), and visitors marching in their community colors.[81]

By the beginning of the 16th century, the existence and characteristics of the Confederation were symbolically expressed and publicly present throughout the territories of its member states. These representations were based on centuries-old heraldic language that consisted of the coat of arms of the communities and specific arms bearers (some of them male animals renowned for their ferocity—the bear for Bern, the bull for Uri, the lion for Zurich, or the ram for Schaffhausen; others traditional figures like the Wild Man for Lucerne). The alliance itself was expressed by chains binding the coat of arms, in order to express the strong ties between the Confederates, and by the heraldic language of *courtoisie* where the escutcheons are turned towards each other—as a way of representing also the married couple or the union of an abbot and his

80 Numerous attestations taken from chronicles can be found in Leo Zehnder, *Volkskundliches in der älteren schweizerischen Chronistik* (Basel: Krebs, 1976); on the oath-taking ceremonies see Würgler, *Tagsatzung*; Christian Sieber, "Eidleistungen und Schwörtage im spätmittelalterlichen Zürich," in *Zürich 650 Jahre eidgenössisch*, (eds.) Jean-Pierre Bodmer and Otto Sigg (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2001), 19–58, and Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "'Das uns gott helff und die heiligen.' Zürich im Streit um die eidgenössische Schwurformel," in Campi FS, 295–346.

81 Regula Schmid, "'Liebe Brüder.' Empfangsrituale und politische Sprache in der spätmittelalterlichen Eidgenossenschaft," in Johanek and Lampen, *Adventus,* 85–111.

monastery. Such representations appear, rather suddenly, around 1500 on coins, monuments, and especially stained glass that started to adorn churches, town-halls, restaurants, and other public buildings. This "Swiss armorial glass" was produced in large numbers in specialized workshops in the major towns. The colorful glass panels were given by the governments to citizens and authorities of the different Confederate states and integrated into newly fashionable glass windows. They served as tokens expressing the ties between communities, authorities, and subjects.[82]

1.4.3 *God's Chosen People and the History of Origins*

By the middle of the 14th century Swiss communities were promoting their own history as proof of their old, traditional, and therefore legitimate rule. At the forefront were the towns where an emerging bourgeois class had the time, financial means, and sufficient interest to support the production of written histories. Chronicles depicting town origins, crucial events, and the feats of forebears had become a fashion across the "European urban belt."[83] By the second half of the 15th century, the two most distinctive features in Swiss historiography were the appearance of rural community histories (following the towns' example) and of writings on the origins and destiny of the Swiss Confederation as a whole. The emerging Confederation itself reflected an interplay of political developments and their interpretation in historiographical form.[84]

Confederate histories typically began with the history of the local towns. Bern's vernacular chronicles, for instance, go back to the first half of the 14th century. As became typical in communal history elsewhere, a victorious battle was a core element. For Bern, it was their victory at the 1339 battle of Laupen, achieved with help from Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Solothurn, over an alliance of regional nobles, the town of Fribourg (then owned by Savoy) and

82 Regula Schmid, "Die schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft—Ein Sonderfall gelungener politischer Integration?," in *Fragen der politischen Integration im mittelalterlichen Europa*, (ed.) Werner Maleczek (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), 413–48.

83 Regula Schmid, "Town Chronicles," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle,* 2 vols., (eds.) Graeme Dunphy et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2: 1432–8.

84 See the constitutive works by Guy P. Marchal, especially *Schweizer Gebrauchsgeschichte: Geschichtsbilder, Mythenbildung und nationale Identität* (Basel: Schwabe, 2006) and for the uses of (medieval) history during the development of the Swiss nation state, Guy P. Marchal, "Medievalism, the Politics of Memory and Swiss National Identity," in *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, (eds.) Robert J.W. Evans and Guy P. Marchal (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 192–220.

the bishops of Basel and Lausanne.[85] The unexpected triumph was attributed to God's active intervention. "God has become a citizen of Bern," wrote town historian Konrad Justinger famously in 1420. Fourteenth- and 15th-century historians often likened victorious commoners to God's chosen people. As the Israelites had slain their godless enemies, so the Schwyzer at Morgarten,[86] the Bernese at Laupen and Fraubrunnen,[87] and the Glarner at Näfels[88] had prevailed with the help of God and the saints.

Presenting victories as the judgment of God was emphasized by a developing memorial culture. In the center of anniversary commemorations were the requiem and the public reading of the names of the fallen, sometimes including short descriptions of the occasion of the deaths.[89] Communal battle commemorations were known throughout German-speaking lands.[90] In Confederate communities, however, and especially in the rural valley cantons, annual masses became occasions to revive common history and affirm a common destiny under God.

Around 1470, the appropriately named Hans Schriber ("John the Scribe") of Obwalden copied the texts of his valley's important treaties made since 1315 in a book bound in white leather (hence the name: *Weisses Buch*, White Book

85 Hans Braun, "Der Laupenkrieg—eine Berner Erfolgsgeschichte," in *Berns mutige Zeit*, (ed.) Rainer C. Schwinges (Bern: Stämpfli, 2003), 524–8.

86 In 1315 against Leopold I, duke of Habsburg and brother of king Friedrich (heavily contested rival king to Ludwig "der Bayer"). Johannes of Winterthur, author of a Latin chronicle, described the battle on the basis of the book of Judith and several psalms—as did Johannes of Viktring, abbot and Habsburg historian of the Carinthian monastery of Viktring. On the significance of "Morgarten" as early "Swiss national battle," see Maria Schnitzer, *Die Morgartenschlacht im werdenden schweizerischen Nationalbewusstsein* (Zurich: Fretz & Wasmuth, 1969); on the event, Josef Wiget, *Morgarten. Die Schlacht und ihre Bedeutung und vom Sinn der Morgartenfeier* (Schwyz: Kulturkommission Kanton Schwyz, 1997); a synthesis of the historical arguments in Regula Schmid, "Warum Morgarten? Hintergründe und Erklärungen," *Der Geschichtsfreund* 168 (2015), 21–43.

87 In 1375, against marauding mercenary troops in the wider context of the Hundred Years War. In a probably contemporary song, an unknown poet likened the mercenaries to "subjects of the servants of Holofernes."

88 1388, against Habsburg troops. Contemporary historiography emphasized the active participation of the communal saint, Fridolin. Michael Hess, *Die Schlacht bei Näfels 1388: Dokumentation,* Militärgeschichte zum Anfassen 12 (Au: Militärische Führungsschule, 2002).

89 Rainer Hugener, *Buchführung für die Ewigkeit: Totengedenken, Verschriftlichung und Traditionsbildung im Spätmittelalter* (Zurich: Chronos, 2014).

90 Klaus Graf, "Schlachtengedenken im Spätmittelalter. Riten und Medien in der Präsentation kollektiver Identität," in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter*, (ed.) Detlef Altenburg et al., (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 63–70.

FIGURE 1.6 *Prayer after the battle of Laupen, 1339. Diebold Schilling the Elder,* Spiezer Chronik (*1483*).
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE BURGERBIBLIOTHEK BERN

of Sarnen). He appended a short history of the origins of Schwyz and Unterwalden, their struggle for liberty from the Habsburg yoke, and the first secret alliances between them and with Uri. In this context came the first known appearance of Wilhelm Tell, and the story of his being forced to shoot an apple from the head of his young son. Tell not only met that challenge successfully but later eventually killed his torturer, the bad bailiff Gessler, with another well-aimed shot from his crossbow. The people from the three valleys who had all experienced the bad rule of the Habsburgs secretly swore an oath on a meadow called Rütli, broke and burned the castles of their oppressors, and entered a formal alliance. This first league was joined, one by one, by the other communities of the eight old *Orte*. Schriber dedicates a short paragraph to each of these communities, repeating the formula: "these alliances did us a lot of good."[91]

Both parts of this story proved to be very successful. For centuries they definitively shaped the way early Swiss political history was perceived: as an act of liberation unfolding through the continuous, uninterrupted development of a league centered around Schwyz, Unterwalden and Uri. This image of the late 15th century was projected back to the period around 1300. A generation later, around 1500, it was already expressed, metaphorically, as a plant growing out of the kernel of the first league. Wilhelm Tell became the best-known symbolic figure of Switzerland; a mythological hero who represented, in the course of time, the tyrannicide, the father of the fatherland, the protector of the weak, and, in his best-known role, the revolutionary.[92]

Hans Schriber created this story by integrating probably not very old local, oral traditions, the texts of the treaties, details of the Bern and Zurich town chronicles, and folkloric motives of which the Tell story is the best known. By the late 1480s, elements of his story were processed in Lucerne. In 1507, the Lucerne scribe Petermann Etterlin integrated the story into his chronicle depicting not only the town's foundation but significantly (a first attempt at explaining) the history of the whole Confederation. Etterlin's book was illustrated and printed in Basel. It circulated quickly among the learned men of the time, and

91 Regula Schmid, "Chronik im Weissen Buch von Sarnen (Chronicle in the White Book of Sarnen)," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1: 450. The *Weisse Buch* is digitalized (http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/staow/A02CHR0003); see also the description there.

92 Randolph C. Head, "William Tell and his Comrades: Association and Fraternity in the Propaganda of 15th- and 16th-century Switzerland," *The Journal of Modern History* 67 (1995), 527–57; Marchal, *Gebrauchsgeschichte*, 255–303; Jean-François Bergier, *Wilhelm Tell: Realität und Mythos* (Zurich: Römerhof-Verlag, 2012).

became the basis of future preoccupation with the history, the meaning, and the future of the Confederation.[93]

By the beginning of the 16th century, language, symbolism, rituals, and historiography acted as discursive nutrients for the political language of the Reformation era Swiss Confederation, visibly distinguishing it from neighboring princely states. Almost entirely lacking in formal institutions, the common ground of the Confederation was formed out of alliances of urban and rural communities on the one hand, and out of ideological, history-based ideas of a common destiny on the other hand.

The goals and programs of the Protestant leaders were crucially shaped by the legal and ideological development of the Confederation. In pursuit of their political and spiritual aims, they made use of the Confederation's institutional peculiarities, tradition of armed brotherhood, and ideal of local autonomy and freedom. Their theological project was successful with only some cantons. Yet contrary to Bullinger's temporary exasperation with alliances, the new theological impulse, by combining biblical exegesis with historical and legal interpretation, built on the Confederation's achievement and helped it cope with the challenges of religious schism.

93 Petermann Etterlin, *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft, jr harkommen und sust seltzsam strittenn und geschichten* (Basel: 1507), (ed.) Ernst Gruber (Aarau: Sauerlaender, 1965).

PART 2

The Reformation

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CHAPTER 2

The Reformation in Zurich

Emidio Campi[1]

2.1 Introduction

Cities have their own histories, whose essential characteristics sometimes stamp their image for centuries. Zurich belongs among those cities with such unmistakable characteristics. Switzerland's economic powerhouse—especially its renowned work ethic—is still associated with the Reformation. How the great religious upheaval changed the historic development of Zurich and the life of its people was an open question already in the 16th century, and it is still heavily debated.[2] Quite apart from confessional or other standpoints, however, the international impact of the Swiss-German Reformation led by Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger is an undisputed fact. If (for good reason) Jean Calvin is included with them, at least a good case can be made that this Reformation has contributed decisively to shaping the development of the modern western world and continues to exert a strong influence even today.

1 I would like to thank Amy Nelson Burnett for translating the manuscript and giving insightful comments along the way.

2 Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586), Bullinger's close collaborator and his successor as Antistes of the Zurich Church, composed a Latin poem in honor of Zurich: "Romanas Tigurum quondam fudisse cohortes/dicitur, haec illi gloria magna fuit./Sed quod Romani superavit fulmina patris,/gloria non solum, sed quoque vita fuit." (It is said that Zurich routed the Roman cohorts, and this brought them great glory. But when she deflected the thunderbolt of the Roman pontiff, this was not only glory but also life), cited from Peter Stotz, (ed.), *Turicensia Latina. Lateinische Texte zur Geschichte Zürichs aus Altertum, Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2003), 222–23. On religion and economy in Reformation Zurich, see Peter Winzeler, "Zwinglis sozialökonomische Gerechtigkeitslehre—heute wiedergesehen," *Zwingliana* 19 (1992), 427–44; "Zwinglis Zürich: das perfekte Alibi," *DU—Die Zeitschrift der Kultur* 63 (July/August 2003); Erwin Koller and Johannes Fischer, (eds.), *Der wirtschaftliche Erfolg und der gnädige Gott. Christliche Arbeitsmoral, Sozialstaat und Globalisierung* (Zurich: TVZ, 2007); Martin Beglinger et al.,"Wir Protestanten. Wie die Reformation die Schweiz reich gemacht hat." *NZZ Geschichte* (Juli 2015), 23–58.

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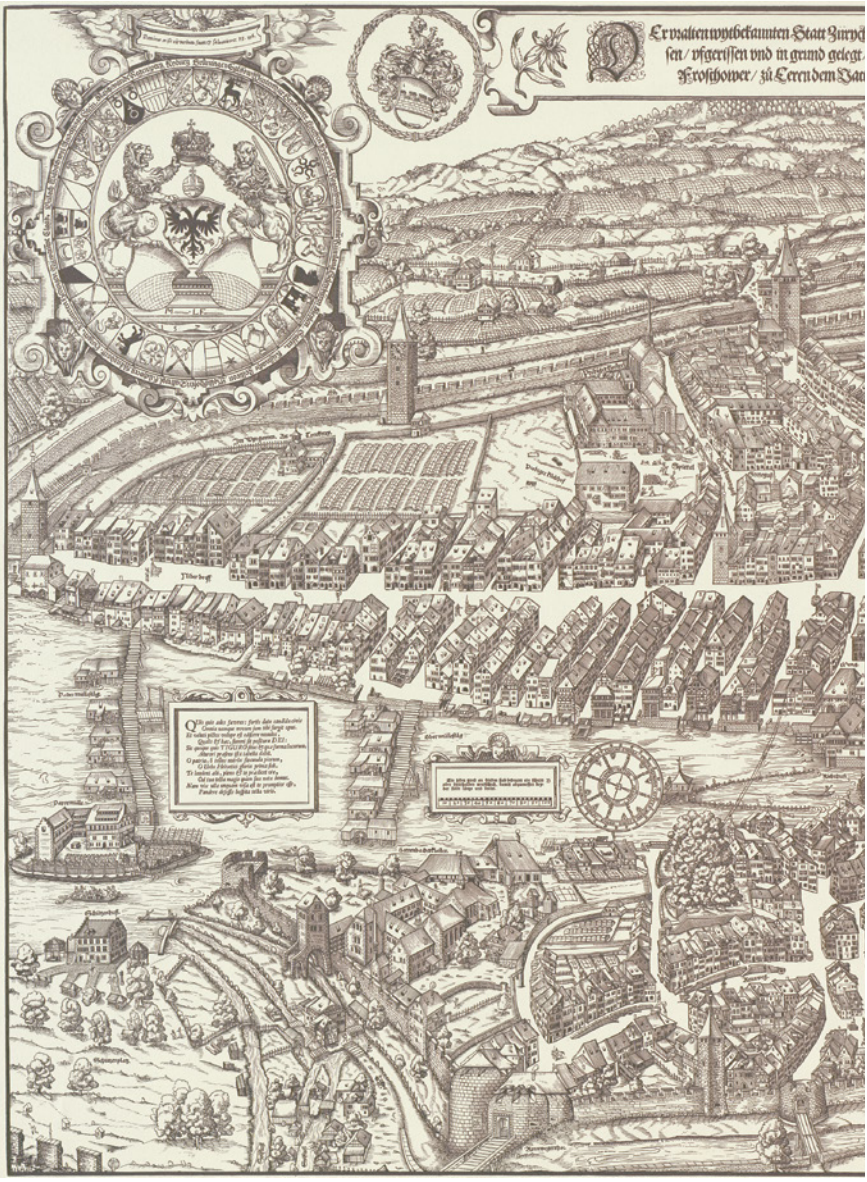
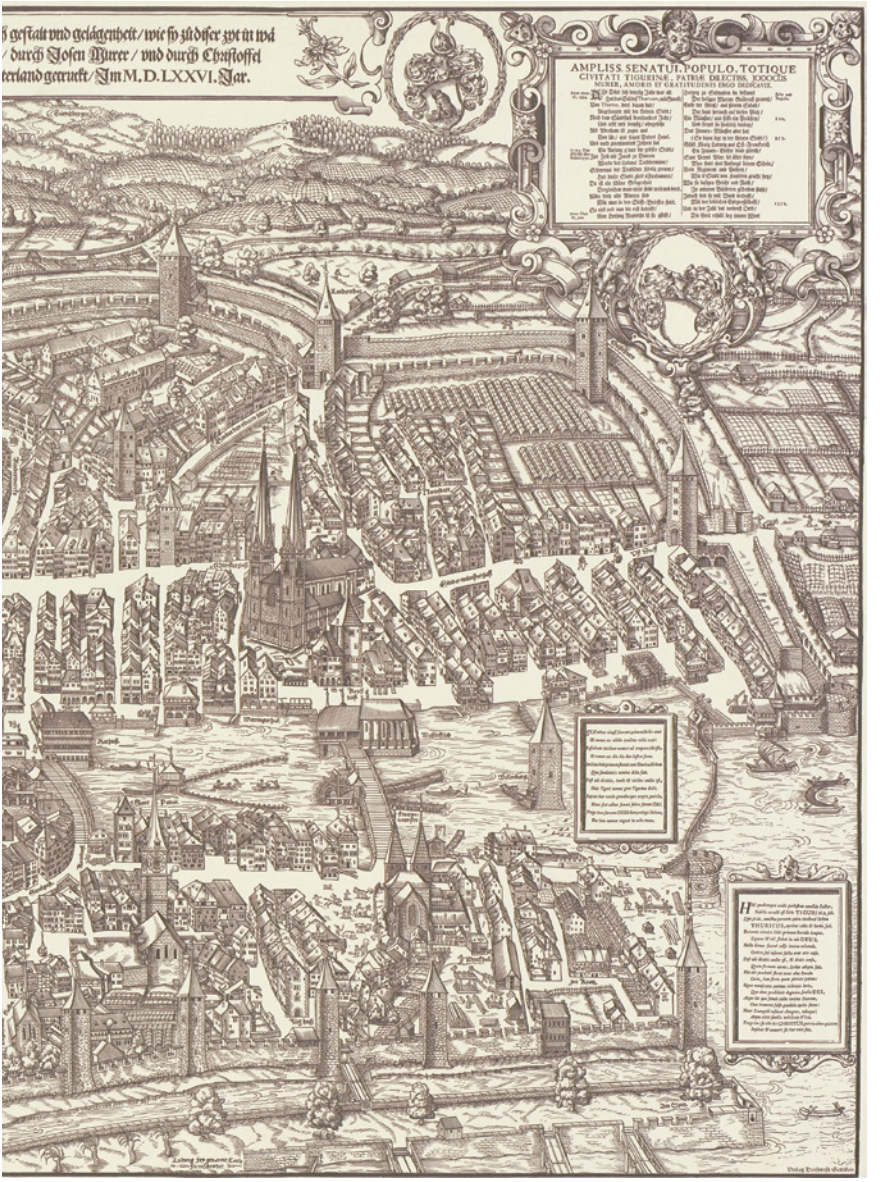


FIGURE 2.1 *The* Murerplan*, a detailed map of the city of Zurich printed in 1576 by Jos Murer (1530–1580), showing the location of each house, is a unique historical source for the condition of the city in the sixteenth century*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB


AMPLISS SENATUI, POPULO, TOTIQUE
CIVITATI TIGURINÆ, PATRIÆ DILECTISS. IOCOCIS
MURER, ANGRIS ET GRATITUDINIS ERGO DEDICAVIT.

2.2 Zurich on the Eve of the Reformation

2.2.1 *Respublica Tigurina*

On the eve of the Reformation, the city-republic of Zurich exercised sovereignty over a territory, obtained from the 13th century on through purchase, mortgaging, or military conquest, which roughly corresponds to the area of the present canton. The city had a population of about 5,000, with about ten times as many living in the rural areas. The population increase that began after the crises of the later Middle Ages lasted through 1585, at which time the population of the city-state was estimated to be 85,000.[3]

Zurich was a free imperial city from 1218. In 1351 it concluded an "eternal" alliance—i.e. of unlimited duration—with the Confederate cantons (*Orte*) of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne.[4] The immediate cause of this unusual alliance between an imperial city (for Lucerne did not have this status until 1415) with these rural areas was the successful guild revolution of 1336 led by the knight Rudolf Brun (1290s–1360). In league with the earlier marginalized knights, the guilds seized the government from local patricians and merchants and then issued the *First Sworn Letter* (*Ersten Geschworenen Brief*), a constitution that institutionalized the new guild government. The expelled nobles formed an anti-government in the nearby Habsburg fief of Rapperswil (St. Gallen) and used all their means to destabilize the new government. After a failed coup in February, 1350, the so-called "murderous night in Zurich," Brun and his supporters sought allies and found them in the alliance of 1351 with the Confederates, who guaranteed their assistance to the imperial city against both the internal and external opponents of the guild constitution. Through its extension to Glarus (1352), Zug, and Bern (1353), this originally episodic alliance made visible for the first time the outlines of the Confederacy of the Eight Old *Orte*.

The political order established in the *First Sworn Letter* was modified several times in the 14th and 15th centuries. The revisions of 1489 and 1498 in particular consolidated the guilds' domination over the patriciate and created the basis of Zurich's political order, which through the next three hundred

3 Niklaus Flüeler and Marianne Flüeler-Grauwiler (eds.), *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Werd Verlag, 1996), 2: 85.

4 Clausdieter Schott, "Zürichs langer Weg zur Eidgenossenschaft," in *Zürich 650 Jahre Eidgenössisch*, (ed.) Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich and Zentralibliothek Zürich (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2001), 7–18, here at 13.

years would undergo no further essential changes.[5] The Zurich magistracy consisted of two Bürgermeister, each governing for half a year, and the Large and Small Councils. The composition of the Large Council corresponded to the division of citizens into twelve artisan guilds and the noble association, the *Gesellschaft zur Constaffel*. The Council had 212 members and so was commonly called "the Two Hundred": twelve representatives from each guild ("the Twelve"), eighteen from the *Constaffel* ("the Eighteen"), and the fifty members of the Small Council. The Small Council consisted of the two Bürgermeister, 24 guildmasters (two from each guild), four members of the Constaffel, and twenty additional council members. The division of responsibility between the Large and Small Councils was not clearly delineated, but as a rule the Large Council made decisions concerning war and peace, the negotiation of treaties, the granting of citizenship to foreign lords, the election for certain offices, and legislation concerning taxation and coinage. The Small Council took care of daily business. It had all-encompassing authority to make decisions in all internal and external political questions, it was the highest administrative authority, and it served as the supreme court. Because of their size, the Large and Small Councils were not able to settle all problems themselves. For certain areas that required secrecy, such as diplomatic relations and military policies, the privy councils were responsible. These were comprised of the two Bürgermeister and four "Supreme Guild masters" as well as a few revolving members. To prepare and carry through their decisions, the Large and Small Councils also appointed smaller commissions, the so-called "appointees" (*Verordneten*) on a case-by-case basis. Despite the influence of the privy councils and appointees, the Councils retained control over the government.[6]

The reformer Huldrych Zwingli was frequently chosen for the appointed commissions and occasionally consulted concerning diplomatic affairs by the privy councils. The significance of this political activity has been the subject of intensive research in order to determine whether there was a "theocratization" of the reform movement in Zurich. The consensus is that Zwingli did indeed have a broad network of personal connections with Zurich politicians

5 Flüeler and Flüeler-Grauwiler, *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, 1: 366–71; Thomas Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic: Staatsverständnis und Repräsentation in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), Chapter 4: "Zürich als Paradigma."

6 The most useful work remains Paul Guyer, *Verfassungszustände der Stadt Zürich im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert unter Einwirkung der sozialen Umschichtung der Bevölkerung* (Zurich: Schulthess, 1943), 13–46; see also Robert C. Walton, "The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zürich," *Zwingliana* 13 (1972), 497–515, and Uve Goppold, *Politische Kommunikation in den Städten der Vormoderne: Zürich und Münster im Vergleich* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 40–55.

and meddled in state affairs, but he could never directly determine political decisions in the city.[7]

Administration of the rural territory was carried out through mandates of the Small Council. The Bürgermeister and two council members named the bailiffs (*Landvögte*). In exercising its sovereignty over territory and justice, the city followed a cautious, conservative policy that in essence respected the particular rights, dating from the Middle Ages, of individual communes or territories. Its military sovereignty was unlimited, however. In the 16th century there were still serfs within Zurich's territory who formally belonged to foreign lords.[8] This had explosive implications when, in 1524 and 1525, the peasants demanded the abolition of serfdom and an extensive reordering of economic, legal, and political relations in the rural territory.

This constitutional order cannot be seen as democratic in the modern sense. The rural territory had no legally established right of participation in the government. In the city artisan guilds—or rather their wealthy guild masters—dominated the state. It should not be overlooked, however, that in a city of roughly 5,000 inhabitants there were about 1,000 guild members who as burghers had theoretically a chance of holding office. Participation in government was limited but no doubt involved a relatively high proportion of citizens.

2.2.2 *Ecclesiastical Institutions and Spirituality*

On the eve of the Reformation the city and territory of Zurich were strongly influenced by the institutions, office holders, and rituals of the church. The city's profile was dominated by the Fraumünster abbey, the collegiate church of the Grossmünster, the three monasteries of the mendicant orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinian Hermits, and the two female Dominican cloisters of Oetenbach and St. Verena, as well as the church of St. Peter and the Waterchurch. There were additional convents on the outskirts of the city. From the 1470s Zurich's territory was gripped by an unusual fever of church-building, resulting in an enormous increase in the number of works of sacred art.[9]

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7 Walton, *Theocracy*; Leonhard von Muralt, "Zum Problem der Theokratie bei Zwingli," in *Discordia concors. Festgabe für Edgar Bonjour,* (ed.) Marc Sieber (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1968), 369–90; Walter Jakob, *Politische Führungsschicht und Reformation: Untersuchungen zur Reformation in Zürich 1519–1528* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970).

8 Peter Kamber, "Die Reformation auf der Zürcher Landschaft am Beispiel des Dorfes Marthalen," in *Zugänge zur bäuerlichen Reformation*, (ed.) Peter Blickle (Zurich: Chronos, 1987), 85–125.

9 Gerald Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996); *Bettelorden,*

The church was omnipresent in daily life, with worship services, masses, processions, and pilgrimages both within and outside of the city. On the eve of the Reformation, roughly two hundred clergy lived in the city of Zurich, comprising a good fifteen per cent of the working population.[10] Traditional forms of piety such as indulgences, belief in relics and miracles, and the cult of the saints were popular among the inhabitants; devotion to Mary in particular surpassed all bounds.[11] Fear of the devil was firmly established at all levels of society and influenced daily life even in the Reformed Zurich of the 16th century. By contrast, the witch craze, which normally accompanied belief in the devil, had little impact in Zurich. From 1484 to 1525 we have the names of six women who were condemned to death by the Small Council because of alleged denial of God, intercourse with the devil, and witchcraft.[12]

Like much of the Swiss Confederation, Zurich's territory was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constance. From 1496, the bishop was Hugo von Hohenlandenberg (1460–1532), a colorful representative of the church of his day.[13] A chaser of benefices and a luxury-loving prelate, Hugo also sought connections to prominent humanists such as Erasmus and tried to remedy the ecclesiastical abuses in his diocese. He did not immediately oppose the demands of Luther and Zwingli, but he was soon forced on the defensive and had to watch helplessly the victorious spread of the reform movement.

The Zurich church was also linked to the Church in Rome. Close connections between Rome and the influential Zurich councilor-families such as Göldli or Röist were established through their participation in the so-called

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Bruderschaften und Beginen in Zürich. Stadtkultur und Seelenheil im Mittelalter, (eds.) Barbara Helbling et. al. (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2002); Peter Jetzler, *Der spätgotische Kirchenbau in der Zürcher Landschaft. Die Geschichte eines "Baubooms" am Ende des Mittelalters* (Wetzikon: Buchverlag, 1988).

10 Flüeler and Flüeler-Grauwiler, *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, 2: 186.

11 Campi, *Maria,* 76–81; Rebecca A. Giselbrecht, "Reforming a Model: Zwingli, Bullinger, and the Virgin Mary in Sixteenth-century Zurich," in Baschera, *Zwingli,* 137–74.

12 Otto Sigg, *Hexenprozesse mit Todesurteil. Justizmorde der Zunftstadt Zürich* […] ([Zurich]: Offizin-Zürich-Verlag, 2012), 13. While witches and witch trials were not an issue in Zwingli's writings, his successor Heinrich Bullinger advocated the persecution of witches in his treatise *Gegen die schwarzen Künste* (1571), in HBST, 287–305. See Bruce Gordon, "God Killed Saul. Heinrich Bullinger and Jacob Ruef on the Power of the Devil," in *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits: Traditional Belief and Folklore in Early Modern Europe*, (ed.) Kathryn A. Edwards (Kirksville Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2002), 155–79; see also Chapter 15 below.

13 There is virtually no literature in English on him. See the excellent volume *Ein feiner Fürst in einer rauen Zeit: der Konstanzer Bischof Hugo von Hohenlandenberg*, (ed.) Peter Niederhäuser (Zurich: Chronos, 2011).

Italian wars up to the Battle of Marignano (1515) and the creation of the papal Swiss Guard (1506). With the close alliance between Zurich and Rome established in 1512 (on this occasion, Julius II granted to the Swiss the title of *defensores ecclesiasticae libertatis*), the curia could see Zurich's council members as its most faithful ally when it came to recruiting coveted Swiss mercenaries.

On the other hand, as in many other cities at the end of the Middle Ages, in Zurich there was a tendency to extend the magistrate's *cura religionis*, or responsibility for securing the true confession of faith and good order in church, which promoted the communalization of the church.[14] Increasingly the magistrate tried not only to oppose ecclesiastical abuses and limit as many episcopal privileges as possible but also to exercise its influence on the church's internal affairs by taking charge of needed reforms. Thus the Small Council used its territorial sovereignty and the rights delegated to it by the local church (*Vogteirechte*) to attack episcopal power. It limited ecclesiastical jurisdiction regarding tithes and marriage, supervised the moral conduct of the clergy, influenced the appointment to benefices, exercised economic oversight over convents, and regulated questions concerning worship. These measures repeatedly created tensions between the Council and the diocesan curia, but correlated nonetheless with evangelical convictions. The coincidence of these communal ecclesiastical interests with those of the magistracy led with a certain inevitability to the Reformation, and the abolition of all jurisdictional rights of the bishop of Constance.

2.3 Zwingli's Early Life

The radical transformation of church and society that spread from Zurich through large parts of the Confederation is inseparably linked with the Zurich parish priest (*Leutpriester*) Huldrych Zwingli, who was born on 1 January 1484 in Wildhaus in the County of Toggenburg.[15] The son of prosperous peasants, Zwingli attended Latin schools in Basel and Bern. His studies at the universities

14 Blickle, *Communal Reformation*, esp. 98–110.

15 The standard biographies remain: Walther Köhler, *Huldrych Zwingli*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1954); George Richard Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); Martin Haas, *Huldrych Zwingli und seine Zeit*, 3rd ed. (Zurich: TVZ, 1982); Gäbler, *Zwingli*. For further literature see my article "Zwingli," in *Religion Past and Present* 13 (2012), 721–28; Peter Opitz, *Ulrich Zwingli. Prophet, Ketzer, Pionier des Protestantismus* (Zurich: TVZ, 2015).

FIGURE 2.2 *Oil portrait of Huldrych Zwingli by Hans Asper (ca. 1531)*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

of Vienna and Basel brought him into closer contact with humanism, especially with the circle of upper Rhenish humanists around Erasmus of Rotterdam. He had only begun the study of theology in Basel when he was ordained priest by Bishop Hugo von Hohenlandenberg in the cathedral of Constance and assigned to the parish of Glarus.

Insofar as one can tell from the sparse sources, it is assumed that Zwingli was a faithful and satisfied minister of the Catholic Church in his official and

pastoral duties.[16] As army chaplain he accompanied at least twice the Glarner contingent fighting for the Holy See in campaigns in northern Italy. For his support of the papacy he received a pension from Rome in 1515, which he renounced in 1520. Zwingli's ten years in Glarus were foundational for his later development as a reformer. Alongside his pastoral duties he dedicated himself to autodidactic study and entered into contact with representatives of Swiss humanism such as Joachim Vadian (1484–1551), Oswald Myconius (1488–1552) and Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), among whom he quickly made a name for himself. He came under Erasmus' influence from 1514/15 and studied Erasmus' writings intensively. He visited the "Prince of Humanists" in Basel in the winter of 1515–16, after which the two men maintained a steady correspondence. This spiritual re-orientation, together with his experience on the battlefield of Marignano (1515), where he was eyewitness to the loss of 10,000 Confederates, turned him from advocate to bitter opponent of foreign mercenary service.

The dominance of the French party in Glarus after the loss at Marignano caused Zwingli to leave his post there in November 1516. He temporarily accepted the position of priest at the Benedictine abbey of Einsiedeln, a well-known pilgrimage destination, where he continued his intensive studies alongside his preaching and other responsibilities. In the monastery's impressive library one can still see marginalia of Zwingli's reading of the church fathers and his exegesis of the Psalms. Especially important for his later development was his study of the Pauline epistles and the Gospel of John in Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament published in 1516; he was especially influenced by the treatises of Augustine.[17] His expanding correspondence is a sign of the high esteem that Zwingli found among fellow Swiss humanists.

Einsiedeln was only a day's travel from Zurich, and there was active ecclesiastical contact between the two places. Humanistic circles in the city, especially among the canons of the Grossmünster, apparently valued the rare erudition of the Einsiedeln preacher. In addition, he was seen as friendly to the papacy, an advantageous political stand in a city that after Marignano had signed the "eternal peace" with France only with resistance and continued to serve as the center of Roman diplomacy within the Confederation. Thus he was the ideal candidate for the position of parish priest in the Grossmünster of the presiding canton within the Confederation, a post that fell vacant in the fall of 1518. On 11 December Zwingli was elected by the Zurich canons as the new *Leutpriester*.

16 Hans Schneider, "Zwinglis Anfänge als Priester," in *Schweizer Kirchengeschichte—neu reflektiert. Festschrift für Rudolf Dellsperger zum 65. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Ulrich Gäbler et al., (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 37–62.

17 Z 5: 713–14.

On New Year's Day 1519 Zwingli for the first time entered the pulpit of the Grossmünster, without having a set reform program, although he began his new office with a significant innovation. For his preaching he used *lectio continua*, a running exposition of whole books of the Bible, rather than the traditional, prescribed order of pericopes. He thereby placed scripture before the tradition of the church in a programmatic way.[18] Unlike his successor Bullinger, Zwingli did not leave any sermon manuscripts behind, and he probably did not prepare them. There are no transcriptions by hearers, as we have from Calvin. Only individual sermons reworked for publication are preserved, such as the Bern sermons and *The Providence of God*. It is known, however, that his preaching in the Grossmünster was well received among the lay people and found support among a circle of like-minded canons influenced by humanism who would later become his associates.[19]

In the fall of 1519 Zwingli became seriously ill with the plague, which brought an existential crisis that later bore literary fruit in his "Plague Song" (1520).[20] As a consequence the thirty-six year-old priest began to emphasize more strongly both human sinfulness and salvation through God's grace alone. Were Luther's similar views, expressed a few years earlier, a model for Zwingli? It is an old controversy among Zwingli scholars whether the change in mindset from humanist to reformer should be linked with his intensive reading of Luther's writings or, according to Zwingli's own claim, had already begun independently in 1516 through zealous study of the Bible and the writings of Augustine. The question is difficult to answer because of the sparse sources and continues to be discussed. It is plausible, however, to describe Zwingli's reformatory development as independent from the Wittenberg reformer and to emphasize his own authorship.[21] Zwingli would continue to be stimulated by

18 See Zwingli's autobiographical narrative in *Proceedings of the Second Zurich Disputation* (26–28 October 1523), Z 2: 707.31–708.1. An important source about Zwingli's preaching and activity in his first two years in Zurich is the letter of complaint (*Klagschrift*) written by canon Konrad Hofmann towards the end of 1521. See Alfred Schindler, "Die Klagschrift des Chorherren Hofmann," in *Reformiertes Erbe. Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher zu seinem 80. Geburtstag*, (eds.) Heiko A. Oberman et al., 2 vols. (Zurich: TVZ, 1992), 1: 325–29.

19 *Die beiden Berner Predigten* (1528), Z 6/1: 443–98; *Sermo de providentia Dei* (1530), Z 6/3: 1–230, Engl: ZLW 3: 128–234; Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work*, 51.

20 *Gebetslied in der Pest* (1519), Z 1: 62–9. Engl.: ZLW 1: 56–7. See Thomas Martin Schneider, "Der Mensch als 'Gefäß Gottes'—Huldrych Zwinglis Gebetslied in der Pest und die Frage nach seiner reformatorischen Wende," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 5–21.

21 After publication of the book by Arthur Rich, *Die Anfänge der Theologie Huldrych Zwinglis* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1949), the majority of researchers accept the position that Zwingli did not approach the Reformation through Luther, even if it cannot be denied that

Luther's writings and recognized him as "the Hercules who killed the Roman boar."[22] He nonetheless vigorously defended the originality of his ideas and theology, let alone of his piety and social ethic.

2.4 Beginnings of Reformation

The first conflicts with the bishop of Constance came in 1522.[23] The famous "sausage eating" (*Wurstessen*) took place on 9 March 1522, in the early evening of the first Sunday in Lent, in the shop of the printer Christoph Froschauer. Zwingli, who was present but who refrained from eating, defended this breaking of the fast in a sermon on the third Sunday of Lent. The curia in Constance learned of the uproar concerning these events, which led to a visitation from 7 to 9 April by an episcopal delegation.[24] Zwingli intentionally fanned the flames, for a week later an expanded version of his sermon was published with the title *On the Choice and Freedom of Foods*.[25] Events began to escalate: the bishop of Constance went on the offensive by sending an admonitory letter to the canons of the Grossmünster, and at the bishop's prompting the Confederal Diet (*Tagsatzung*) gathered in Lucerne to debate the religious question for the first time on 27 May. The magistrates of the individual *Orte* were told to act against priests who sowed unrest and error in the faith through their

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alongside the works of Erasmus, Luther's writing also made a significant impression on him. For a most useful summary of the discussion, see Gunter Zimmermann, "Der Durchbruch zur Reformation nach dem Zeugnis Ulrich Zwinglis vom Jahre 1523," *Zwingliana* 17 (1986), 97–120; Ralf Hoburg, *Seligkeit und Heilsgewissheit. Hermeneutik und Schriftauslegung bei Huldrych Zwingli bis 1522* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1994), 275–80, with Alfred Schindler's book review, *Zwingliana* 25 (1998), 184–88.

22 *Amica exegesis*, Z 5: 723.1–2: "Tu unus fuisti Hercules, qui ubiubi discriminis aliquid esset, occurreres; aprum Romanum occidisti." Engl: HZW 2: 346.

23 The classical works are Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*; Locher, *Thought*; Fritz Büsser, *Wurzel der Reformation in Zürich. Zum 500. Geburtstag des Reformators Huldrych Zwingli* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Jacques V. Pollet, *Huldrych Zwingli et le Zwinglianisme: essai de synthèse historique et théologique mis à jours d'après les recherches récentes* (Paris: Vrin, 1988). See also the helpful overviews by Gordon, *Swiss Reformation,* 46–118; Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 9–65; Kaspar von Greyerz, "The Reformation in German-speaking Switzerland," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, (ed.) R. Po-Chia Hsia (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2004), 86–101; Bruce Gordon, "Emulating the Past and Creating the Present: Reformation and the Use of Historical and Theological Models in Zurich in the Sixteenth Century," in Baschera, *Zwingli*, 1–39.

24 *Acta Tiguri 7. 8. 9. diebus aprilis 1522*, Z 1: 137–54.

25 *Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Speisen* (1522), Z 1: 74–136; Engl: ZLW 1: 70–112.

sermons.[26] In the meantime, the letter of complaint lodged against Zwingli's sermon by canon Konrad Hofmann was discussed by the chapter of the Grossmünster.[27] This did not hinder the *Leutpriester* from appealing to his bishop. On 2 July he and ten of his fellow clergy signed a *Petition of Certain Preachers of Switzerland to the Most Reverend Lord Hugo, Bishop of Constance*, in which they demanded the abolition of mandatory clerical celibacy and the introduction of preaching that conformed to scripture.[28] Zwingli himself did not wait to be freed from the requirement of celibacy but had earlier in the year entered into a secret marriage with Anna Reinhart, the widow of the noble Hans Meyer von Knonau. Their public wedding took place in April 1524. Four children resulted from this marriage: Regula, Wilhelm, Huldrych, and Anna.

The conflict escalated further on 15 July 1522, when Zwingli challenged the Franciscan François Lambert from Avignon, who had preached on the intercession of the Virgin Mary and the saints. This conflict was followed a few days later by two disputations. The first, on 16 July, was held at Lambert's initiative and had the character of a harmless conversation between the two men. The second, however, was called by the Council. On 21 July, Zwingli and the lectors of the three regular convents in the city and other theologians were invited before a committee of the Small Council. At the end of the discussions, Bürgermeister Marx Röist told the mendicants that in the future they "should preach only the gospel, Paul and the prophets—that is, the Holy Scripture—and should leave aside Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas."[29] At the beginning of August the Council further decided that the convent of Dominican nuns at Oetenbach, which was under the pastoral care of their Dominican brothers, should be opened to preaching according to scripture.[30] Moreover, the magistracy authorized Zwingli to preach in the women's convent, which led to the departure of a large number of nuns. The significance of these two interventions by the Council is often overlooked, but they were very important, for by them the Council exercised its *ius circa sacra* or even a *ius in sacris*—that is, it declared itself responsible for issues of doctrine and broke in practice, even if not yet in theory, with the traditional relationship between spiritual and

26 Bishop Hugo to Bürgermeister und Rat of Zurich, 24 Mai 1522, in AZHR, 85, no. 251; EA 4/1a:194.

27 Josef Brülisauer, "Neue Beiträge zur Biographie Konrad Hofmanns," *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 11–62, esp. 41–5; Alfred Schindler, "Die Anliegen des Chorherrn Hoffman," ibid., 63–82.

28 *Supplicatio ad Hugonem episcopum Constantiensem* (1522), Z 1: 189–209; Engl.: ZLW 1: 150–65.

29 Z 1: 257–258, n. 3; Z 1: 329 and Zwingli's letter to Beatus Rhenanus, 30 July 1522, Z 7: 549.3–5.

30 Z 1: 338.11–8.

secular authority. In this respect these events from the summer of 1522 were a prelude to the later and more famous First Zurich Disputation.[31]

The bishop did not accept these setbacks without protest. In a mandate of 10 August Hugo von Hohenlandenberg again admonished the Zurich magistracy to due obedience to the church. In reaction, Zwingli quickly published three works in succession. In *Apologeticus Archeteles*, to Erasmus's dismay, he opposed the spiritual sovereignty of the bishop of Constance in matters of doctrine and order; at the same time he proclaimed his final break—his "first and last word," and thus the title *Archeteles*—with his bishop.[32] In two further treatises, which are among his most appealing and lively works, Zwingli presented the Reformation principle of scripture alone (*On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God*) and stated his understanding of the cult of Mary and the saints (*A Sermon on the Eternal, Pure Virgin Mary*).[33] On 10 October 1522, in a public statement from the pulpit, Zwingli resigned his office as *Leutpriester* in order to distance himself from the Roman Catholic understanding of the priesthood. The Council released him from his priestly duties, but established expressly for him a new preaching office, modelled after those existing in numerous German imperial cities—thus sending a clear signal that they had begun gradually to withdraw the city from episcopal authority. The bishop naturally appealed to the Confederal Diet, which on 15 December gave summons to repeal "the new manner and way of preaching" and further to control book production.[34]

2.5 The Breakthrough

By late 1522, various courts had become involved in the conflict over Zwingli's reformatory preaching: namely the Council, the episcopal curia, the chapter

31 Heiko A. Oberman, *Masters of the Reformation. The Emergence of a New Intellectual Climate in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 213–14, rightly stresses the importance of the disputation of 21 July for the subsequent development of the Zurich Reformation, but he ignores the bold decision of the Council relating to the Oetenbach monastery.

32 *Apologeticus Archeteles* (*1522*), Z 1: 249–327; ZLW 1: 197–292. For Erasmus' reaction to the writing, see Z 7: 582.

33 *Von Klarheit und Gewissheit des Wortes Gottes* (1522), Z 1: 328–84; *Eine Predigt von der ewig reinen Magd Maria* (1522), Z 1: 385–428. See Hans Schneider, "Zwinglis Marienpredigt und Luthers Magnifikat-Auslegung: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis Zwinglis zu Luther," *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 105–41; Campi, *Maria.*

34 EA 4/1a: 255.

of the Grossmünster, and the Confederal Diet. It was clear that Zwingli's sermons found many supporters and that they questioned essential elements of the late medieval church, such as mandatory fasts, veneration of Mary and the saints, clerical celibacy, and the place of monasteries and chapters in the urban republic. In view of the internal unrest as well as the increasingly tense relations with the bishopric of Constance and the Confederation, the city council sought from the *ordinarius loci* the calling of a diocesan council to clarify the ecclesiastical situation. When Bishop Hugo refused, the Council called a religious colloquy for 29 January 1523 at Zwingli's urging. This was the First Zurich Disputation, attended by the 212 Council members and four hundred clergy from the city and rural territory, as well as a delegation of the Constance curia under the leadership of the learned vicar general Johannes Fabri.[35]

FIGURE 2.3 *The First Zurich Disputation, held on 29 January 1523. Hand colored illustration from the 1605/1606 edition of Heinrich Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

35 *Die Erste Zürcher Disputation* (1523), Z 1: 442–71; Engl.: *Acts of the Convention Held In the Praiseworthy City of Zurich On the 29th Day of January*, in ZSW, 40–117.

A few days before the disputation, Zwingli hastily drafted 67 Articles, a succinct summary of his preaching to date, although they were scarcely discussed during the debate.[36] Zwingli sat in the middle of the Council chamber, in front of the presiding Bürgermeister Marx Röist, with an open Bible in Hebrew, Greek and Latin in front of him. The gathering was in no way at the same level as an academic disputation or a diocesan council. Instead, it was a civil legal proceeding in the Swiss tradition of a civic or rural communal gathering, which recognized the "true divine scripture" as the formal legal rule for clarifying the situation of the church. There was a lively debate between Zwingli and Fabri, who actually intended to restrain his comments but was provoked to incautious statements. As it had already done in 1522, the Council claimed the right to decide questions of doctrine. In the end, since no one had succeeded in demonstrating Zwingli to be a heretic, he and his fellow ministers were granted permission to continue preaching the "holy gospel and the pure scripture" as they had been doing.[37]

Earlier Zwingli research (Emil Egli, Oskar Farner) spoke consistently of the "founding assembly" of the evangelical church in Zurich. The Council's decision did not yet mean a change in religious politics, for there was no formal separation from the diocese of Constance and no new church organization put in place. Zwingli's preaching was legitimized and he certainly benefited from the prestige that he had gained, but the magistrates retained full charge of ecclesiastical life. One can, however, only agree with Bernd Moeller when he emphasizes the "epochal rank" of the Zurich Disputation.[38] The assembly of January 1523 at the city hall on the banks of the Limmat River inaugurated a civic consultative procedure for making decisions concerning church affairs that would be a model for many states throughout Europe for the introduction of the Reformation.

Although tensions decreased somewhat after the first disputation, peace was not restored to the city-republic.[39] In the summer of 1523, the question of tithes became especially explosive. Six villages of Zurich's territory complained to the Council over the misuse of ecclesiastical tithes through the benefice holders of the chapter of the Grossmünster. They cited the "Holy Gospel" and evangelical teaching when they asked for relief. The magistrates required the

36 *67 Artikel* (1523), Z 1: 458–65. They were expounded fully in his work *Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden* (1523), Z 2: 1–457; Engl: HZW 1.

37 Z 1: 471.1–7.

38 Bernd Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen. Studien zur Kirchengründung in den Städten der frühen Reformation,* (*1970–1974*), 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 51.

39 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 157–93.

communities to continue to pay the tithe but promised to remove the abuses. In his work *On Divine and Human Righteousness* Zwingli was inclined to retain the feudal tithes, but at the same time he condemned the unbearable burden on the peasants. Beyond this, in the center of this work, so important for reformed social ethics, was the distinction between divine and human righteousness, which he placed in a dialectically dynamic relationship.[40] The most incendiary issue, however, was the question of images. The first iconoclastic incidents clearly influenced by reformist ideas in the city and the surrounding villages occurred in September 1523: altars were destroyed, glass windows smashed, eternal lights broken, images, statues and liturgical vessels removed. When Zwingli's radical supporters took part in open agitation and demanded with coarse language that the mass should be abolished even before the images were, a central theme of church life came into the crossfire.[41]

In view of the increasing tensions, the Council called for another disputation, the Second Zurich Disputation from 26 to 28 October 1523, attended by about 900 people, perhaps 350 of them clergy.[42] Supported by Leo Jud, the pastor of St. Peter's, Zwingli disputed with the Catholic canon Konrad Hofmann. The first day was devoted to the question of images in the church; the mass was the topic on the second and third days. The gathering, from which the reform-minded emerged as clear victors, showed that the time had not yet come for a decision on both issues. A consistent but gradual procedure was recommended for the introduction of ritual reforms, which were to be accompanied by intensive pedagogical efforts for the sake of the old believers. The critical contributions of several of Zwingli's followers, such as Konrad Grebel, Balthasar Hubmaier and Johannes Stumpf, through the course of the disputation made it clear that the reform movement stood between two fronts: on the one side those loyal to the old church, on the other side the radicals, the later Anabaptists. Shortly after the Second Disputation Zwingli was tasked by the magistracy with producing a summary of evangelical teaching for the guidance of the clergy in city and countryside. Zwingli offered this précis in his work *Short Christian Introduction*, which may be deemed the oldest confession of the Zurich Reformation.[43]

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40 *Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit* (1523), Z 2: 458–525; HZW 2: 3–41. See Hamm, *Freiheit,* 100–22.

41 Peter Kamber, *Reformation als bäuerliche Revolution: Bildersturm, Klosterbesetzungen und Kampf gegen die Leibeigenschaft in Zürich zur Zeit der Reformation* (*1522–1525*) (Zurich: Chronos, 2010), 102–250.

42 *Die Akten der zweiten Disputation vom 26.–28. Oktober 1523*, Z 2: 664–803.

43 *Kurze christliche Einleitung* (1523), Z 2: 626–63; Engl: HZW 2: 48–76.

Neither the Second Zurich Disputation nor Zwingli's *Short Christian Introduction* caused great changes immediately. It would be another seven months until the images were systematically removed and another year and a half until the mass was replaced by the Lord's Supper. On the Monday after Pentecost 1524 (15 May), the peasants in Zollikon demonstrated and destroyed images and altars. The Council felt that the time had now come, and in a mandate from 15 June 1524 it allowed the removal of images.[44] The city's churches were purged within thirteen days. Altarpieces and carved images were burned, stone sculptures were broken up, and wall paintings painted over.

The magistrates would soon be confronted once more with unrest in the rural territory. In the spring of 1525, as the Peasants' War raged in Germany, Zurich's rural communities demanded the elimination of the last remains of serfdom, restrictions on the tithe, and the right to elect their own pastors, and they justified their requests with an appeal to the gospel. The Zurich government began a dialogue with the peasants and at the same time asked Zwingli for advice in this affair. The reformer suggested that serfdom be abolished, "because we are all children of God and should live fraternally with each other," and that only the small tithe should be abolished.[45] In the end, the magistrates decided to abolish serfdom but insisted on its previous rights with regard to tithes and the election of pastors, although it did promise a modicum of relief. The peasants seemed to be satisfied with this, although they did not achieve their actual goal. In this way the Zurich authorities and Zwingli, in friendly cooperation, were able to prevent a peasants' war in the Confederation without firing a shot. On the other hand, they were not able to integrate the religious opposition that arose in part out of the socio-political concerns of the rural population and in part out of a different theological view: that of the Anabaptists.

2.6 Constructing the New Order

The ecclesiastical reforms that sealed Zurich's separation from the Roman Church and the founding of a reformed state church began with the dissolution of the monasteries. A few dissolved themselves because their leaders converted to the reformed faith. So Provost Heinrich Brennwald gave all rights and properties of the monastery of Embrach to the Zurich Council in September 1524. On 30 November of the same year, the abbess of the Fraumünster abbey,

44 Text in ZHKO, 1: 20–21, no. 13. See Cécile Dupeux, Peter Jetzler, Jean Wirth, (eds.), *Bildersturm: Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille?* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2000), 75–83.

45 AZHR, 331–32, no. 724.

imperial princess Katharina von Zimmern—at that time the highest ranking woman in Zurich—made the historic step of giving to the city a cloister that was both steeped in tradition and well endowed, owning property from Uri to Alsace.[46] Shortly thereafter, on 5 December 1524 the Small and Large Councils decided to dissolve all monastic institutions in the city and the territory and to turn their properties over to the city treasury. The yield from monastic property gave the city the financial resources to introduce a comprehensive and generous social welfare program, while also transferring the largest portion of this responsibility from ecclesiastical jurisdiction to its own control.[47] This entailed creation of the *Mushafen* (a kitchen endowed to feed the poor), the support of poor families or those with many children and elderly members, and free education for children of parents with few resources. An agency was established to oversee the poor, and the officials developed compulsory work measures for so-called "loungers."

The Grossmünster chapter continued to exist as an institution having a certain economic autonomy, but it underwent an essential transformation. Encouraged by the example of Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had inspired the founding of the *Collegium trilingue* in Louvain as an independent educational institution alongside the local university, Zwingli planned a reform of education that would assure the training of future pastors. After obtaining the consent of the majority of canons and chaplains, on 29 September 1523 the Council mandated that income from tithes and other benefices would be used for reorganizing the already existing Latin school and setting up a theological school, which opened on 19 June 1525 in the choir of the Grossmünster.[48] In accord with Zwingli's understanding of 1 Cor. 14:29, it was first called the *Prophezei*, and later the *Lectorium*.[49] At base it was a regular group study of the Bible. Participants—the students of the fourth class of the Latin school,

46 Irene Gysel, Barbara Helbling, (eds.), *Zürichs letzte Äbtissin Katharina von Zimmern. 1478–1547* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1999).

47 Council Mandate of 15 January 1525, in AZHR, 270–74, no. 619. See Wandel, *Images*; Christian Moser, "Institutionelle Armenfürsorge in Zürich, 1520–1600: Die Almosenordnung 1525 und Vorstösse der Pfarrerschaft zur Armutsbekämpfung," in *Reichtum und Armut in den schweizerischen Republiken des 18. Jahrhunderts—Richesse et pauvreté dans les républiques suisses au XVIIIe siècle*, (eds.) André Holenstein et al. (Geneva: Slatkine, 2010), 33–49.

48 AZHR, 168–171, no. 426.

49 *Schola Tigurina: Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550,* (ed.) Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, 2nd ed. (Zurich: Pano Verlag, 2000); Daniel Timmerman, *Heinrich Bullinger on Prophecy and the Prophetic Office (1523–1538)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 111–27.

the canons, the ministers of Zurich, and learned guests from outside—met each weekday with the exception of Fridays (market day), and Sundays. The sessions were conducted in Latin and consisted of a reading of a given Old Testament book from the Vulgate, then from the original Hebrew and the Septuagint, to which participants added philological and theological considerations developed from the three versions of the text and their discussions. The results of this study were gathered in a sermon delivered in the vernacular to the wider audience. In the afternoons the New Testament was similarly explained and preached upon in the Fraumünster. Among the fruits of this intensive exegetical work were the Prophets' Bible (1529), the Zurich Bible (1531), which was the first evangelical translation of the whole Bible into German, and the Latin Zurich Bible (1539 and 1543).[50] This modest biblical-exegetical sodality developed in the course of reorganization by Heinrich Bullinger into an institution of higher learning with a significant reputation and impact, and indeed it was the prototype of all later Reformed academies in the Confederation and even throughout Europe.

Last but not least, the mass was abolished and an evangelical Lord's Supper was introduced for Easter 1525. Again, this was accomplished through the Council's decision of 12 April 1525, even if by a very small majority.[51] Zwingli created a German liturgy, *The Action or Practice of the Lord's Supper*, which is "a small liturgical work of art" in its simplicity and its dignity.[52] The Supper was not understood as an independent action but was linked with a preceding preaching service. It was celebrated in the vernacular, not with an altar but rather a cloth-covered table on which were placed simple wooden bowls of bread and wooden cups. The congregation gathered in the nave, and ministers brought the bread and wine to them. Each person broke off a piece of bread and drank from the cup. This Eucharistic liturgy illustrated what was most important to Zwingli the theologian in his understanding of the Lord's Supper: the sacrament is a remembrance meal of the congregation giving thanks. The celebration of the Lord's Supper occurred four times a year at Christmas,

50 Herbert Migsch, "Huldreich Zwinglis hebräische Bibel," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), 39–44; Bruce Gordon, "'Our Philosophy': Heinrich Bullinger's Preface to the 1539 Latin Bible," in Campi FS, 283–94; idem, "Remembering Jerome and Forgetting Zwingli. The Zurich Latin Bible of 1543 and the Establishment of Heinrich Bullinger's Church," *Zwingliana* 41 (2014), 1–33.

51 AZHR, 306, no. 684; Z 4: 5.

52 *Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmahls* (1525), Z 4: 1–24. See Irmgard Pahl, (ed.), *Coena Domini*, vol. 1: *Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert* (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1983), 182–98, here at 182; Engl: Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1961), 149–56.

Easter, Pentecost, and—theologically most illogical, yet pragmatically most natural—on the feast day of Felix and Regula, the patron saints of Zürich, on 11 September; there was a preaching service on the other Sundays. The oldest Zurich worship did not have congregational singing, and in 1527 the organs were removed from the churches. Zwingli did not dislike music and was even portrayed by contemporary chroniclers as a virtuoso musician who composed skillful melodies to a few of his choral songs and to the Psalms. Instead, the word of the apostle in Eph. 5:19—"sing and make melody to the Lord in your hearts"—was taken literally.[53]

It had long been the goal of Zurich's secular government to judge matters of marriage and morals. In continuation of late medieval praxis, the Bürgermeister and Council of Zurich issued on 10 May 1525 a "marriage court ordinance" independent of the episcopal court in Constance, which skillfully linked civil and ecclesiastical interests.[54] The newly-founded marriage court was comprised of two pastors as "scholars of Scripture" with two members each from the Large and Small Councils. Its duty was to deal with questions concerning impediments to and the legitimacy of marriages, to regulate economic questions related to separation and divorce, and to examine and judge cases that caused public offense (e.g. adultery, willful neglect, etc.). Already in 1526 the marriage court was expanded significantly to become a morals court whose jurisdiction now included all cases of immorality and whose competence extended throughout Zurich's rural territory. The marriage and morals court was imitated far beyond Zurich and so contributed normatively to social disciplining as well as to the development of legal thought in the entire area of Reformed Protestantism.[55]

One of the most important events of the Zurich church in this phase was the magistracy's calling of the first evangelical synod on 21 April 1528, which was then supposed to be held semiannually, in the spring and the autumn.[56] Every pastor who held a parish within Zurich's territory was required to appear. His acceptance into the synod occurred through a one-time synodal oath. In addition to the pastors, the synod was attended by the Bürgermeister and elected representatives of the Small and Large Councils. It is not surprising that the magistrates participated in the synod, in view of Zwingli's fundamental

53 The most comprehensive study remains Markus Jenny, *Zwinglis Stellung zur Musik im Gottesdienst* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1966). See also Garside, *Arts*.

54 Text in ZHKO, 1: 27–31, no. 18.

55 Walther Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932–42).

56 Text in ZHKO, 1: 54–5, no. 30; Zwingli's draft: Z 6/1: 525–36.

understanding of the Zurich Reformation as the reform of all of society, encompassing the spheres of church and commonwealth: church and state each had their own separate competencies but worked together towards the same goals.

2.7 Setbacks and Divisions

The construction of a reformed church order in Zurich aroused internal opposition. This had both political-economic and theological-ecclesiastical causes. Political opposition came from the supporters of mercenary service and the recipients of foreign pensions. Because these men still had numerous connections with influential individuals from the Catholic cantons, they posed a permanent danger to the work of reformation and to the politics of the Zurich Council, as Zwingli himself warned in a sermon on 12 March 1525.[57] Legal proceedings were instigated in 1526, and their leader, the Council member Jakob Grebel (ca. 1460–1526) was executed on 30 October 1526. The judgment was obviously politically motivated, in order to set an example in the fight against mercenary service.[58]

Within the city there was still an influential conservative Catholic opposition recruited from the clergy in the chapters of the Grossmünster and the Fraumünster, for example the canon Jakob Edlibach, to whose defense of the mass Zwingli responded in his work, *A Short Reply…In which the Question of the Eucharist is Discussed*.[59] More significant, and reaching far beyond Zurich in its consequences, were the theological-ecclesiastical controversies with the Anabaptists.[60] Among the leading figures of the Anabaptist movement were two enthusiastic lay supporters of Zwingli: Konrad Grebel (ca. 1498–1526), son of the executed council member Jakob Grebel, and Felix Manz (ca. 1500–1527), son of a canon in the Grossmünster chapter—an illegitimate child, one of the

57 Z 3: 584–59.

58 A useful reassessment of the issue is provided by Christian Moser and Hans Rudolf Fuhrer, *Der lange Schatten Zwinglis. Zürich, das französische Soldbündnis und die eidgenössische Bündnispolitik, 1500–1600* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2009), here at 41–3.

59 Responsio brevis ad epistolam… in qua de eucharistia quaestio tractatur (1526), Z 5: 317–58.

60 See Fritz Blanke, *Brothers in Christ* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1961); H. Wayne Pipkin, "'They went out from us, for they were not of us.' Zwingli's Judgment of the Early Anabaptists," in *Zwingliana* 19 (1992), 279–92; Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* and Chapter 10 below; C. Arnold Snyder, "Swiss Anabaptism: The Beginnings," in Roth/Stayer, *Companion,* 45–81; Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 15–116.

many sons of priests (including Heinrich Bullinger) at this time. There were also clergy: Wilhelm Reublin (1480/84-after 1559) in Witikon, Simon Stumpf in Höngg, and Johannes Brötli (before 1494–1528) in Zollikon. Why did these men turn their backs on their mentor? At the outset the issue was not the understanding of baptism but instead the concrete controversy over ecclesiastical tithes, whose justification they contested, citing the gospel and in opposition to Zwingli. Open conflict broke out at the end of October 1523, at the time of the Second Zurich Disputation. Here Grebel and the other radicals criticized Zwingli's hesitant actions, demanded the immediate abolition of the mass and the removal of all images from the churches, and pressed for the realization of a Christian church separate from the jurisdiction of the magistrate and based solely on faith, after the New Testament model. This understanding of the church led finally to a growing criticism of infant baptism.

The first rejections of infant baptism came in early 1524, and in August 1524, with Zwingli's agreement, the Council required the baptism of all newborn infants.[61] The discussions in December 1524 between the radicals and Zurich's three parish pastors led not to resolution but only replaced the original friendship with growing opposition and even enmity. Zwingli drew a strong line separating himself from his former companions in his tract, *Those who Give Cause for Tumult*.[62] On 17 January 1525 a disputation with the Anabaptists was held before Council members, citizens, and scholars in the Zurich City hall; there the Anabaptists were to defend their understanding of baptism according to scripture. When they could not do so, the Large Council issued a mandate in which it required infant baptism under the sharpened threat of banishment.[63] On 21 January Grebel and Manz were forbidden to speak or attend gatherings, while some Anabaptists not from Zurich were expelled. With these acts the Zurich magistrate thought it had resolved the problem, but on the evening of the same day the "brethren" met in a secret gathering in the house of Felix Manz's mother, where Grebel administered believer's baptism to Georg Blaurock, a former priest from Graubünden. Blaurock then baptized others who were present. Only a few days after this memorable baptism, on 25 January 1525, in Zollikon near Zurich, Blaurock celebrated the Lord's Supper according to the New Testament model as a meal of thanksgiving and remembrance, and afterwards he baptized those present. From these events arose the first congregation of Anabaptists.

61 QGTS 1: 11, no. 12 (as cited in Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 29).

62 *Wer Ursache gebe zu Aufruhr* (1524), Z 3: 355–469.

63 QGTS 1: 35, no. 25 (as cited in Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 44).

The history of the Zurich Anabaptists over the next few years is full of depressing chicanery, fines and corporal punishment, imprisonment, torture, expulsion, and death sentences. Konrad Grebel, who endured several interrogations, escaped this threatened fate through a spectacular escape from a Zurich jail. He went to Graubünden, where he died of the plague in the summer of 1526. Felix Manz, however, became the first Anabaptist martyr when he was drowned in the Limmat at Zurich on 5 January 1527. His friend Georg Blaurock was flogged and expelled from Zurich, then arrested and thrown into prison in Graubünden, and finally burned at the stake in Klausen, Tyrol, on 6 September 1529. During Zwingli's lifetime, three more Anabaptists were drowned in the Limmat. Although one should not exaggerate the number of death sentences, it nonetheless remains true that the Zurich Reformation exacted a heavy toll.

By 1531 the Anabaptist movement was largely eliminated in the canton of Zurich, but Anabaptism spread through the Confederation (St. Gallen, Appenzell, Aargau, Basel, Bern) and the bordering areas of Alsace, Austria, the Duchy of Württemberg, the electoral Palatinate, and Hesse. The foundational document of the "Swiss Brethren" is the *Schleitheim Confession* (1527), with its seven articles addressing, among other things, the congregational ban, believer's baptism, and separation from the world. The author was the former Benedictine monk Michael Sattler, who died a martyr's death in 1527.[64]

Zwingli fought the Anabaptists not only with his theological tracts[65] but also by using the pulpit and his connections within the Zurich Council to press for prosecuting them for sedition. The penal legislation went so far as to include a dishonorable death by drowning. How could the disciple of Erasmus advocate religious coercion, and how could he agree to this bloody persecution, when he had offered shelter to the refugee Ulrich von Hutten in 1523? In the church's dependence on the political authorities, the Anabaptists saw a broad contradiction to the freedom of individual Christian congregations according to scripture, and they demanded *Absonderung*, the separation of the newly reformed church from the secular government, and even from society. Zwingli, on the contrary, held firmly to the conception of a unified *corpus christianum*, where the civil and religious spheres were understood to be coextensive.

64 *Bekentnnis;* Engl: J.C. Wenger, "The Schleitheim Confession of Faith," *MQR* 19 (1945), 243–53.

65 See for example: *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von de Kindertaufe* (1525), Z 4: 188–337; partial Engl. translation: "Of Baptism," Z&B, 129–75; *Antwort über Balthasar Hubmaiers Taufbüchlein* [A Reply to Balthasar Hubmaier] (1525), Z 4: 577–642; *In catabaptistatrum strophas elenchus* (1527), Z 6/1: 1–196; Engl: "Refutation of the Tricks of the Catabaptists," in ZSW, 123–258.

Nothing better expresses his view of the unity of *ecclesia* and *respublica* than a passage from the preface to his commentary on Jeremiah from 1531: "A Christian is none other than a loyal, good citizen; a Christian city nothing else than a Christian community."[66] Zwingli regarded a voluntary church consisting only of true believers, which neither needed the assistance of the magistrate nor assumed responsibility for all public life, as gambling with chaos. His opponents naturally saw this as a sign of his unbelief. It was a tragic conflict of two opposed ecclesiologies, one of which appeared before the times were ready for it.

2.8 Impact on the Confederation and South Germany

In 1525, at the high point of the Zwinglian Reformation, Zurich was confessionally and politically isolated within the Confederation. Zurich's fellow Confederates were loud in their criticism of the ecclesiastical innovations introduced in the city. The unsuccessful efforts of three delegations from the Catholic cantons between September and November 1525 to convince the Council to restore the mass and the old order, as well as the tedious negotiations over the periodic renewal of the Confederation's oath of allegiance, demonstrate that there was a conflict between "confessional reason of state in Zurich and in the other Confederates."[67] Furthermore, Glarus, where Zwingli had been pastor from 1506–16 and had many supporters, was inclined to evangelical teaching. Its territorial assembly (*Landsgemeinde*) had decided in 1525 to abolish the yearly pilgrimage to Einsiedeln as the first step towards introducing the Reformation.[68] The reform movement also found early entrance into Zwingli's homeland, Toggenburg, as well as in the mandated territory of Thurgau, which was closely bound to Zurich's economy. These regions, like many places within Zurich's territory, were filled with peasant unrest, the refusal to pay tithes, and iconoclasm during the period 1524–1525. The imprisonment of the reformed pastor Hans Öchslin provoked a massive peasant uprising. Within two days, on 18–19 July 1524, the Carthusian monastery of Ittingen was set afire. The "Ittinger Storm," as it came to be known, led to a bitter conflict between Zurich and the

66 Z 14: 424.20–2: "Christianum hominem nihil aliud esse quam fidelem ac bonum civem, urbem Christianam nihil quam ecclesiam Christianam esse."

67 René Hauswirth, "Zur politischen Ethik der Generation nach Zwingli," *Zwingliana* 13 (1971), 305–42, here at 311. What Hauswirth argues for the generation after Zwingli was already extant in the years 1525–1526, and it applies to the whole period.

68 Ernst Tremp, "Glarus Kanton," Chapter 3. 4: "Kirchliches und religiöses Leben, Kultur und Bildung," in HLS, URL: http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D7374.php.

cantons loyal to the old church. Despite Zwingli's energetic protest, the Zurich Council was compelled by the order of the Confederal Diet to turn over those responsible for judgment. Only with great difficulty was war prevented.[69]

Zurich's increasing isolation was strengthened by a further problem: its disagreement with fellow Confederates regarding mercenary service and pensions. It is well known that Zwingli was a bitter opponent of mercenary service and its linkage with foreign lords.[70] Under his powerful influence, the Zurich Council was the only canton of the Confederation that in 1522 already issued a general prohibition of mercenary service and pensions; this would be strictly enforced over the coming years. The most resolute opposition to this policy came from the five cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug and Lucerne, which for vital economic reasons stemming largely from overpopulation neither wished nor were able to reject this lucrative source of income. Because the attack on mercenary service was justified on religious grounds, the Catholic cantons, together with the government of Further Austria in Ensisheim

FIGURE 2.4 *The Carthusian monastery of Ittingen near Warth, Canton Thurgau, was stormed by peasants in July 1524. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

69 Z 3: 511–38; Hannes Kappeler, *Die Reformation im Thurgau*, 2nd ed. (Winterthur: Kappeler, 2009); Kamber, *Reformation als bäuerliche Revolution*, 282–315.

70 Moser and Fuhrer, *Der lange Schatten Zwinglis*, 11–43.

and the bishop of Constance, planned to condemn the Zurich Reformation and ban Zwingli throughout the Confederation. For this reason a disputation was held at Baden in Aargau, from 19 May to 8 June 1526, in tandem with a Confederation *Tagsatzung*.[71] Johannes Eck for the Catholic side and (in the place of Zwingli, who with the support of the Zurich magistracy did not attend) Johannes Oecolampadius of Basel on the reformed side disputed Christ's corporeal presence as well as the sacrificial character of the mass, the veneration of saints, images, and the doctrine of purgatory. In fact the majority of the Confederate cantons condemned Zwingli's teaching as error. The condemnation remained without effect, however, because Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and, of course, Zurich refused to sign the verdict. It was clear after the Baden Disputation that the Confederation was deeply divided concerning religion.

The Reformation's adoption by the powerful city-republic of Bern was of tremendous significance for the further progress of the Swiss Reformation. After long dithering, Bern's Council invited participants to Bern for a disputation held from 6–26 January 1528.[72] It was similar to a general assembly of the Swiss-south German reformatory movement, and especially through Zwingli's active participation it provided evidence of the orthodoxy of evangelical teaching, just as the magistracy had wished. A few days later, on 7 February 1528, the Council declared that an evangelical church structure was binding on both the city and rural territory of Bern. Over the course of 1528–1529 other areas and cantons followed the example of this mighty city-republic, including the cities of Biel, St. Gallen, Basel, and Schaffhausen; in Glarus the territorial assembly (*Landsgemeinde*) decided in May 1529 that each community should choose its own form of worship.

Zwingli, who had long foreseen and recognized the possibility of armed confrontation, worked tirelessly to ensure that those areas that had adopted the Reformation strengthened their connections to each other through so-called Christian Civic Unions (*Christliche Burgrechte*). Their goal was to safeguard reformatory innovations and to encourage them in the mandated territories.[73] Thus Zurich first entered into a civic union with the city of Constance, which had in the meantime adopted the Reformation (1527). This was followed

71 *Baden Disp*; Backus, *Disputations.*

72 Z 6/1: 202–442, 443–98, 499–508; see Chapter 3 in this volume.

73 Zwingli commented on regional diplomacy and military policy in his writings *Plan zu einem Feldzug* (1524, Z 3: 539–83), *Warum man sich mit Konstanz, Lindau, Strassburg usw... in ein Burgrecht einlassen soll* (1527, Z 6: 197–201), and *Ratschlag über den Krieg* (1529, Z 6/2: 424–40). See Olivier Bangerter, *La pensé militaire de Zwingli* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), 123–77.

by alliances with Bern, St. Gallen (1528), Basel, Schaffhausen, Biel, Mülhausen (Mulhouse) (1529), and Strasbourg (1530); these alliances were later extended to Ulm and Augsburg. In this way Zurich could end its previous isolation within the Confederation. Zwingli now saw the possibility of implementing his reforming efforts throughout the entire Confederation.

The five Catholic cantons (Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Zug and Unterwalden) felt threatened by the political program of the militarily superior reformed cities, and they likewise sought to safeguard their interests through alliances. Thus on 22 April 1529 they sealed a Christian Union (*Christliche Vereinigung*) with Ferdinand of Habsburg-Austria, the brother of Emperor Charles V and regent of the Further Austrian territories. This alliance provided some resistance to the expansionary pressure of the reformed areas. Nonetheless, provocation by both Zurich and Schwyz—the beheading in Zurich of the Catholic bailiff of Thurgau, Max Wehrli, followed by the burning for heresy of the reformed pastor Jakob Kaiser in Schwyz—sharpened the tensions so that armed conflict seemed unavoidable. In June 1529, reformed and Catholic troops faced each other near Kappel. Before any fighting began, however, the mediation efforts of those cantons who had remained neutral, under the leadership of the Glarner *Landammann* Hans Aebli, were successful: on 26 June 1529 the so-called First Kappeler Peace was issued, and supposedly the soldiers of both sides sat together and ate from the same pot—the famous "milk soup" that would become the core of Swiss iconography for reconciliation.[74] The peace treaty sealed the confessional status quo, and so Zwingli lost the opportunity he had hoped for, to spread the Reformation to central Switzerland. The Catholics had to accept certain political disadvantages and economic sanctions, however. They had to abandon their Christian Union, bear the costs of the war, and recognize a new church structure in the mandated territories, according to which the decision concerning confession belonged no longer to the ruling cantons but instead to each commune. If, unlike a monarchy, there was no over-arching coercive power, and alliance members were held together by oaths of allegiance couched in religious terms, how could a religiously divided state exist without a common faith?[75] In fact, this symbolic reconciliation did not last long. The conflict broke out again in 1531 with the Second Kappel War.

74 Georg Kreis, "Die Kappeler Milchsuppe. Kernstück der schweizerischen Versöhnungsikonographie," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 44 (1994), 288–310.

75 On this important subject for the early modern Swiss Confederation, see Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "'Das uns Gott helft und die Heiligen': Zürich im Streit um die eidgenössische Schwurformel," in Campi FS, 295–346.

FIGURE 2.5 *The Milk-*soup *of* Kappel*: According to an anecdotal account, the belligerents placed a kettle filled with milk at the boundary between the two camps, and soldiers of both armies started dipping little pieces of bread in the milk together. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

2.9 The Lord's Supper as Bone of Contention

At the time of the First Kappel War, Zwingli was involved in a three-front war: against the traditional church, against the Anabaptists, and against Luther, for in the meantime a conflict had broken out among Protestants over the proper understanding of the Lord's Supper. Between 1525 and 1528 a pamphlet war raged between Wittenberg and Zurich, in which neither reformer could find common ground for agreement.[76] It began in March 1525 with the publication of Zwingli's *Commentary on True and False Religion* in which he developed a distinctively new view of the Lord's Supper.[77] On the one hand, he agreed

76 For a complete list of tracts and treatises, see Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 283–318. For the broader context, see Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

77 *De vera et falsa religione commentarius* (1525), Z 3: 590–912, esp. 757–62, 773–820. Engl: ZLW 3, reprinted as Ulrich Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, (eds.) Samuel Macauley Jackson and Clarence Nevin Heller (Durham, NC: Labyrinth, 1981). See Carrie

with Luther and the Lutherans in rejecting the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice beneficial to the living and the dead, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the notion of *opus operatum*, and communion in one kind. On the other hand, Zwingli and Luther disagreed sharply over the mode of Christ's presence and over the power and efficacy of the sacrament for salvation. Luther clung to the view that the body and blood of Christ were truly and substantially present in the sacramental bread and wine of the Lord's Supper and understood the words of institution as a trustworthy testament of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. Following Erasmus and the Dutch humanist Cornelis Hoen, Zwingli no longer interpreted the words of institution in a literal sense, "This *is* my body," but instead as a metonymy, a figure of speech, "This s*ignifies* my body." He drew a very sharp distinction between the sign and what it signifies, and accordingly rejected the notion of the bodily presence of Christ, the old doctrine of transubstantiation as well as the Lutheran teaching of consubstantiation. John 6:63—"it is the spirit that gives life; the flesh profits nothing"—became in many ways paradigmatic of his understanding of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. In short, from 1525 to the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, the Eucharist was for Zwingli a thanksgiving and commemorative meal (*Dank- und Gedächtnismahl*), an affirmation of brotherly communion (*Gemeinschaftsmahl*), a pledge of allegiance to Christ (*Pflichtzeichen*) for his sacrifice on the cross, and primarily an exercise of faith (*contemplatio fidei*).

Scholars still debate whether this interpretation of the Lord's Supper represents a stage in Zwingli's thinking to which new insights were added after the encounter with Luther in Marburg.[78] In any case, the polemical debate over the Lord's Supper ended finally in the Marburg Colloquy from 1 to 4 October 1529, to which the young Landgraf Philipp of Hesse invited the combatants Luther and Zwingli and their supporters. This included Philipp Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Johannes Brenz, Andreas Osiander, Johannes Oecolampadius, Martin Bucer and Kaspar Hedio, among others.[79] The invitation was not only

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Euler, "Huldrych Zwingli and Heinrich Bullinger," in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation*, (ed.) Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 57–74, esp. 59–65.

78 In his writings from the years 1529–1531 (*Account of the Faith, Exposition of Faith,* and especially *De convitiis Eckii*) one can detect cautious attempts to come closer to Bucer and Luther on the questions of the presence of Christ and the efficacy of the sacraments. See, for example, Zwingli's letter to Bucer of 3 or 4 September 1530, Z 11: 117–9; *Fidei ratio*, Z 6/2: 806.6–17; *Fidei Expositio*, Z 6/5: 90.14–9; 92.17–93.3; *De convitiis Eckii*, Z 6/3: 278–81. Engl: ZLW 3: *An Account of the Faith*, 35–61; *A Short and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith*, 236–93, and *Letter of Huldreich Zwingli…Regarding the Insults of Eck*, 105–27.

79 For an introduction to the colloquy, see Wolf-Friedrich Schäufele, (ed.), *Die Marburger Artikel als Zeugnis der Einheit* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012).

theologically but also politically motivated: Philipp's goal was to establish a political alliance of Protestants, including the south Germans and Swiss. For such purpose, it was necessary first to reach agreement in the theologically controversial question of the Lord's Supper. This proved not to be possible, but at the end of the colloquy the participants outlined a common theological position in fifteen articles. On fourteen of these they reached agreement; only with the last article concerning the Lord's Supper did they hold different views. Despite the disagreement, the participants proclaimed the desire to tolerate each other in Christian love. Not only for this reason, but also because they were convinced of the need for unity among Protestants, did the Strasbourgers, and above all Martin Bucer, devote themselves very quickly to finding a mediating position, although ultimately they did not succeed. It remains a tragedy that the division that had its unhappy beginning here would only become deeper over the course of further developments.

2.10 European Politics and Crisis

After his return from Marburg, Zwingli was concerned with consolidating relations with evangelicals outside of the Confederation as well as with the spread of the Reformation into those regions that remained Catholic within the Confederation. At the beginning of January 1530 Zurich and Basel concluded a defensive alliance with Strasbourg. An alliance with Hesse followed in November of the same year, as the core of a European anti-Habsburg coalition intended to protect the evangelical faith from the interference of the emperor and from papal machinations.[80] Into this context fit Zwingli's two last major writings, *An Account of the Faith* and *An Exposition of the Faith,* with which he sought to convince the Diet of Augsburg (1530) and Francis I of France respectively of his model for reformation.[81] Zwingli would soon be greatly disappointed, however: the allied cities of Constance and Strasbourg decided, together with Lindau and Memmingen, to submit their own confession, the so-called *Tetrapolitana*, and this meant the total failure of the ambitious but unrealistic idea of a European-wide anti-Habsburg alliance.

80 Z 6/2: 733–40; René Hauswirth, *Landgraf Philipp von Hessen und Zwingli: Voraussetzungen und Geschichte der politischen Beziehungen zwischen Hessen, Strassburg, Konstanz, Ulrich von Württemberg und reformierten Eidgenossen, 1526–1531* (Tübingen: Osiandersche Buchhandlung, 1968).

81 *Fidei Ratio* (1530), Z 6/2: 753–817; *Fidei expositio* (1531/1536), Z 6/5: 1–163.

The progress of the Zurich Reformation was in the end decided not on the stage of international politics but on that of the Confederation, where Zwingli's position soon brought a crisis. The resistance of the Catholic cantons hardened, but there was no unity among the Reformed, as can easily be seen from Bern's reluctance within the system of alliances. In Zurich itself, there was discontent with Zwingli's overly powerful position, because together with a group of preachers called "Shouters" by the people, he demanded free preaching, the spread of the Reformation, and the founding of new congregations within the mandated territories, the allied cantons, and indeed throughout the entire Confederation. Zwingli was increasingly convinced that through the blasphemous actions of the five Catholic cantons not only moral and economic harm but God's punishment would fall on the Confederation as a whole. He expected its destruction unless it could find the way back to pure faith through the forgiving mercy of God in accordance with scripture, i.e. through the principles of the Reformation. These thoughts formed the background against which—over a long period leading up to the summer 1531—he drafted his astonishing plans for an all-encompassing transformation of the Confederation under the leadership of Zurich and Bern as the "two oxen that pull the wagon."[82] His plans for war first met resistance. Not only in the conservative aristocratic society of the *Constaffel*, but also in the more level-headed circles of Zurich the view was spreading that active confessional politics would lead only to calamitous conflict within the Confederation. This moved Zwingli almost to the point of resigning his post owing to lack of support; he was asked to remain, however, and he withdrew his resignation request.

After persistent but ineffective threats of war and attempts to mediate, in May 1531 Bern and Zurich imposed a blockade on food on the central cantons. A few months later Bern backed out, which angered Zurich and led to tensions between the two cities and increased feelings of insecurity among Zurich's political leaders. In October, pressured by food shortages, the five cantons declared war on Zurich; the city-republic was isolated. On 11 October 1531 near Kappel am Albis the Zurich troops suffered a devastating defeat, in which Zwingli and roughly five hundred Zurichers were killed, including clergy, council members, and faithful supporters of the Reformation.

Despite the general confusion, the magistracy held to its original goals for the war, with the support of troops from the cities of the *Christliches Burgrecht*—Bern, Basel, Mülhausen, Schaffhausen and St. Gallen. Just two weeks later, on 24 October, they were defeated again in the battle on Gubel, a hill above Zug. In its psychological effect this surpassed the defeat at Kappel: thanks to the effect of surprise, the troops from central Switzerland defeated the reformed troops

82 *Was Zürich und Bernn not ze betrachten sye* (1531), Z 6/4: 164–253, here at 242.

despite the superiority of the latter; at least six hundred Zurichers died on the battlefield. With this severe blow Zurich's Swiss religious politics had failed completely. On 20 November 1531 the Second Peace of Kappel was signed. In anticipation of the 1555 Peace of Augsburg's principle of *cuius regio eius religio,* its conditions allowed each individual canton to determine the confession of its citizens and subjects itself, but it favored Catholicism within the mandated territories. Zurich also had to renounce its alliances with the other Reformed cantons as well as with the south German cities and to pay the high costs of reparation.[83]

Zwingli's death presented an extreme crisis for the young reformed church. Oswald Myconius, Zwingli's most trusted companion and later successor of Johann Oecolampadius as professor and pastor of the Basel cathedral, depicted the situation in those dark days in Zurich: "Here there is nothing but sorrow and grief. Our distress grows with every day. More than the loss of Zwingli, more than the death of so many brave men, we are weighed down by the concern that the free preaching of the word of the gospel is so close to perishing."[84] The victory of the Catholics at Kappel and on the Gubel entailed also potential risks for the *Respublica Tigurina*. The defeat did not in any way endanger the constitutional structure of the city-state, but it brought to a boiling point the internal political tensions that had developed immediately before and during the war.[85] In the city, the voices critical of Zurich's politics within the Confederation gained new weight. Although favorable to the Reformation, a large portion of the rural population was sick of the adventurous religious policies that had determined the course of the republic over the previous two years. It was not long before a search for those responsible began in earnest. The ideal scapegoat was the circle of preachers and other supporters of Zwingli who had promoted the war. Consequently, with the so-called Meilen Agreement of 28 November 1531,[86] the opposition demanded not only a greater right to participate in political decisions and the elimination of Zwingli's radical supporters from the Large and Small Councils, but also stricter oversight over the clergy, who were no longer to be involved in political business. In a

83 Helmut Meyer, *Der Zweite Kappeler Krieg: die Krise der Schweizerischen Reformation* (Zurich: Rohr, 1976); Helmut Meyer, *Der Zweite Kappeler Krieg. Gedenkschrift zur 450. Wiederkehr des Todestages von Huldrych Zwingli 11. Oktober 1531–11. Oktober 1981* (s.l. [Zurich]: Kirchenrat des Kantons Zürich, 1981).

84 As cited by Carl Pestalozzi, *Heinrich Bullinger. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1858), 71.

85 Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "Heinrich Bullinger und die Krise der Zürcher Reformation im Jahre 1532," in HBGA, 269–89; Helmut Meyer, "Krisenmanagement in Zürich nach dem Zweiten Kappeler Krieg," *Zwingliana* 14 (1977), 349–69; Büsser, *Bullinger,* 2: 10–9.

86 AZHR, 768–70, no. 1797.

balancing act between faithfulness to religion and *raison d'etat*, these demands were substantially granted and officially confirmed on 10 February 1532. Previously, on 9 December 1531, barely two months after the death of the reformer, in a memorable meeting of the Large and Small Councils in Zurich—about which more will be said—the difficult office of leading the young reformed church was bestowed on a religious refugee from Bremgarten who was only 27 years old. His name was Heinrich Bullinger.

FIGURE 2.6 *Oil portrait of Heinrich Bullinger by Hans Asper (ca. 1559)*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

2.11 Bullinger's Early Life and Appointment as Antistes

Heinrich Bullinger was born on 18 July 1504, the youngest of five sons of the priest Heinrich Bullinger and Anna Widerkehr in the small town of Bremgarten, not far from Zurich.[87] After receiving basic schooling in his home town and then attending Latin school in Emmerich on the lower Rhine near the border with the Low Countries, he began study at the University of Cologne in the summer of 1519. In early 1522, not yet eighteen years old, he received his Master of Arts degree. The educational experience that would decisively shape Bullinger's intellectual interests was the conflict among the learned in 1520 over Martin Luther's condemnation by the theologians of the University of Cologne. He passed his baccalaureate examination three days after Luther's writings were publicly burned in Cologne. Through this he felt compelled to examine the foundation of Catholic doctrine. Bullinger extensively described his inner development in his *Diarium*: by the traditional route of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and Gratian's *Decretum* he came for the first time to the church fathers and experienced their burning actuality in the raging conflict. He then turned to Luther's reformatory writings as well as Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, but above all he buried himself in the study of the Bible. At the end of his stay in Cologne he had become an evangelical Christian.[88]

In February 1523 Bullinger was appointed schoolmaster of the newly founded school of the Cistercian cloister in Kappel am Albis (canton Zurich) under the condition that he be freed from all monastic obligations.[89] The position offered him an outstanding opportunity, through teaching and learning, to deepen his knowledge of theology. He instructed convent members and hearers from the surrounding area in the customary disciplines of grammar, rhetoric, and logic (the *trivium*) and at the same time continued his study of the church fathers, eagerly pursued biblical exegesis, held public lectures on individual works of Erasmus and on Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, and wrote shorter and longer works in both Latin and German that accorded with the Zwinglian Reformation. Under the influence of the young teacher, actively supported by

87 The standard biography in German is Büsser, *Bullinger*; see also the following collections of essays: Gordon/Campi, *Architect*, and Emidio Campi, (ed.), *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit*: *eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Zurich: TVZ, 2004); short portrait in English: George Ella, "Henry Bullinger (1504–1575): Shepherd of the Churches," in *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, (ed.) Thomas Harding (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Reformation Heritage Books, 2004), IX–LXXI.

88 HBD, 4–6, and his *Vita* appended as Annex, 125-18, here at 126.

89 HBD, 7–16.

Abbot Wolfgang Joner and Prior Peter Simler, the father of the future theologian and historian Josias Simler, he brought about the Cistercian abbey's acceptance of the Reformation in 1525.

Bullinger met Zwingli shortly after arriving in Kappel, and they quickly became friends. In letters the young teacher shared the fruits of his reading with the reformer, who was roughly twenty years older, and in 1525 Bullinger was even recruited for discussions with the Anabaptists in Zurich. He was in Zurich for a period of study between mid-June to mid-November 1527. This was a time of struggling for the proper understanding of scripture stimulated by the running discussions in the *Prophezei* with Zwingli, Konrad Pellikan and Rudolf Collin. Looking back, Bullinger observed that those months were the happiest of his life, not least because while he was in Zurich he met his future wife, the former Dominican nun Anna Adlischwyler. As mark of the trust that Bullinger met in Zurich, the magistracy appointed him to attend the Bern Disputation in January 1528 together with Zwingli and other Zurich clergy. There he met many of his later colleagues and correspondents. Bullinger returned to his post as teacher in Kappel, and from 1528, he also assumed pastoral responsibilities in the neighboring area of Hausen; on account of this appointment he was officially accepted into the newly formed Zurich synod.

In the spring of 1529 Bullinger left his teaching post in Kappel and became pastor in Bremgarten, where he worked for two and a half years. In August he married Anna Adlischwyler, a strong-willed and courageous woman. From this harmonious union resulted five daughters and six sons. By the time Bullinger died in 1575, four of these sons had predeceased him, and he lived the last eleven years of his life as widower.[90] During his short time in Bremgarten, so strategically important for the link between Zurich and Bern, Bullinger was able to win the city for the Reformation without any notable confessional tensions. He would be expelled from the city in the wake of its recatholicization immediately after the Second Kappel War.

Bullinger's flight to the city on the Limmat was the great turning point in his life. It is worth describing in some detail his election as pastor of the Grossmünster and leader of the church, because it would give the Zurich Reformation its future form. According to Bullinger's own account he and the six pastors in the city were summoned before the Council on 9 December 1531. Bürgermeister Heinrich Walder told them that the council members had unanimously elected Heinrich Bullinger "in the place of the blessed Master Huldrych Zwingli," and then he read to the dumbfounded clergy the fourth article of the

90 Rebecca A. Giselbrecht, "Myths and Reality about Heinrich Bullinger's Wife Anna," *Zwingliana* 38 (2011), 53–66.

agreement just reached between the city and territory of Zurich (the above-mentioned Meilen Agreement), which they were to accept with their oaths.[91] This article demanded that the preachers should be "peaceably and generally oriented towards peace and quiet," and above all that they would not "meddle in any secular matters either in the city or the countryside, in the Council or elsewhere."[92] In other words, on 9 December 1531 the magistrates expected Bullinger to continue the Zwinglian Reformation, but could not and would no longer tolerate the involvement of the clergy in political affairs.[93]

Bullinger realized the implications of this demand, and after four days given to consider it, he promised that henceforth the preachers would not meddle in state affairs. At the same time, though, he underlined the duty of the preachers to watch over the secular government and to preach according to scripture, without consideration of person, for "God's Word should not and will not be bound. Instead, whatever one finds in it, whatever that may be, or whomever it concerns, should be spoken freely."[94] Zwingli had meant the same thing in his thesis directed against Luther, "*Regnum Christi* [*est*] *etiam externum*" (Christ's kingdom is also external), and he had participated directly in the political decision-making process.[95] The newly-elected pastor clearly distanced himself, however, from the course of his predecessor, and steered his own course: the pastors could not and should not carry out their responsibilities for the community through involvement in Council commissions but instead always held to the duty of the preaching office, even when taking public positions on issues.[96]

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91 HBRG 3: 291.

92 AZHR, 769, no. 1797: "Zum vierten, g(nädigen) l(ieben) H(erren), ist unser früntlich pitt und beger, dass ir nunfürhin in üwer stadt prädicanten annemind, die fridsam sygind und uf frid und ruow stellind…keiner weltlichen sachen underwindint noch beladint, in stadt und uf dem land, im Rat und darnebent…."

93 See above footnote 7.

94 HBRG 3: 293–6, here at 295.

95 Hans Rudolf Lavater, "Regnum Christi etiam externum. Huldrych Zwinglis Brief vom 4. Mai 1528 an Ambrosius Blarer in Konstanz," *Zwingliana* 15 (1981), 338–81; Hamm, *Freiheit*, 116–7; Emidio Campi, "Bullingers Rechts- und Staatsdenken," *Evangelische Theologie* 64 (2004), 116–26.

96 Bullinger reasserted his view in a speech delivered in the *Karlstagrede* of 28 January 1532 (the annual festival commemorating Charlemagne's original endowment of the Grossmünster) that was published under the title *De prophetae officio*, HBBibl 1, no. 33. Dwelling on the notion of prophetic office formulated by his predecessor, Bullinger insisted that the ministerial or prophetic office is to interpret the law of God; the magisterial or ruling function is to act upon the interpretation. See Daniel Bolliger, "Bullinger on Church Authority: The Transformation of the Prophetic Role in Christian Ministry," in Gordon/

The Council expressed its agreement, thereby avoiding a two-fold danger: on the one side the dominance of the state by the church according to medieval theocratic conceptions, and on the other, the state's paternalistic tutelage of the church, as would often happen in the state churches of the later *Ancien Régime*. Far into the 17th century the Zurich church maintained the unique practice whereby the pastors addressed the Council in the manner of the Old Testament prophets when they pointed out abuses or could not agree with political decisions. These *Fürträge* (formal addresses) that Bullinger held at the behest of the clergy over the next 44 years show how difficult it was to achieve such critical cooperation between the office of minister and that of magistrate.[97] On the whole, the clergy almost always succeeded and so created an efficient means of participating in the civic debate.

From the time of his election until his death, Bullinger acted within a multidimensional network of ecclesiastical, social, political, and personal relationships of local and international range. He worked at the same time as president (Antistes), preacher, and pastor of the Zurich church, as theologian and scholar, and as architect of Swiss and European Protestantism. As a reformer he does not fit into the popular image of heroic fighter for the faith that has had such a persistent impact in historiography since the nineteenth century, and he is still too little known because traditionally research has tended to focus on the years immediately before and after 1523, the historically decisive phase of the Zurich Reformation. Without in any way downplaying the fundamental significance of these early years of the Reformation, in light of the most recent research it must be stressed that between 1531 and 1575 many rough attempts at reform matured into functional institutions, and at the same time further important elements appeared through which the work of the Reformation would be consolidated and assume tangible form.

2.12 New Beginning and Organization of the Zurich Church

From 1528 the synod was one of the constitutive elements of the Reformed Church in Zurich. It attained fixed form only through the Zurich Preachers and Synod Ordinance of 22 October 1532. Composed by Bullinger with the assistance of Leo Jud, it remained operational until the end of the *Ancien*

Campi, *Architect*, 159–77; Peter Opitz, "Von prophetischer Existenz zur Prophetie als Pädagogik. Zu Bullingers Lehre vom munus propheticum," in HBLTI, 2: 493–513.

97 A large selection is available in critical edition in HBST; see Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat.*

Régime.[98] The ordinance regulated the practice of the synod and the parish pastorate as well as the relationship between church and magistrate. The semi-annual meetings of the synod were not a "parliament of the church" in the modern sense but instead a gathering of the roughly 150 ordained pastors and theology professors throughout Zurich's territory, which was also attended by seven council members (four from the Large Council, three from the Small Council), the Bürgermeister, and the Stadtschreiber (the city clerk). The composition of this body, over which Bullinger presided for 43 years in his position as head of the church, reveals the strategic goals of this first Reformed church ordinance: the synod was the place where clergy and magistracy together exercised their shared responsibility for the administration of the church. Unlike Leo Jud, who expressed his doubts about this institutional conception,[99] Bullinger seems to have never recognized the possibility of political dominance of the church. He made every effort, however, to avoid a mixing of spiritual and secular competence, as is clearly demonstrated by the synodical records and the synodical orations.[100]

Discussions were centered not on theological matters, as one might expect, nor on questions of church administration or financing. The agenda included the following items: 1. The *invocatio*, asking for God's blessing on the gathering. 2. The *catalogus*, which identified the pastors participating. 3. The *sacramentum*, by which newly installed preachers gave their synodal oath. 4. The portion allotted to *externi* determined whether and which guests from other churches or who among the laity were allowed to attend. 5. During the portion allotted to the *senatus*, the representatives of both Councils brought initiatives or admonitions from their commissions; the pastors could also address the magistracy. 6. The main business of the synod was the *censura*, the judgment of conduct and performance in office of each pastor, including the Antistes. The synodical records of Bullinger's time show that order and discipline were not what one would wish. The synod's punitive measures ranged from fraternal admonition through public rebuke to transfer to another congregation.

98 AZHR, 825–37, no. 1899; ZHKO, 1: 129–50, no. 59.

99 Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 75–6.

100 These sources, which hold immense value for increasing our understanding of the period, have still not been fully examined, let alone edited (*Synodalprotokolle*, StAZ, E II 1; *Sermones synodales*, ZZB Ms D 220). The most important contributions to this subject are: Biel, *Doorkeepers*; Gordon, *Discipline*; Büsser, *Bullinger,* 1: 127–42; Jon D. Wood, *Heinrich Bullinger's "Sermones synodales": New Light on the Transformation of Reformation Zurich*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 2008).

The greatest punishment, where there was no hope for improvement, was dismissal from the ministry.

It is well known that, in contrast to the Genevan Reformation, the Zurich Reformation was quite restrained in developing independent church discipline. This was jointly exercised through the civil and ecclesiastical authorities—*de facto* through the Council and the Examiners Committee (*Examinatorenkonvent*).[101] The original function of the latter was the examination and ordination of candidates for pastoral office, hence its rather strange name; but in fact the Committee was the highest court of the Zurich church and had oversight of the whole institution. It was composed of two members each from the Large and Small Councils, three city pastors, two theology professors, and two archdeacons from the Grossmünster. As the president for many years, Bullinger shaped the theory and practice of pastoral training and influenced largely the personnel policies of the church. The marriage and morals court (*Ehe- und Sittengericht*) remained responsible for the supervision and maintenance of general morality. Individuals were cited before the morals court for numerous reasons, including offenses against the sanctity of Sundays, drunkenness, dancing, sexual immorality and adultery, as well as heresy and occasionally witchcraft. The morals court ordinances prescribed as punishment admonition, exclusion from the Lord's Supper, fines, imprisonment, exile, and the death sentence.

No less important for the consolidation of the Zurich church were the continued reforms of the liturgy through the first complete official liturgical ordinance of 1535, the oldest of any Reformed Church.[102] It brought together various pieces of Zwingli's liturgical work into a new church agenda, which would be used for centuries with only minor changes. When Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586) published his short description of the *Rites and Institutions of the Zurich Church* in 1559, he remarked, not without some confessional smugness, "The Zurich Church has only a few ceremonies and has only retained the most important. So far as possible, the church has restored the first and simplest forms, indeed those of the apostolic church."[103]

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101 For examples of condemnation of improper conduct of ministers, see Max Stiefel, *Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse im Knonauer Amt nach der Reformation 1531–1600. Ein Beitrag zur landschaftlichen Reformationsgeschichte* (Affoltern am Albis: Weiss, 1947), 69–96.

102 *Christenlich ordnung und bruch der kilchen Zürich* (Christian Order and Practice of the Zurich Church), Z 4: 695–706. See Markus Jenny, "Bullinger als Liturg," in HBGA, 2: 209–30; Roland Diethelm, "Bullinger and Worship: 'Thereby Does One Plant and Sow the True Faith,'" in Gordon/Campi, *Architect*, 135–57; Büsser, *Bullinger,* 1: 142–61.

103 Ludwig Lavater, *De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae Tigurinae opusculum* ([Zurich: Froschauer, 1559]), f. 3b–4a.

It is well known that in comparison to the Lutherans, the Zwinglian Reformation was more radical in its approach to the form of worship and liturgical spaces. The many forms of liturgical celebrations are less well known. According to the *Order and Practice* of 1535 these were: 1. Preaching services, which consisted essentially of sermon and prayers. The traditional church year and its lectionary were largely abandoned, and the continuous exposition of the books of the Bible became the norm. There was no congregational singing, because Zwingli feared that music would draw people away from the spoken and preached Word of God. Bullinger and his successors so effectively followed through on Zwingli's concern that congregational music was forbidden until 1598 (and the organ was not restored until the nineteenth century).[104] 2. The "*prophecy*," i.e. the morning worship service (from Monday through Thursday), which was no longer an event for the scholars of the *Lectorium* but was now seen as a Bible class for the people. 3. The service of the Lord's Supper was held three times a year (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost). The celebration of the Supper was not just a liturgical act within worship, but for a week before its actual celebration there was a preparatory preaching service in which the meaning and use of the sacrament was expounded.[105] 4. Catechetical services, which were directed above all at children and youth as well as the uneducated and servants, were held on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.[106] 5. The common prayer on Tuesday was elaborated over the course of the 16th century and was held in connection with a special penitential worship service.[107] Church funerals were discontinued, with only the announcement of the passing of the deceased. Church weddings, however, were maintained, although no longer celebrated as a sacrament; rather, civil unions countenanced by the municipality were placed under God's blessing.

The weekly services can be described as follows: on Sunday in the four city churches there were two morning services (winters at 8:00, summers at 7:00, and again at 11:00), a noon service, and an afternoon service with a catechism sermon (at 3:00). Worship was also held every weekday morning at 5:00 and 8:00, except on Friday, the market day. In the rural parishes, three or four

104 Markus Jenny, "Reformierte Kirchenmusik? Zwingli, Bullinger und die Folgen," in Oberman, *Das reformierte Erbe*, 1:187–205.

105 Markus Jenny, *Die Einheit des Abendmahlsgottesdienstes bei den elsässischen und schweizerischen Reformatoren* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1968), 64–70.

106 ZHKO, 1: 137–38, no. 59.

107 Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "Gegen den Hunger beten. Heinrich Bullinger, Zürich und die Einführung des Gemeinen Gebetes im Jahre 1571," in *Vom Beten, vom Verketzern, vom Predigen. Beiträge zum Zeitalter Heinrich Bullingers und Rudolf Gwalthers. Prof. Dr. Alfred Schindler zum 65. Geburtstag*, (eds.) H.U. Bächtold et al. (Zug: Achius, [1999]), 9–44.

services were held each week, depending on the parish. Sundays began with the morning worship, then a catechism service in the afternoon; during the week a morning sermon was held on Tuesday, and on Saturday the week was generally closed with readings and prayer.[108] Bullinger himself preached in the pulpit of the Grossmünster daily from 1532 to 1538, later and until his death "only" on Sunday and two weekdays. While the majority of his sermons remain unpublished—over 6000 drafts and transcriptions are preserved in Zurich's Central Library—roughly ten percent were printed.[109] The best known sermon collection by far was published 1549–1551 in Latin under the title, *Five Decades of Sermons*; it was translated into German, English, Dutch and French.[110] These didactic sermons, which received their name because they were divided into five groups of ten (i.e. decades), became classics of their genre as a compendium of the Christian faith as well as a means for personal devotion, and they were widely distributed even outside Europe.[111]

The Preachers and Synod Ordinance of 1532 also prepared the way for public instruction of children. The birth of catechetical activity in Zurich's reformed church dates to 1523 with Zwingli's pedagogical treatise, *The Education of Youth*, a concise treatment of the premises of reformed instruction.[112] There was no appropriate means of offering instruction in the Christian faith to the common folk in simple language, although Leo Jud produced his "Wall Catechism" in 1525. This contained his own translation from the original texts of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria and the Apostles' Creed, and it was intended to be hung in every house as a replacement for the images of saints so beloved before the Reformation.[113] On the basis of this need, in

108 Lavater, *De ritibus*, 5a–9a.

109 *In Apocalypsim conciones* (1557), HBBibl 1, nos. 327–356; *In Jeremiae prophetae sermones conciones* (1557–1561), HBBibl 1, nos. 357–362; *Festorum dierum sermones* (1558), HBBibl 1, nos. 369–75; *Conciones in Danielem* (1565), HBBibl 1, nos. 428–29; *Conciones in Iesaiam* (1567), HBBibl 1, no. 558. Some of them were translated into vernacular languages.

110 *Sermonum Decades quinque de potissimis Christianae religionis capitibus*, (ed.) Peter Opitz, 2 vols. (Zurich: TVZ, 2008) [HBTS 3]. Engl: *The Decades of Henry Bullinger*, (ed.) Thomas Harding, 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1849–1852, rep. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2004). On Bullinger's *Decades* the essential works are Walter Hollweg, *Heinrich Bullingers Hausbuch. Eine Untersuchung über die Anfänge der reformierten Predigtliteratur* (Neukirchen: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Erziehungsvereins, 1956) and Opitz, *Theologe.*

111 Rudolph M. Britz, "Did Bullinger's *Huysboeck* Shape the Christian Society at the Cape of Good Hope during its Formative Years?" in HBLTI, 2: 840–52.

112 *Quo pacto ingenui adolescentes formandi sint* (1523), Z 2: 526–51. Engl: Z&B 102–18.

113 On the catechetical manuals that appeared in Zurich during the 16th century, see Sang-Bong Park, *Heinrich Bullingers katechetische Werke* (Th.D. diss., University of Zurich, 2011); see also Chapter 13 below.

1533 the synod commissioned Leo Jud to produce a catechism. This resulted, between 1534 and 1538, in the first, so-called "Larger Catechism," and then, also at the wish of the synod, the "Shorter Catechism."[114] Jud's catechisms were widely distributed not only in Zurich but also in most Reformed Churches in the Confederation. Bullinger himself composed four catechetical works in the 1550s. These can be divided into two groups based on the reasons for their composition. To the first belong his *Epistle to the Hungarian Church and Clergy* and the *Questions of Religion*.[115] To the second belong the *Common Places of Christian Religion* and the *Catechism for Adults*, which were originally written as instruction books for the Zurich school system and are classics among the Reformed catechisms.[116] They were gradually supplanted by the Heidelberg Catechism, however. Only under Antistes Burkhard Leemann (1531-/1613) were new catechisms written that would then be used over a long period.

It was not only the worship services and the catechism that turned the population of the city-state of Zurich into Reformed Christians within a few years. The Reformation attained its broad impact in large part through the reorganization of the educational system.[117] Zwingli was especially concerned that young people would be instructed well enough to read the Bible and the most important works of the Christian tradition in their original languages. Through the *Prophezei* he was able to fulfill the demand for well-educated preachers that resulted from the new situation of the church. He did not establish either a new curriculum or a new school ordinance, however. The improvement of instruction at the Latin schools, the provision of salaries for schoolmasters and professors, the financing of new buildings for education, the creation of stipends to support students: all these unspectacular but no less significant measures were slowly achieved in very modest partial steps and often in the face of powerful resistance from the magistracy.

114 Leo Jud, *Catechismus: Christliche klare und einfalte Ynleytung in den Willenn unnd in die Gnad Gottes* ([Zürich: Froschauer, 1534, f. CX]); *Der kürtzer Catechismus: ein kurtze christenliche Underwysung der Jugend* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1538, f. LII). Both Biel, *Doorkeepers*, 185 and Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, 157, erroneously reversed the chronological order in which the Larger and the Small Catechism were published.

115 *Epistola ad ecclesias Hungaricas earumque pastores scripta* (1551), HBBibl 1, nos. 383–5; *Bericht, wie die Verfolgten antworten sollen* (1559), HBBibl 1, nos. 386–93. Engl: *Questions of Religion cast abroad in Helvetia by the adversaries of the same: and aunswered by M.H. Bullinger,* trans. John Coxe (London, 1572).

116 *Summa christlicher Religion* (1556), HBBl 1, nos. 283–314; *Catechesis pro adultioribus* (1559), HBBl 1, nos. 377–82.

117 See Chapter 13 below.

Bullinger was surely the principal driving force in the construction of the Zurich school system. This was the result not only of his role as *Schulherr* (superintendent) from 1532 to 1537—he oversaw the old Latin schools in the Grossmünster and the Fraumünster and the *Prophezei* newly created by Zwingli, which was soon renamed the *Lectorium*—but even more as influential member, until the end of his life, of the "Appointees for Teaching and School," the supervisory committee consisting of council members, teachers, and the city pastors, who were responsible for the entire educational system. The most important stages of the education reform are as follows: the Latin schools were reorganized in 1532, for which Bullinger drafted a new ordinance. In 1538, thanks to his stubborn insistence, the *Alumnat* was founded, where young students from the countryside and from poor families were lodged largely at the cost of the state. In 1545 both Latin schools were expanded from four to five classes; three years later a new ordinance for the *Lectorium* was developed. This, along with the *Lectorium's* clear separation from the Latin schools, led to its higher status. The development of the educational system reached its provisional culmination in 1559 through Bullinger's official summary and new edition of earlier school ordinances.[118]

The change in the *Lectorium* was striking. External signs of this were the establishment of a new professorship of philosophy alongside the already existing four theological professorships; the transfer of the *lectiones publicae* (or *Letzgen*, as they were called until the end of the 18th century) from the publicly accessible choir of the Grossmünster to the closed rooms of the chapter building, the introduction of disputations and examinations for students and of a matriculation book (*Album in Schola Tigurina Studentium*), and the incorporation of books from secularized cloisters as well as from public and private collections into the library of the Grossmünster chapter. Zwingli's original goal, the education of evangelical clergy, remained the same, but it was significantly transformed and articulated. From the earlier, informal working group there developed a disciplined institution with fixed educational goals.

Within a European context, the considerable esteem in which the *Schola Tigurina* was held rested not on its institutional weight but above all on the reputation of its teaching personnel.[119] Among the most significant teachers

118 Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, "Bullinger and the School," in Gordon/Campi, *Architect,* 215–29.

119 Michael Baumann, Rainer Henrich, "Das Lektorium, sein Lehrkörper, seine Studenten," in *Schola Tigurina*, 24–7; Carrie Euler, "Faculty Recruitment and Retention in the Early Modern Era. The Zurich Lectorium, c. 1560–1610," *Zwingliana* 40 (2013), 113–26; Gordon, "Remembering Jerome."

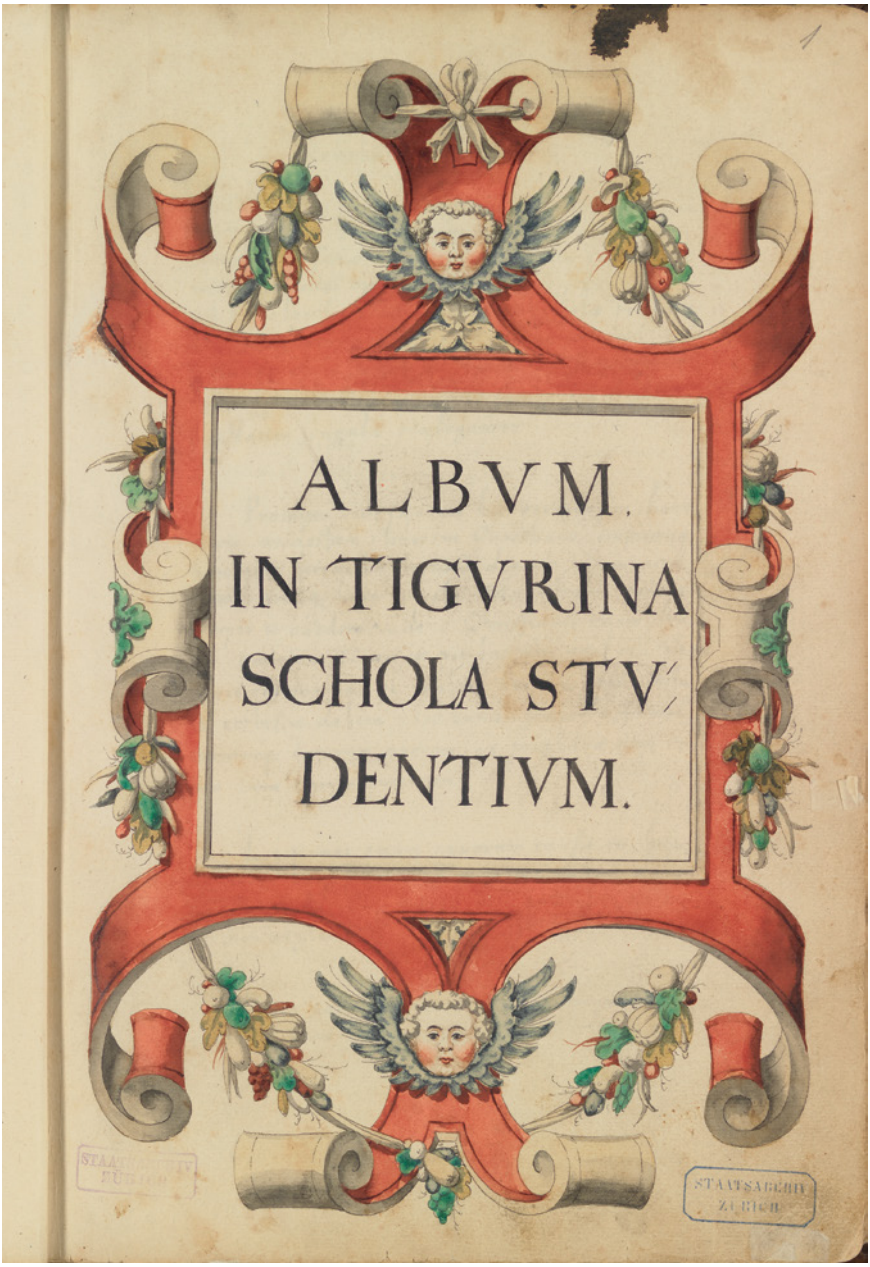

FIGURE 2.7 *Title page of the first matriculation register of the* Schola Tigurina *(1559)*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZSTA

was the former Franciscan from Alsace, Konrad Pellikan (1478–1556),[120] an outstanding exegete and pioneer of Christian Hebraism, who was responsible for the first Hebrew grammar written by a Christian not of Jewish birth. His seven-volume *Commentaria Bibliorum* is the only commentary produced at the time of the Reformation covering all of the books of the Old and New Testament. Theodor Bibliander from Thurgau (1505–1564),[121] whom the Council appointed to Zwingli's post as Professor of Old Testament in 1531, achieved fame as an orientalist and linguist, especially as editor of the first critical Latin edition of the Qur'an. Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) taught and worked in the *Schola Tigurina* from 1556; with Bullinger and Calvin he was one of the founding fathers of Reformed Protestantism. He gave highly regarded lectures on the Old Testament that served as textbooks for generations of theologians on both sides of the Atlantic.[122] The accomplishments of the school were not limited to theology. The Zuricher Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) was a universal scholar in the best sense.[123] He lectured on physics, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and ethics, and he also held the position of city physician and finished a monumental *Bibliotheca universalis*, the first large bibliography encompassing all areas of knowledge. Just as oriented to the universal was the historian and Old Testament scholar Josias Simler (1530–1576), the author of *De republica Helvetiorum*, a defense of Confederate republicanism against the criticism of European monarchists, which was the standard work of Swiss history for centuries. The *Schola Tigurina* played an unquestioned role as theological leader within the Reformed world (together with the Genevan Academy) up to the death of Bullinger, its greatest supporter, in 1575.

Cooperation and tensions between political and ecclesiastical interests existed not only in the area of education but also with regard to public welfare. The Poor Law of 1525 established that the surplus from cloisters and benefices

120 Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich, 1526–1556* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975); Matthew McLean, "'Praeceptor amicissimus': Konrad Pellikan, and Models of Teacher, Student and the Ideal of Scholarship," in Baschera, *Zwingli*, 233–255.

121 Christine Christ-von Wedel, (ed.), *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005); Christian Moser, *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): annotierte Bibliographie der gedruckten Werke* (Zurich: TVZ, 2009).

122 Torrance Kirby et al., (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 95–114; Michael Baumann, *Petrus Martyr Vermigli in Zürich (1556–1562): dieser Kylchen in der heiligen gschrifft professor und laeser* (Th.D. diss., University of Zurich: 2010).

123 Urs B. Leu, *Conrad Gessner als Theologe: Ein Beitrag zur Zürcher Geistesgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990); Urs Leu et al., (eds.), *Conrad Gessner's Private Library* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

FIGURE 2.8 *Professors at the Schola Tigurina during Bullinger's era*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE THEOLOGISCHER VERLAG ZÜRICH

went into the city's poor chest and would be used for social purposes. The Zurich church held firm to this decision into the 1570s.[124] The city council greatly coveted the church's property, however. This property was used during the 1530s to cover the costs of war, and then later to purchase various governing rights and districts and even to pay council members. In his formal addresses

124 The question of begging and poor relief appears frequently in the church ordinances; ZHKO, 1, nos. 67, 73, 85, 134, 154, 156, 168. See Chapter 14 below.

to the magistracy (*Fürträge*) Bullinger repeatedly chastised this alienation of funds. Until mid-century the system of poor relief was still sufficient for the city's social problems. Poverty increased thereafter, and ecclesiastical and political authorities blamed each other. The conflicts stretched on for years and remained a latent point of controversy, although they reached a provisional end in 1557 with the revision of the Poor Law. The new regulations were an attempt to meet the current situation, but financial needs became so great over the next years that existing means did little to help. In the crisis year of 1571 the work-creation program suggested by the clergy to relieve poverty had little success.[125]

There remained in Zurich the tradition of great openness to religious refugees from Italy, France, Germany, England, Hungary, and Poland, and the city's generous reception of these refugees often had beneficial consequences over the long term. For instance, the English "Marian exiles" who stayed in Zurich during the reign of Mary Tudor would later hold high ecclesiastical and academic positions under Queen Elizabeth I and contributed decisively to the spread of Reformed theology in their country.[126] Zurich had both positive and negative experiences with Italians who fled their homeland for the sake of religion. While Peter Martyr Vermigli significantly enriched his elective homeland with his extraordinary gifts, Bullinger fell out with the former vicar general of the Capuchin order, Bernardino Ochino, who was expelled from the city. Most familiar is the city's provision for the Reformed who were expelled from Locarno (1555), who found a refuge in Zurich, and who contributed significantly to the economy, scholarship and politics of the city.[127]

2.13 Defining Confessional Relationships and Confessional Formation

It was clear at the 1530 Diet of Augsburg that on the question of the Lord's Supper the Zwinglian Reformation deviated from the Lutheran and so Zurich was threatened with political isolation. This danger increased considerably

125 See Bullinger's *Fürtrage* on social welfare in HBST, 149–73, 185–97, 337–56, and the revised Poor Law of 1525 in ZHKO, 1: 324–25, no. 134.

126 See Andries Raath and Shaun de Freitas, "From Heinrich Bullinger to Samuel Rutherford: the impact of Reformation Zurich on Seventeenth-century Scottish Political Theory," in HBLTI, 2: 853–79; Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Heinrich Bullinger and the English-speaking World," ibid., 891–934; Torrance Kirby, "The Civil Magistrate and the *'cura religionis'*: Heinrich Bullinger's Prophetical Office and the English Reformation," in ibid., 935–50.

127 Mark Taplin, *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church c. 1540–1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

after February 1531, when the Lutheran estates formed a defensive alliance in Schmalkalden that many south German cities joined, while the reformed cantons of the Confederation withdrew almost completely from imperial politics after Zwingli's death. Bucer's efforts to obtain a consensus between the Swiss/South Germans and Lutherans were regarded with mistrust in Zurich. A decisive turn came in early 1535 when it became known that Paul III was preparing to call a council in Mantua, because this gave new impetus to the plans developed in Marburg for an alliance among the Protestants. Between 30 January and 4 February a number of influential magistrates and leading theologians from Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Mülhausen, Constance, and Biel met in the Augustinian cloister in Basel. The first joint confession of faith of the reformed cantons, the First Helvetic Confession, was drafted by Heinrich Bullinger, Leo Jud, Kaspar Megander, Simon Grynaeus, and Oswald Myconius, with the participation of Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito.[128] The confession, in 27 articles, left room for inner-Protestant agreement. Article 20, reflecting Zwingli's later statements, went beyond a purely significative effect of the sacraments. Article 22 on the Eucharist contained the new concept of *cœna mystica*, as well as the statement that bread and wine were holy signs presented by Christ through the ministry of the church as the true fellowship of his body and blood.[129] Leo Jud's German translation, which emphasized the Zwinglian sense of the carefully crafted Latin text, was accepted at a meeting on 27 March 1536. At a subsequent gathering in Aarau on 1 May 1536, the reformed cantons emphasized their wish for concord with the Lutherans but did not send any negotiators to the meeting in Eisenach (which was then moved to Wittenberg) and empowered Bucer and Capito to present the First Helvetic Confession as the basis for negotiations. Luther found the Confession acceptable but demanded additional explanation concerning the Lord's Supper. Despite a generally friendly reception, the plans for concord failed. Bucer reached agreement in May 1536 with the Wittenberg Concord, in which he accepted Christ's true presence with the elements during reception of the Lord's Supper and avoided the thorny problem of the *manducatio impiorum* (reception by the impious) with the formulation *manducatio indignorum* (reception by the unworthy). He found agreement with this Concord among the south Germans,

128 German and Latin Text in RBS 1/2: 33–68. Engl: "The First Helvetic Confession (1536)," in *Reformed Confessions of the 16th and 17th Centuries in English Translation*, (ed.) James T. Dennison Jr., 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2008–14), 1: 342–52.

129 RBS 1/2: 65.7, 11–4: "… quod panis et vinum ex institutione domini symbola sint, quibus ab ipso domino per ecclesiae ministerium vera corporis et sanguinis eius communicatio, non in periturum ventris cibum, sed in aeternae vitae alimoniam exhibeatur."

but not all the Swiss. In the end Basel was inclined to accept it, as was St. Gallen, but in synods held in October, Bern and Zurich refused to sign it.[130]

Despite repeated attempts to continue discussions with Luther, the gap between Wittenberg and Zurich grew wider.[131] Bullinger owed much to Luther, and the theological commonalities between the two were stronger than their disagreements.[132] This increased the tragedy of the long-lasting conflict between the Wittenberger and the Zuricher over the Lord's Supper. From the publication of his Galatians commentary in 1535, Luther used many different opportunities to polemicize strongly and frequently against Zwingli's understanding of the Lord's Supper. As the leader of the Zurich church Bullinger often had to defend his predecessor, which he did with a consciously moderate tone in order not to create even more divisions. Nonetheless Bullinger achieved nothing with this strategy of appeasement. Luther's attacks against the "sacramentarians" peaked in his unrestrained polemical tract, *Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament*,[133] which moved the Antistes to compose the *True Confession of the Zurich Church* of 1545.[134] In good conscience he refuted the charge of heresy by emphasizing Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper, and he even expressly granted that Christ's body and blood were truly eaten and drunk by believers in the meal, although with the restriction that Christ's presence was spiritual and in no way limited to the Lord's Supper, and that Christ was received not with the mouth but "with the believing mind." The *True Confession* was Bullinger's last exchange with Luther before the German reformer's death.

More positive than their dealings with Luther were the relations between the Zurich theologians and Calvin, and later with Theodore Beza, which led to significant long-term agreement. In their contacts, Bullinger and his successor Rudolf Gwalther defended their own viewpoint but always recognized that the

130 Martin Friedrich, "Heinrich Bullinger und die Wittenberger Konkordie," *Zwingliana* 24 (1997), 59–79; Bruening, *Battleground*, 72–91; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Basel and the Wittenberg Concord," ARG 96 (2005), 33–56.

131 See Bullinger's correspondence between 2 November and 30 December, 1536, HBBW 6, nos. 907–30.

132 Peter Opitz, "Heinrich Bullinger und Martin Luther. Gemeinsamkeiten und Differenzen," *Evangelische Theologie* 64 (2004), 105–16.

133 Martin Luther, *Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament* (1544), WA 54: 119–67; LW 38: 279–319.

134 *Wahrhafte Bekanntnuß der diener der Kilchen zů Zürych* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1545). See Willem F. Dankbaar, "Das Zürcher Bekenntnis (1545) und seine niederländische Übersetzung (1645)," in HBGA, 1: 85–108.

Genevans had to follow their own way in light of their particular situation.[135] The *Consensus Tigurinus* remains to the present the strongest symbol of their mutual respect as well as their increasingly cordial personal friendship. Bullinger and Calvin hammered out this agreement on sacramental doctrine in May 1549, in the aftermath of prolonged negotiations and against the backdrop of the Schmalkaldic War and the Augsburg *Interim.*[136] The *rapprochement* between Geneva and Zurich is particularly evident in articles 7–12, where all of the threads of the agreement's twenty-six articles come together. On the one hand, it faithfully acknowledges Zwingli's understanding of the sacraments as badges of Christian profession, inciting to thanksgiving, exercising faith and recalling the death of Christ to memory. On the other, it repeats Calvin's concern that the sacraments are "instruments by which God acts efficaciously." Bullinger and Calvin together affirmed that "God truly offers inwardly by his Spirit that which the sacraments figure to our eyes and other senses."

The *Consensus* was a theological step forward, which had the immediate effect of removing the greatest stumbling blocks that stood for years between Zurich and Geneva and eventually led the other evangelical churches in the Confederation to re-examine their understanding of the sacraments, or at least to use language that would be more acceptable to all. Moreover, as so often in church history, the long-term results were better than one might have expected considering the petty but acrimonious controversies that the agreement stirred up. What seemed to contemporaries a text with a host of ambiguities, ranking somewhere between Luther and Zwingli, became a touchstone for the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which found its mature expression in the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession. In addition,

135 Emidio Campi and Christian Moser, "'Loved and feared': Calvin and the Swiss Confederation," in *John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society 1509–2009*, (eds.) Martin Ernst Hirzel and Martin Sallmann (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 14–34; Büsser, *Bullinger,* 2: 115–40; Emidio Campi, "Theodore Beza and Heinrich Bullinger in Light of Their Correspondence," in Campi, *Patterns*, 169–83.

136 Original Latin text in CO 7: 733–48. New critical edition with English translation by Torrance Kirby in *Cons Tig,* 125–42 and 258–67. The literature on the Zurich Agreement is vast. The two standard works in English, Paul Rorem, *Calvin and Bullinger on the Lord's Supper* (Bramcote/Nottingham: Grove Books, 1989), and Timothy George, "John Calvin and the Agreement of Zurich (1549)," in *John Calvin and the Church: A Prism of Reform*, (ed.) Timothy George (Louisville: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1990), 428–85, need updating. The most recent surveys are Wim Janse, "Calvin's Eucharistic Theology. Three Dogma-Historical Observations," in *Calvinus Sacrarum Literarum Interpres*, (ed.) Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 37–69, and Emidio Campi, "The Consensus Tigurinus: Origins, Assessment, and Impact," in idem, *Patterns*, 83–121.

although contemporaries regarded it as a bone of contention, it was a seed of hope that anticipated the Leuenberg Concord of 1973, the intra-Protestant agreement that overcame the strife between Lutherans and Reformed over the Lord's Supper and enabled Protestant churches to enter into table fellowship.[137]

Because of the concrete steps towards calling a council during the later 1530s, both the Catholics and the Reformed in the Confederation had to address the issue.[138] In 1543 the papal legates Girolamo Franco and Albert Rosin appealed to both parties to put aside their differences and send representatives to the upcoming assembly, although with little success, for even the seven Catholic cantons were not represented at Trent until the last period of the council. The reformed cities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen sharply rejected any participation. In order to reject a council that they had themselves demanded for years, they needed strong arguments. These were provided by Bullinger in three expert reports (*Gutachten*), one for each of the three meeting periods, in which he dissuaded the "godly magistrates" of the involved parties from dealing with the Council of Trent.[139] With persistent repetition of the same plea in much the same words, these three pieces did not fundamentally oppose a council, but rather they intended to prove that a council under the papacy's direction had nothing to do with the tradition of councils of the early church and could be called neither free, nor general, nor Christian. According to the Antistes, the council was convened for no other reason than to strengthen old errors and to suppress the reformation that had begun. It is a moot point whether Bullinger as a contemporary could realize the significance of the Council of Trent for the Catholic Church and for world Christianity. Be that as it may, he did prove astonishingly well informed concerning the course of

137 See the essential contributions of Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), 45–70, Eberhard Busch, "Die Tragweite von Artikel 7 im Consensus Tigurinus," in *Cons Tig*, 284–95, and Fulvio Ferrario, "Vom Consensus Tigurinus zur Leuenberger Konkordie," in ibid., 337–51.

138 See Rudolf Pfister, "Zur Bullingers Beurteilung des Konzils von Trient," in HBGA, 1: 123–40; Büsser, *Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, 2: 40–53; Emidio Campi, "The Council of Trent and the Magisterial Reformers," in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)*, (eds.) Wim François and Violet Soen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).

139 They are: "Antwort der Predigeren zu Zuerich auf des Papst Laden in das Concilium zu Trient (1546)," (HBBibl 1, no. 733), in *Miscellanea Tigurina* 1/3 (Zurich: 1722), 26–38; "Antwort der Kirchendienern zu Zürich auf des Papsts Laden in das Concilium zu Trient (1551)," (HBBibl 1, no. 229), in *Concilium Tridentinum. Diariorum. Actorum. Epistolarum. Tractatuum nova collectio*, 13 vols., (ed.) Görres Gesellschaft (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1901–2001), 7/3: 213–20; [Ablehnung der dritten Einladung an das Konzil von Trient] (1562), in HBST, 209–28.

the council, because he had access to a widespread communication network. Through Pier Paolo Vergerio in particular he received well-founded first-hand information concerning the measures discussed or planned by the council's fathers, which he then passed on to his friends and colleagues.[140]

The official expert reports found their literary expansion in an oration that Bullinger held on Karlstag (28 January 1551), the annual festival commemorating Charlemagne's original endowment of the Grossmünster, as well as in his treatise *On Councils*, which he wrote as both theologian and historian.[141] Along with his reasons for rejecting Trent, based both on content and procedure, he presented his understanding of a free general Christian council held independently of the pope, and he closed the work with hope for the imminent return of Christ, who would open the truly ecumenical and universal council (*vere oecumenicum et universale Concilium*): the council of the Last Judgment.[142] The book was quickly disseminated both at home and abroad and was one of the most read works in Puritan circles in England.[143]

The Zurich Central Library preserves several evaluations, position papers, and writings of the Zurich clergy on the question of the council that testify to the significance of this topic in the 1540s and 1550s.[144] It is sufficient here to mention two works of Theodor Bibliander, who also followed the course of the gathering with great interest and, like Melanchthon and Calvin, published the acts of the Council's first period with commentary.[145]

Among the multitude of radical groups within the Reformation, the most prominent was the Anabaptist movement. Like Zwingli, Bullinger also

140 Emidio Campi, "Pier Paolo Vergerio und sein Briefwechsel mit Heinrich Bullinger," in *Historische Horizonte. Vorträge der dritten Emder Tagung zur Geschichte des Protestantismus*, (eds.) Sigrid Lekebusch und Hans-Georg Ulrichs (Wuppertal: Foedus, 2002), 19–37, esp. 23–7.

141 Heinrich Bullinger, *Concilium tridentinum* [...] (Zurich: s.n., 1751) (HBBibl I, no. 230); Bullinger, *De Conciliis* [...](Zurich: Froschauer, 1561) (HBBibl I, nos. 402–15).

142 Bullinger, *De Conciliis*, 180r–v. On Bullinger's apocalyptic interpretation of history, see the important contributions of Christian Moser, "'Papam esse Antichristum.' Grundzüge von Heinrich Bullingers Antichristkonzeption," *Zwingliana* 30 (2003), 65–101, and Moser, *Dignität,* 1: 25–32.

143 See Polly Ha, "Puritan Conciliarism: Why Walter Travers Read Bullinger's *De Conciliis*," SCJ 42 (2011), 57–76.

144 ZZB, Ms A 70, A 84, A 127, A 128. See Kurt Maeder, *Die Via Media in der Schweizerischen Reformation. Studien zum Problem der Kontinuität im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung* (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), 209–23.

145 Theodor Bibliander, *Amplior consideratio decreti synodalis Tridentini* ([Basel?]: [s.n.] 1551); Bibliander, *Concilium sacrosanctum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Basel: [Oporinus], 1552).

participated in the deplorable struggle against them.[146] In May 1535—in the charged atmosphere of the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in Westphalia and its catastrophic end—he wrote, at the request of the synod, an expert report concerning the treatment of heretics, decisively defending the death penalty for obstinate Anabaptists.[147] The report had considerable impact. Pressure on dissidents increased significantly. The morals court and synod were steadily occupied with problems caused by the Anabaptists. Despite civic repression and ecclesiastical condemnation, Anabaptists were able to build underground churches in the areas of Grüningen, Wädenswil, in the county of Uznach, and in the border regions between Baden and Zurich. Here they met secretly in private houses or gathered in woods. The engagement of the clergy was necessary to oppose these developments, as were secret reports and searches by the authorities to discover the places and times of these meetings. A series of mandates repeatedly emphasized the duty, introduced in 1530, of attending worship on Sundays and holidays. This was largely, although not exclusively, directed against the Anabaptists, who were supposed to become better informed through instruction and sermons.[148] Finally, in mandates from 1574 and 1585, renewed in 1612, Anabaptism was forbidden throughout Zurich's territory.[149] In 1574, emigration was still possible, although return was prohibited; a little later emigration was also formally prohibited. At a Confederal Diet held at Aarau in 1585, the Reformed cities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen agreed to combat Anabaptism together.

Bullinger shaped the historic image of Anabaptism like no other reformer, especially with his lengthy treatise, *On the Origins of Anabaptism*, which became a classic.[150] There he presented the development and history of the movement and refuted its teaching. He compared Anabaptists with the early church sect of Donatists, while he claimed for himself the legitimacy of Augustine. Bullinger was particularly concerned to show that Konrad Grebel and Felix Manz "drew their view of rebaptism from Müntzer." In other words,

146 The essential works are Heinold Fast, *Heinrich Bullinger und die Täufer. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie und Theologie im 16. Jahrhundert* (Weierhof, 1959); Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer,* 85–116; Leu, "Die Zürcher Täufer zur Bullingerzeit," in HBLTI, 1: 252–69.

147 Text in Urs Leu, "A Memorandum of Bullinger and the Clergy regarding the Punishment of the Anabaptists (May 1535)," MQR 78 (2004), 109–32.

148 ZHKO 1: nos. 47, 70, 82, 87, 87, 126, 139, 160, 171.

149 ZHKO 1: nos. 169 and 179.

150 Heinrich Bullinger, *Der Widertöufferen Ursprung* […] (Zurich: Froschauer, 1560) (HBBibl 1, nos. 394–401).

the decisive cause for the development of the Zurich Anabaptist movement was Müntzer's presence in the Upper Rhine valley, and thus Zwingli and the Reformation that he began could be absolved from any responsibility for the turmoil caused by the Anabaptists. Through this work—or more precisely, through Josias Simler's Latin translation of the same year—Bullinger's image of Anabaptism spread through all of Europe, in both Protestant and Catholic territories, and it is in part still accepted in our day. Mennonite historians have often and with good reasons emphatically refuted the tendentious theory of the Antistes.[151] This, however, does not mean that he committed a "deliberate forgery." Instead it should be seen as Bullinger's own "negative judgment of the movement," which runs through his entire *œuvre* and was considerably influenced by the ecclesio-political situation, in which the Zurich church and its chief pastor were repeatedly classified by outsiders as *Schwärmer*.[152] At any rate, it highlights the tragic division that ran through the Zurich Reformation during Bullinger's day and left terrible traces into the 17th century. Sources record, for instance, the execution in Zurich on 29 September 1614 of the elderly Anabaptist leader Hans Landis or the more than twenty Anabaptist men and women who were tortured to death in jail from 1635, as well as other horrors such as torture of children, sentencing as a galley slave, exile, and compulsory loss of property.[153]

From the viewpoint of historical theology, the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* of 1566 was the document that brought the Zurich Reformation to the apex of its theological articulation.[154] Originally composed by Bullinger in 1561 as a personal account of his faith, it sat for some years in his desk and eventually became public owing to the religio-political strains within the Empire. On 18 December 1565 Bullinger sent it to Frederick III of the Palatinate, who was inclined to Reformed teachings, so that the latter could use it in his defense at the upcoming Diet of Augsburg. The text received such broad approval that the Elector immediately wanted to have it printed in the name of the Reformed Churches of the Confederation. The negotiations for the agreement of the

151 Snyder, "Swiss Anabaptism: The Beginnings," 45–81, here at 45–8.

152 Moser, *Dignität,* 1: 252–65, here at 264.

153 Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer,* 164–245.

154 The original title was *Confessio et Expositio orthodoxae fidei et dogmatum catholicorum sincerae religionis Christianae* […], later changed to Confessio Helvetica Posterior as distinct from Confessio Helvetica Prior. For origins, content and impact, see my introduction and critical edition in RBS 2/2: 243–345. Engl: "The Second Helvetic Confession (1566)," in Dennison, *Reformed Confessions*, 2: 809–81.

Reformed cantons proceeded with astonishing rapidity. The Confession was published in March 1566 in both Latin and German versions in Zurich, and soon thereafter in French translation in Geneva. Apart from Basel, which in those years stood under Lutheran influence, all of the Reformed Churches in the Confederation adopted the Confession; Neuchâtel followed in 1568 and Basel in 1644. The Confession was also recognized abroad, in France, Romania, Bohemia, Slovakia, the Netherlands, above all in Hungary and Poland, but also in Scotland. In 1967 the Confession received a place in *The Book of Confessions* of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In Switzerland it held a normative place into the 18th century. Its use was not limited to the church, however. In the consolidation of the state church it was used in the service of the magistracy and of political interests. It lost its significance in the wake of nineteenth-century liberalism but is still seen as one of the most important Reformed confessions.

The structure of the lengthy *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* roughly corresponds to that of the Apostles' Creed. It follows the openly stated goal of presenting the Zurich Reformation as a renewal movement committed to the gospel, which does not break away from the universal church but rather intends to contribute to its strengthening. Without going further into its content, it is noteworthy that in Bullinger's manner it begins with an article entitled "The Holy Scripture, the true Word of God." With disarming simplicity, the Confession states that scripture is identical with the Word of God, has its own authority, and is the single norm of teaching, *auctoritas sufficiens*, for all questions of faith and the Christian life. This is true for both the Old and the New Testament, and since one and the same Word of God speaks throughout scripture disclosing the divine will of salvation, *sola scriptura* is taken seriously as *tota scriptura.* In this context the Confession makes the remarkable statement, *Praedicatio verbi Dei est verbum Dei* (the preaching of the Word of God is the Word of God), meaning that insofar as the exposition or proclamation of scripture is governed by its subject matter (i.e. the Word of God written) through the inner illumination of the Holy Spirit we can trust that God is still speaking today. This concept of scripture signals a tendency towards that early modern Reformed Orthodoxy that would reach its high point with the Helvetic Consensus (1675). The Confession likewise documents the beginning of confessional formation by its clear distancing from Tridentine Catholicism and Lutheranism, which was understandable and even theologically necessary when seen in historical perspective. The countless sharp condemnations of Anabaptists contain all of the arguments used in earlier conflicts, which are now dogmatized in the sense of the Reformed state church and raised to the level of a confessional statement.

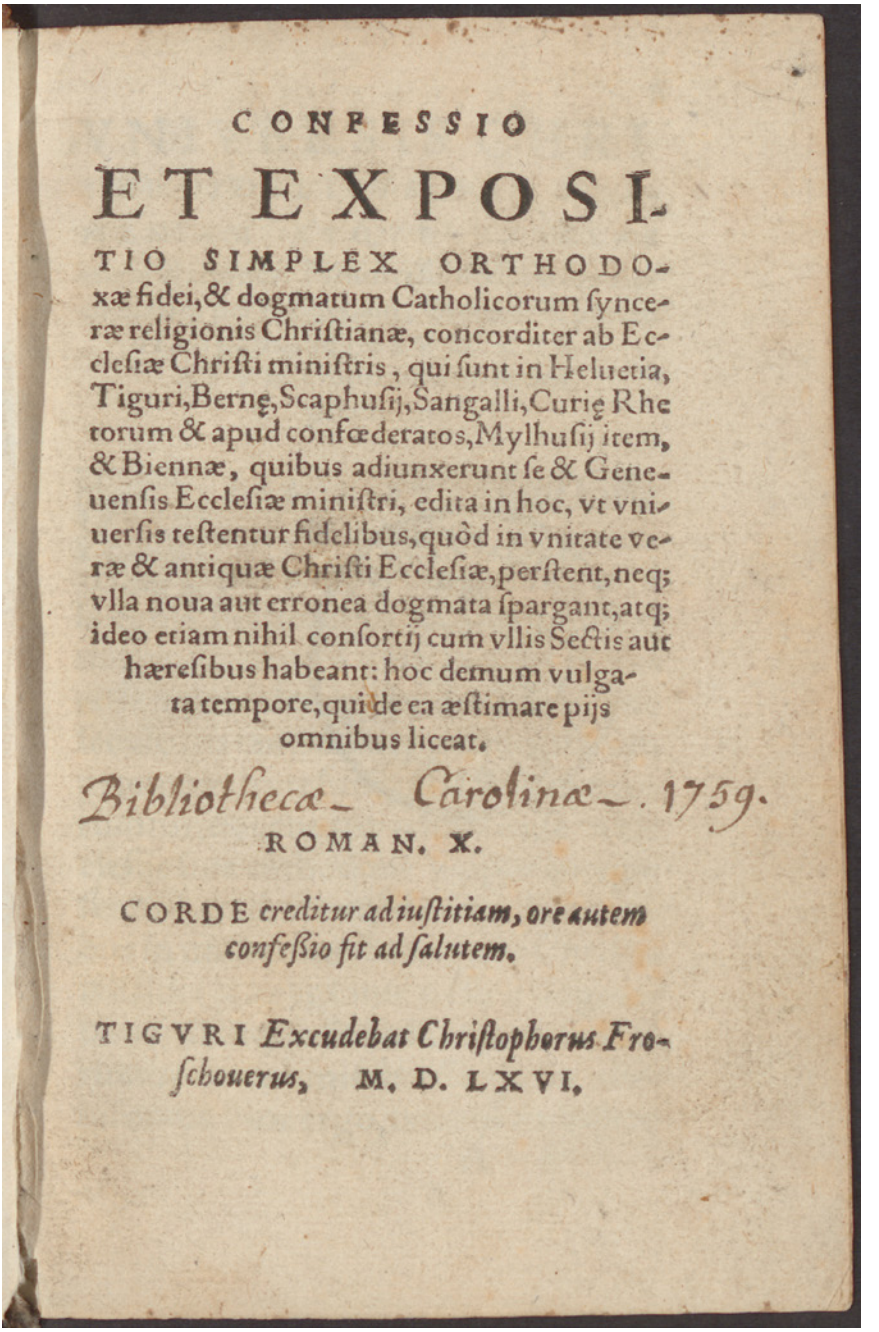
CONFESSIO
ET EXPOSI-
TIO SIMPLEX ORTHODO-
xæ fidei, & dogmatum Catholicorum ſyncera religionis Chriſtianæ, concorditer ab Eccleſiæ Chriſti miniſtris, qui ſunt in Heluetia, Tiguri, Bernę, Scaphuſij, Sangalli, Curię Rhetorum & apud confœderatos, Mylhuſij item, & Biennæ, quibus adiunxerunt ſe & Geneuenſis Eccleſiæ miniſtri, edita in hoc, vt vniuerſis teſtentur fidelibus, quòd in vnitate veræ & antiquæ Chriſti Eccleſiæ, perſtent, neq; vlla noua aut erronea dogmata ſpargant, atq; ideo etiam nihil conſortij cum vllis Sectis aut hæreſibus habeant: hoc demum vulgata tempore, qui de ea æſtimare pijs omnibus liceat.
Bibliothecæ Carolinæ. 1759.
ROMAN. X.
CORDE *creditur ad iuſtitiam, ore autem confeßio fit ad ſalutem.*
TIGVRI *Excudebat Chriſtopherus Froſchouerus,* M. D. LXVI.

FIGURE 2.9 *The Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), *one of the most widely adopted, and hence most authoritative, of all the Reformed confessions*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

2.14 Impact of the Zurich Reformation

Zurich was not only the cradle of Reformed Protestantism but also an extraordinary point of confluence of talent that influenced the Reformed tradition throughout the 16th century and beyond. Among the factors that contributed to a continent-wide influence is the literary production of both Zurich reformers and the professors of the Schola Tigurina, which reached an extraordinary volume between 1523 and 1575.[155] During the 56 years comprising the era of Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich, at least 1189 titles were published, something more than 21 publications per year. The high proportion of theological literature is striking (e.g. theological treatises, commentaries, works of the church fathers along with popular works), as is that in the area of linguistics (e.g. Hebrew and Greek grammars), which combined make up more than two thirds of the total book production. The Zurich Bible of 1531, with woodcuts by Hans Holbein the younger, is a masterpiece of philology and of book illustration.[156] Surprisingly high is the number of medical and scientific titles (e.g. the works of Konrad Gessner) and of musical works. There were, in addition, historical and geographical works such as Johannes Stumpf's *Chronicle of the Confederation* (*Chronik der Eidgenossenschaft*, 1547/48) or Josias Simler's *De Alpibus commentarius* (1574) and *De republica Helvetiorum* (1576). Many of these books were acclaimed both within the Confederation and throughout the international scholarly world. In literary terms, this era was the most productive phase of the 16th century. The intellectual climate decisively shaped by Bullinger, as well as the entrepreneurial abilities of the printer Christoph Froschauer (1490–1564) created the first golden age in the history of Zurich printing. The dissemination of Bullinger's works was extremely high for the time. Among his numerous writings (124 titles) were polemical works against Roman Catholicism, Anabaptism and Lutheranism, Bible commentaries, collections of sermons (including the famous *Decades*), and pastoral-theological and historical treatises, which were published in many editions and translated into several languages during his lifetime. In the 25 years after Bullinger's death, by contrast, book production fell by almost one-third.

155 *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, 2: 254–60, and the fine article by Urs B. Leu, "Die Zürcher Buch- und Lesekultur 1520 bis 1575," *Zwingliana* 31 (2004), 61–90.

156 Iren L. Snavely, "Zwingli, Froschauer and the Word of God in Print," in *The Reformation. Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, 4 vols., (ed.) Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2004) 1: 256–75.

The broad impact of the Zurich Reformation was due not only to dissemination of its literary production but also to diplomatic efforts in the ecclesio-political sphere. Recent research has shown Bullinger's influence on many territories within the Empire, in England, France, and east-central Europe from 1549 (the year of the *Consensus Tigurinus*) to his death in 1575—the era of consolidation and confessional formation for the Zurich Reformation.[157] The most important beachhead of the Zurichers in the Empire was the electoral Palatinate, but there Zurich lost out to its rival, Geneva, over the issue of church discipline. In England the influence of the Zurich Reformation stretched from the time of Henry VIII into the reign of Elizabeth I and had long-term significance for the Anglican Church. In France and in east-central Europe, despite the political weakness of the Swiss Reformed cities, the Zurich church interceded for persecuted fellow believers, advocating a policy of toleration by Catholic rulers. These new studies repeatedly make clear the unanimity and common strategy between Geneva and Zurich, with the exception of the Electoral Palatinate. At the same time, they judge the concentration on Bullinger's person as the "fundamental mistake of Zurich church-politics" which led to the fact that after Bullinger's death "not the Zurichers but the Genevan theologians and politicians had greater political clout in facing ecclesio-political challenges on the European stage."[158]

Nothing more clearly expresses the significance of the Zurich Reformation than the humanist correspondence of the Zurich theologians with Protestant circles and scholars throughout Europe. Zwingli's correspondence contains 1293 letters, those of Luther and Calvin ca. 1400 letters, although the smaller number of the Zurich reformer can be explained not only by a larger amount of lost letters but also the shorter span of life. Zwingli's wide influence, even after his lifetime, cannot be challenged, however.[159] Little of the extensive (and little-known) correspondence of Konrad Pellikan, Leo Jud, Rudolf Gwalther,

157 Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001); Mühling, "Heinrich Bullinger as Church Politician," in Gordon/Campi, *Architect,* 243–53; Irene Dingel, "Bullinger und das Luthertum im Deutschen Reich," in HBLTI, 2: 755–77; Erich Bryner, "Bullinger and Ostmitteleuropa. Bullingers Einfluss auf die Reformation in Ungarn und Polen, Ein Vergleich," in ibid., 799–820; MacCulloch, "Heinrich Bullinger and the English-speaking World," in ibid., 891–934; Carrie Euler, *Couriers of the Gospel: England and Zurich*, 1531–1558 (Zurich: TVZ, 2006).

158 Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik*, 274 and 130.

159 The chapter "Fernwirkungen und Nachwirkungen" in Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 621–80, is a masterpiece of Reformation historiography but needs updating. Some useful contributions can be found in Alfred Schindler and Hans Stickelberger. (eds.), *Die Zürcher Reformation: Ausstrahlungen und Rückwirkungen* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001) and HBLTI.

Theodor Bibliander or Peter Martyr Vermigli has been edited or examined. What research there is, however, suggests that their influence was both deep and lasting.[160]

Incomparably larger (and better known) is Bullinger's correspondence.[161] It consists of roughly 12,000 pieces from and to Bullinger, and even a quick glance at the names of his over one thousand correspondents makes clear that he exchanged thoughts with and was asked for advice by both famous and unknown people throughout half of Europe. Not surprisingly, the largest share were those associated with the church, but his correspondents include representatives of all classes: princes, kings, scholars at various universities, merchant patricians, diplomats, generals, city council members, and schoolmasters. His contacts also include a circle of women from widely distributed geographical locations. The correspondence extends from 1527 through 1575, years that shook Europe and that witnessed the miseries of inflation, famine, disease, death, war, persecution, and exile. These threatening situations appear in the correspondence, as do the problems of daily life, or of extraordinary phenomena such as comets, floods, or freaks of nature.[162] Letters and reports, questions and requests for help from many lands arrived in his study chamber. After the death of many reformers and with the changing of generations, Bullinger increasingly filled the role of the last surviving witness of the Reformation's beginnings.

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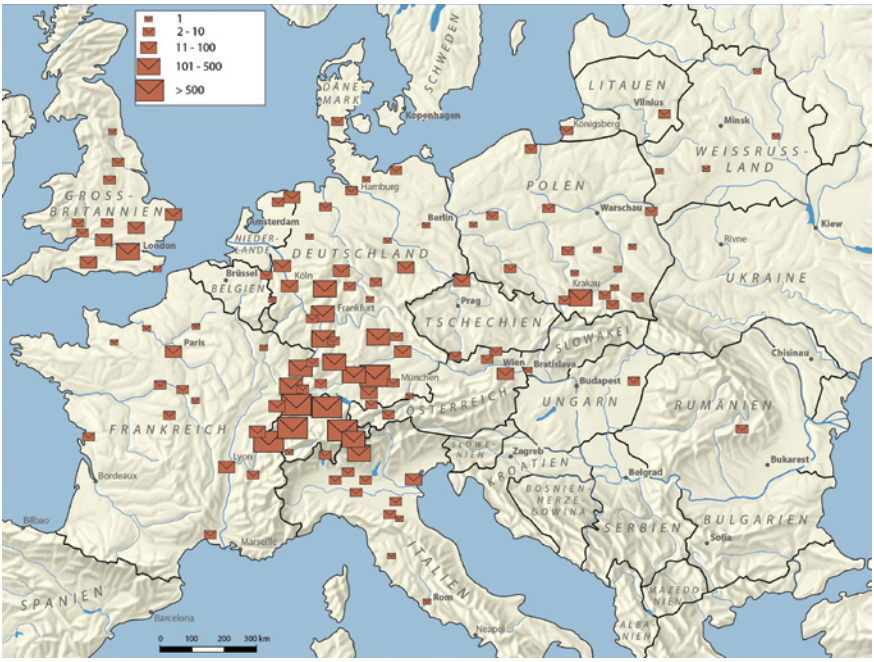
160 Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526–1556* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975), 280–304; Karl-Heinz Wyss, *Leo Jud, seine Entwicklung zum Reformator 1519–1523* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1976), with an index of the correspondence 1518–1542; Jost Eickmeyer, "'Assere degeneres puellas.' Zur Heroidendichtung Rudolf Gwalthers (1519–1586) als frühestem Zeugnis der Gattung in der Schweiz," in *Realität als Herausforderung: Literatur in ihren konkreten historischen Kontexten. Festschrift für Wilhelm Kühlmann*, (eds.) Ralf Bogner et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 93–109, here at 95; Christian Moser, "Ferngespräche: Theodor Biblianders Briefwechsel," in Christ-von Wedel, *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): ein Thurgauer,* 83–106; Moser, "[Vermigli's] Epistolary: Theological Themes," in Kirby et al., *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli,* 433–55; Emidio Campi, "John Calvin and Peter Martyr Vermigli: A Reassessment of Their Relationship," in idem, *Patterns*, 123–40, esp. 128–32.

161 For the data concerning Bullinger's correspondence, see: http://www.irg.uzh.ch/hbbw/daten_en.html; for an introduction, see Rainer Henrich, "Bullinger's Correspondence: An International News Network," in Gordon/Campi, *Architect,* 231–41.

162 On the interest in extraordinary natural phenomena in Reformation Zurich see Chapter 15 and the groundbreaking work of Franz Mauelshagen, *Wunderkammer auf Papier. Die "Wickiana" zwischen Reformation und Volksglaube* (Epfendorf/Neckar: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2011), 65–110.



MAP 2.1 *Bullinger's correspondence entails about 12,000 letters and is one of the largest of the sixteenth century, larger than the combined correspondence of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Vadian. Most of the letters were sent to Bullinger by about 1000 different correspondents from most parts of Europe, while only about 2000 of his own letters are extant. Map courtesy of the Bullinger Briefwechseledition. Basis map: Institut für Kartographie ETH Zürich. Edited by the Bullinger Briefwechseledition. Calculation: Kurt Jakob Rüetschi; concept and direction: Christian Häberling und Christian Moser; visualisation: Désirée Treichler, Philippe Jordi, Gianluca Miele, and Natalie Kramer, Institut für Kartographie, ETH Zürich, 2008.*

Bullinger died on 17 September 1575 at the age of 71, after serving over four decades as Antistes. In his *Narratio, de ortu, vita et obitu Bullingeri* (1575) Josias Simler spoke for most of his age when he stressed that Bullinger's passing marked the end of an era for the Swiss and the broader European Reformation, in which he had a particular role alongside Zwingli.[163] If Zwingli is

163 Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe. Lives of Reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 90, aptly notes that the *Narratio* constitutes "a political statement about the role of the Zurich Church on the Swiss and on the European scene."

remembered as the spiritual father of the Reformed strand of Protestantism whose sudden death had left unanswered questions and work unfinished, Bullinger is presented as the reformer who (along with Oecolampadius, Bucer, Calvin, Vermigli, and many others) had deeply molded this tradition, not without heart-searching and criticism.[164] Bullinger's providential role had been to preserve Zwingli's legacy, adapting some of his path-breaking insights to the changing circumstances and establishing Zurich as a center of international Protestantism. It was now left to their successors to make that inheritance permanent.

2.15 The Institutionalization of the Zurich Church from the Second Helvetic Confession to the Synod of Dort

"After the era of Bullinger, the Zurich church had several leaders in rapid succession, who to a certain extent stood in the shadow of the great Antistes. They were already elderly when they assumed office and did not develop strong profiles as leaders of the church."[165] This statement refers to Rudolf Gwalther (1519–1586) and Burkhard Leemann (1531–1613). With all due respect to this viewpoint, it should be observed nonetheless that their accomplishments do not correspond to those of untalented and unoriginal epigones. Gwalther, who studied in Basel, Strasbourg, Lausanne, and Marburg, among other places, was not only an outspoken preacher but also a scholarly humanist who translated Zwingli's works into Latin, wrote learned poems and spiritual songs, homilies, funeral odes, the textbook *De syllabarum et carminum ratione* (1542), and a neo-Latin *comœdia sacra*, *Nabal*, based on the history found in 1 Samuel 25 (1549). He was also famous for his anti-papal sermons on the Antichrist, printed in 1546, and his translation of the Psalter (1558, frequently reprinted through 1837).[166] Leemann was an outstanding practical theologian who produced an attractive catechism for youth in 1574. Despite widespread Zwinglian resistance, he reintroduced singing into the Zurich church for Pentecost in 1598. He also actively studied natural philosophy and was a great admirer of Johannes Kepler. Nevertheless he opposed the use of the Gregorian calendar and was able to hinder its introduction in Zurich. This opposition was not just a local

164 See Chapter 11 below.

165 *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, 2: 244.

166 Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, "Gwalther Rudolf," in RGG[4], 3: 1356–1357 [Engl: *Religion Past and Present,* 5: 623].

curiosity and stubbornness, however, but was the general Protestant position throughout Europe.[167]

The last quarter of the 16th century, nonetheless, witnessed the advance in the *Schola Tigurina* and the Zurich church of Reformed scholasticism, also called Reformed Orthodoxy. Apologetic concerns, along with the increased esteem of philosophical instruction and the tendency toward systematization of Reformed doctrine promoted the revival of scholastic logic in the curriculum of the school.[168] A theology relying heavily on Aristotelian categories and claiming to contain the exclusive measure of pure doctrine led to a strictly regulated church life and to intolerance towards dissidents and those of other confessions.

The essence of this Orthodoxy contained the claim that there must be one unitary religious structure within the state that served for the social disciplining of subjects through its restrictive prescriptions. It is striking that there was no longer a clear distinction between the ecclesiastical and political community.[169] The power of the political authorities on the one hand, and the intellectual weakness of the church on the other, meant that the church increasingly became dependent on the state. The synod and the Examiners' Committee had only subordinate administrative jurisdiction. The leadership of the church lay in the hands of the magistracy, specifically the Small and Large Councils. Apart from the property of individual parishes, church property belonged to the state, which also determined the confession of the church and had the Bible, songbooks, and catechisms printed. The pastor became the link between government and people. Especially in the rural territory he increasingly became the mouthpiece of the magistrate and as such an essential member of government administration in the areas of schooling, poor relief, and marriage and family. The pastor's relationship with his parishioners was not only that of clergyman. There were also a number of economic relations, especially those concerning payment of the tithes that village inhabitants had to give to the clergy and that were frequently the occasion of conflict. Although the pastor's

167 Peter Vogelsanger, *Zürich und sein Fraumünster. Eine elfhundertjährige Geschichte* (*853–1956*) (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1994), 316–7.

168 Christian Moser, "Reformed Orthodoxy in Switzerland," in *A Companion to Reformed Orthodoxy*, (ed.) Herman J. Selderhuis (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 195–226; Jean-Pierre Bodmer, "Zürcher Disputationsthesen bis 1653. Facetten einer Druckschriftengattung," *Zwingliana* 41 (2014), 85–116.

169 Gotthard Schmid, *Die evangelisch-reformierte Landeskirche des Kantons Zürich. Eine Kirchenkunde für unsere Gemeindeglieder* (Zürich: Schulthess, 1954); Pfister, KGS 2: 407–55; 539–67; Francisca Loetz, *Dealings with God: From Blasphemers in Early Modern Zurich to a Cultural History of Religiousness* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

house was without doubt the spiritual center of each village, the privileged position of the pastor also often infringed on the relationship of the uneducated rural inhabitants with the church, leading to an inclination towards hypocrisy. This had serious consequences for church life, so that, for instance, the household visits that the pastor was legally obligated to make served not only edification and admonition, but also the supervision of conduct. The pastors were supported by the morals courts and *Stillstände*—the name used in Zurich until 1798 for the lay church wardens, because this group literally "stood still" after the worship service in the church, i.e. they remained standing in order to discuss business each month under the presidency of the pastor.[170]

The reach of moral discipline extended far beyond ecclesiastical concerns to encompass practically every area of life. Claiming the need "to turn the wrath of the Highest away from us," the magistrates published church ordinances or morals mandates. Their goal was not only to combat *Zutrinken* (i.e. alcoholism), begging, gambling, vagrancy, prostitution, cursing, and blasphemy, as was usual also in the Catholic cantons or in many monarchies. The Zurich magistrates also tried to regulate betrothal and marriage, clothing, dancing, the number of guests at family celebrations, the value of gifts, and even the use of tobacco in the streets. The morals mandates also included provisions for "whistle-blowers," called *Nachgänger*, who watched over the populace.[171] Although the Council adorned itself with the patriarchal title of a "Christian magistrate" issuing church ordinances to preserve "true faith," the most important function of these moral regulations was to restrain baroque ostentation and to promote a simpler form of life.

The stringent provisions concerning religion prevented Catholic Christians from holding worship services within Zurich's territory. Any public practice of Roman Catholic religion was prohibited under threat of punishment—which was also the case for Reformed Christians in Catholic areas. In Zurich, however, the magistrate allowed Catholic worship in the monastery of Fahr, which at that time belonged to the district (*Landvogtei*) of Baden, a mandated territory administered jointly by Zurich, Bern, and Glarus. The Anabaptists suffered the most.[172] Legislation allowed no toleration for religious dissent, but the

170 The multiple duties of this oversight authority were established in the *Stillstandsprotokollen* recorded by each pastor. They remain largely unexamined, not least because they often are quickly written notes in the hand of each pastor, which can be difficult to read. See http://www.staatsarchiv.zh.ch/internet/justiz_inneres/sta/de/ueber_uns/organisation/editionsprojekte/stillstand.html.

171 Numerous examples in ZHKO.

172 Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 117–245; Philipp Wälchli et al., (eds.), *Täufer und Reformierte im Disput. Texte des 17. Jahrhunderts über Verfolgung und Toleranz aus Zürich und Amsterdam* (Zug: Achius, 2010).

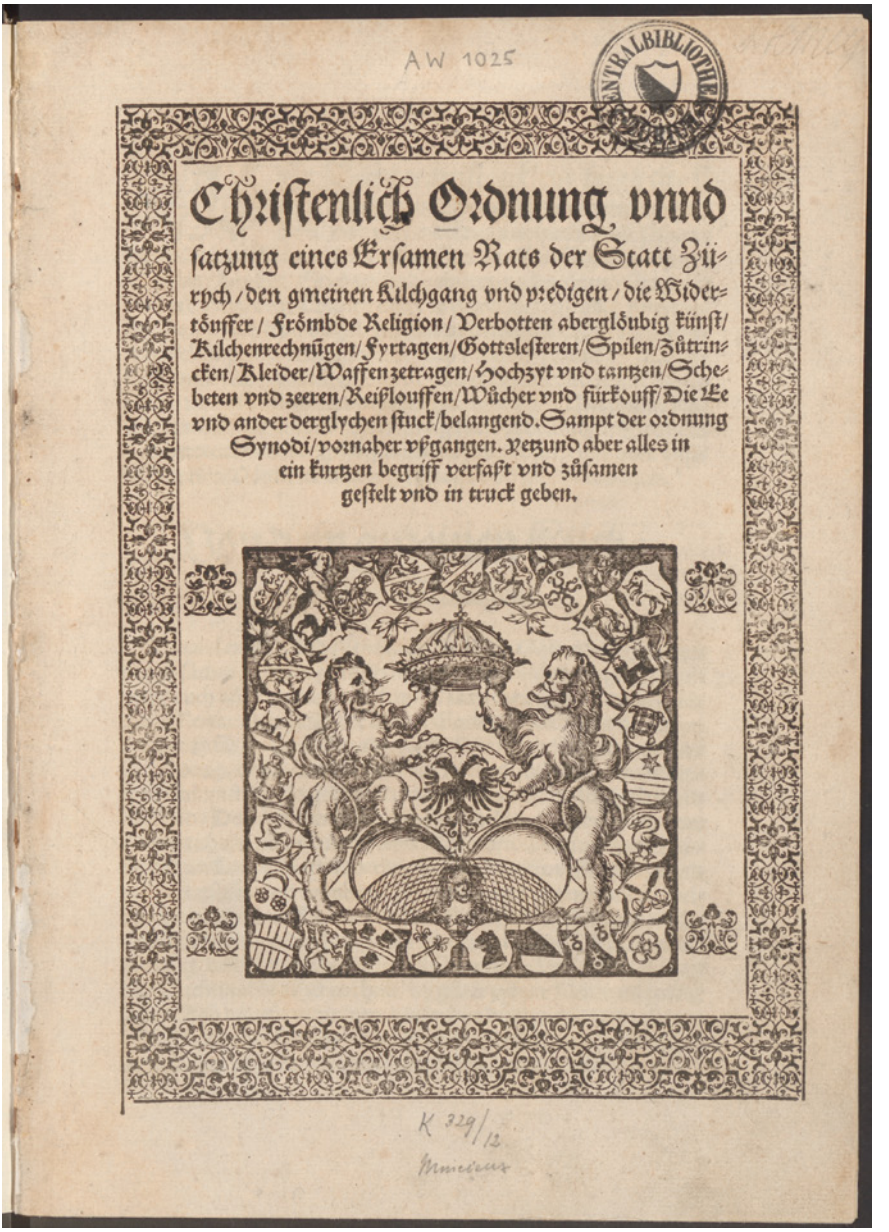


FIGURE 2.10 *Sumptuary laws were enacted in increasing number in the second half of the sixteenth century in Zurich. Title page of the Great Sumptuary Law of 1550*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

concrete enforcement of the mandates left some wiggle room. Thus some Anabaptist groups were able to survive on lonely farms in Zurich's hill country (*Oberland*), as long as they remained quiet and did not attract attention. They "purchased" toleration through payment of a yearly Anabaptist fine. The obstinate, however, had to emigrate or were sent to the galleys.

At the end of the 16th century the witch craze flamed to life under the pressure of the difficult experiences of the beginning of the "Little Ice Age," war, and the plague. The numbers speak for themselves: there were 79 witch trials ending with the death sentence between 1487 and 1701; 31 of these occurred in the last three decades of the 16th century.[173] One of the few voices raised against the contemporary views of the devil and his "whores," the witches, was that of the physician Jakob Ruf, author of an obstetrics handbook, the *Trostbüchlein*, aimed explicitly at a female readership, that of pregnant women and midwives.[174]

Contrasting with this severity towards their own dissenting subjects is the remarkable engagement on behalf of persecuted fellow Reformed Christians. In 1571, in response to the difficult times, Zurich introduced weekly prayer services on Tuesdays. From this point on the number of these additional services increased continually. The church ordinances frequently give insight into the suffering and miseries of Reformed churches and communities throughout Europe: Huguenots from France, Waldensians from Italy, Reformed from Spain, Hungary, and Poland.[175]

The individual who epitomizes the particular dynamic of his time was Johann Jakob Breitinger (1575–1645), the Antistes of the Zurich church from 1613 until his death, and without question the most influential churchman in Zurich in the 17th century.[176] His influence was due to his lengthy time in office, his uncommon steadfastness in the face of obstacles, and his untiring diligence. As the most important representative of the Reformed Swiss cantons he participated

173 Otto Sigg, "Hexenverfolgungen in Zürich," (2012), in *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung*, (eds.) Gudrun Gersmann et al., in: *historicum.net*, URL: https://www.historicum.net/themen/hexenforschung/lexikon/alphabetisch/p-z/artikel/Hexenverfolgungen_in_Zuerich/ [accessed 4 April 2016].

174 Gordon, "God Killed Saul. Heinrich Bullinger and Jacob Ruef;" Hildegard Elisabeth Keller, *Jakob Ruf, ein Zürcher Stadtchirurg und Theatermacher im 16. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 2006).

175 Numerous examples in ZHKO.

176 Hans Rudolf von Grebel, *Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger,* Neujahrsblatt zum Besten des Waisenhauses in Zürich auf das Neujahr 1964, no. 127 (Zurich: Kommissionsverlag Beer & Co., 1964); Thomas Brunnschweiler, *Johann Jakob Breitingers Bedencken von Comoedien oder Spilen: die Theaterfeindlichkeit im Alten Zürich: Edition, Kommentar, Monographie* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1989).

in the Synod of Dort (1618–19) where he played an important role in framing the statement of the doctrine of double predestination and defending the memory of Bullinger against allegations of Arminianism. Breitinger's greatest strength, however, was his pastoral, organizational and political activity. With puritanical rigorism he successfully brought about the prohibition of all forms of theater in 1624. Breitinger was also zealous in combating the Anabaptists, although he changed his strategy, abandoning the policy of repression in favor of goal-oriented colloquies and polemical publications.[177] In 1619, church holidays were reduced to Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, but days of thanksgiving, penitence, and prayer were held fairly often. Breitinger provided for the education and training of pastors as well as for strict oversight of their conduct. During the Thirty Years' War, like his predecessor Zwingli, the Antistes worked for an alliance of the Protestants as a defense against the incursion of the Habsburgs and the Counter-Reformation. He maintained close connections to intermediaries of King Gustavus Adolfus of Sweden; it is still debated whether he was ready to renounce neutrality in favor of an alliance with Sweden. At any rate, in order to protect Zurich from any attacks, he supported the modernization of the militia and the building of a modern system of fortifications.

Under Breitinger the essential characteristics of the Zurich state church reached their comprehensive form. It is noteworthy that the church that accepted the strict Orthodox theology of the canons of Dort, and so at least partially a Calvinist theology, retained its ecclesiology unchanged. In 1619 the Council and the Grossmünster chapter gave Antistes Breitinger two silver chalices as thanks for his defense of Bullinger's doctrine and for his efforts for the success of the Synod of Dort. Inscribed on one of the chalices was the following:

> Duplex robur inest cathedrae, cui curia nexa est
> curiae inest duplex, proxima cui cathedra est.[178]
>
> [Double power has the pulpit conjoined to the Magistracy;
> Double power has the Magistracy in proximity to the pulpit]

This inscription demonstrates in a striking way how the cooperation of church and political community were conceived in Zurich during the *Ancien Régime*: they were so intertwined that they formed a unity, without being mixed together.

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177 Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 204–28; Wälchli, *Täufer und Reformierte im Disput*, 9–16.

178 von Grebel, *Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger,* 36, 38. See also Walton, "The Institutionalization of the Reformation at Zurich."

CHAPTER 3

The Reformation in Bern

Martin Sallmann

3.1 Bern on the Eve of Reformation

3.1.1 *The Most Powerful Urban Confederate*

A product of medieval processes of urbanization, Bern was founded at the end of the 12th century by the Zähringer family.[1] With its continued growth from the 14th century on, Bern became the largest city-state north of the Alps. The city's powerful political, military, and economic position was the result of, on the one hand, territorial expansion achieved by purchase and conquest and, on the other hand, the intensification of its authority through alliances, guarantees of protection, and the granting of rights of citizenship.[2] Economic dependency proved to be one means of expanding influence over other powers. Additionally, those from outside Bern might be given the status of *Ausbürger*, which granted rights of citizenship but did not allow long-term residency in the city;[3] in the late medieval period around two-thirds of the citizens of Bern lived as *Ausbürger* in the countryside and owned property in the city.[4] By 1500 the city had a population of between 4,500 and 5,000 and ruled over an extensive territory.[5] The Large Council of the city of Bern, which met once a week, was the principal political, legal, and military authority. The Small Council, with twenty-seven members, was in effect a committee of the government and

1 Armand Baeriswyl, "Bern vor dem Hintergrund der mittelalterlichen Stadtgründungswelle," in *Berns mutige Zeit. Das 13. und 14. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt*, (ed.) Rainer C. Schwinges (Bern: Schulverlag blmv/Stämpfli, 2003), 81–5.

2 Urs Martin Zahnd, "Bündnis- und Territorialpolitik," in *Berns mutige Zeit*, 469–504; Urs Martin Zahnd, "Berns Bündnis- und Territorialpolitik in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* 53 (1991), 21–59.

3 Urs Martin Zahnd, "Wirtschaftliche und lehensrechtliche Beziehungen," in *Berns mutige Zeit*, 505–9.

4 Roland Gerber, "Ausbürger und Udel," in *Berns mutige Zeit*, 509–19.

5 Simon Teuscher, *Bekannte—Klienten—Verwandte. Soziabilität und Politik in der Stadt Bern um 1500* (Köln: Böhlau, 1998), 25; see Barbara Braun-Bucher, "Im Zentrum der Macht. Schultheiß, Rät und Burger," in *Berns mächtige Zeit. Das 16. und 17. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt*, (ed.) André Holenstein (Bern: Schulverlag blmv/Stämpfli, 2006), 30–8, here at 30; see also Roland Gerber, "Rückgang und Stagnation. Die Bevölkerungsentwicklung im 15. Jahrhundert," in *Berns große Zeit. Das 15. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt*, (eds.) Ellen J. Beer, et al., 2nd ed. (Bern: Schulverlag blmv/Stämpfli, 2003), 97–8.

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met several times a week to carry out the most important administrative, political, and judicial business. The members of the council and their offices were confirmed or elected by co-option each Easter. Essentially, any citizen could be a member of the city government and could therefore stand for election as a councilor. But being a councilor was a time-consuming affair and councilors received little pay, relying instead on their own assets and income. The artisans of the city were organized in guilds, but unlike in Basel and Zurich, these guilds had no direct political influence.[6]

Governing the extensive territory of some 9,000 square kilometers was a particular challenge. The rural bailiffs, who were citizens of the city of Bern, were responsible for the exercise of Bern's rights in the rural areas, but in the so-called *Twingherrschaften* and *Freiherrschaften*, where private citizens held some form of lordship, Bern was not the immediate authority. The ties between the city and its rural territories could often involve complex legal and property rights, for on taking possession of such lands, Bern regularly confirmed existing legal rights and traditional practices. Varied legal and administrative traditions could therefore be found throughout the subject territories, and bailiffs were required to respect local practice.[7] In the course of the 15th century, however, the expansion and consolidation of Bernese lands was accompanied by greater standardization of the legal system and the creation of associated administrative structures. Governance of individual peoples was replaced by governance of the territory, a process that was accompanied by the elimination of regional legal particularities. The Bernese lands were divided up into administrative units designated *Landvogteien* and *Ämter*. There were also the so-called mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*), which Bern administered along with Fribourg or Solothurn.[8]

Since the mid-15th century the *Ämter*, or districts into which the rural territory was divided, had been included in decision-making when the issues involved were particularly weighty—external affairs such as alliances, military campaigns, peace negotiations, or mercenary service, or economic concerns such as inflation, special taxation, and commerce or currency matters.

6 Braun-Bucher, "Im Zentrum der Macht," 30–8; see also Ernst Walder, "Reformation und moderner Staat," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel,* (ed.) Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern (Bern: Stämpfli, 1980/1981), 441–583, here at 468–75.

7 Barbara Studer, "Die Organisation des bernischen Territoriums," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 79–83; Barbara Katharina Studer Immenhauser, *Verwaltung zwischen Innovation und Tradition. Die Stadt Bern und ihr Untertanengebiet 1250–1550* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2006), 398–411.

8 Christian Hesse, "Expansion und Ausbau. Das Territorium Berns und seine Verwaltung im 15. Jahrhundert," in *Berns große Zeit*, 330–48.

The stance of each Amt on each issue was determined corporately at a meeting organized and led by the bailiffs and attended usually by the enfranchised head of each household. This method enabled Bern to determine the views of its subjects and involve them in weighty decisions. At the beginning of this process, messengers from the Ämter might be called to Bern or, less often, councilors would be sent into the Ämter with notification of the relevant issue, but the consultation process was carried out on paper, for a messenger carried a record of the questions to the Amt and a written response was expected.[9]

The most significant source of income for the members of the Swiss Confederation were pensions (*Pensionen*), cash payments made to decision-makers in the city as a product of alliances with ecclesiastical or secular rulers; in return the payees were able to influence political decisions and access the much sought-after mercenaries of the Confederation. These payments increasingly flowed into the hands of certain influential families, who were then in a position to control the mercenary service.[10]

Bern was the most powerful member of the Confederation. Although associated with the Confederation since 1353, the city had its own economic and political ambitions, which did not always run in parallel to the interests of the other Confederates. Externally Bern looked in particular to France and its ally Savoy, because mercenary service for France was a lucrative source of income. In addition to a healthy relationship with France, Bern's other principal concern was that the Confederation should remain united. In 1521 Zurich opposed the mercenary-based alliance with France and from 1523 was actively engaged in promoting an expansive Reformation policy in the north and east of the Confederation. Bern was quite concerned about these events.[11]

3.1.2 *A Flourishing Church Life*

The territory of Bern was divided among four bishoprics—Lausanne, Constance, Basel and Sion—and therefore all four bishops could claim ecclesiastical

9 Catherine De Kegel-Schorer, "Die Ämterbefragung—zur Untertanenrepräsentation im bernischen Territorialstaat," in *Berns große Zeit*, 356–60.

10 Bruno Koch, "Reislaufen und Pensionen," in *Berns große Zeit*, 277–85, here at 277–9.

11 Hans Berner, Ulrich Gäbler and Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Schweiz," in *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, vol. 5: *Der Südwesten*, (eds.) Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1993), 278–323, here at 287; Andreas Würgler, "Einbindung der Macht. Bern im eidgenössischen Bündnissystem," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 108–14.

FIGURE 3.1 *Depiction of districts (Ämter) in the stained glass window by Hans Ulrich Fisch I, Aarau 1640. The coat of arms in the center is crowned with the imperial orb; two flanking lions with a sword hold the imperial crown. The oval form lists the 42 districts of Bern; the four corners contain representations of the common lordships held by Bern and Fribourg (Murten, Grandson, Orbe [-Echallens] and Schwarzenburg), although the mandated territories, governed in common by the Swiss Confederation, are missing. The depiction makes very evident the self-confidence of the ruling estates of Bern.*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE HISTORISCHES MUSEUM BERN

FIGURE 3.2 *Bird's-eye view of the city of Bern, from Matthaeus Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae, Rhaetiae, et Valesiae (*Frankfurt/M., 1654*)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Bern die Hauptstatt in Nücht-
land ward erbawen durch Berchtoldum
den V. Hertzogen zu Zäringen A. 1191. vnd
Befestiget von den Keysern Henrico dem VI. vnd
Friderico dem II. Kam in den Eydgnossischen
Bündt Anno 1353.
RNA
Aar flie:
Passus.
G. Der ober Spital zum Heilgen Geist.
H. Goletenmätgassen thor.
I. Das Zeughauß.
L. Zeytglocken.
N. Nideck.
K. Prediger Closter, jetz der Groß Spital.
M. Das Rath hauß.
O. Das Niderthor.

rights within Bernese lands. The city of Bern was part of both the bishopric of Lausanne and the bishopric of Constance; as these two bishoprics were divided by the Aare river, the principal part of the city was part of the Lausanne bishopric. The bishopric of Basel covered the area of Aargau north of the Aare, while Aigle in the south belonged to Sion.[12] With the city of Bern located on the edge of two bishoprics, the bishops themselves resided some distance away.

Bern was never the seat of a bishop, but in 1421 the city's aspirations were made evident in an ambitious new building project: the town parish church was to be replaced by a Minster. After the Swiss Confederation's successes in the Burgundian Wars (1474–1477), the city succeeded in concentrating ecclesiastical authority in the new collegiate church (*Chorherrenstift*) of St. Vincent (1484/1485). The pope approved the new foundation, granted the rights of presentation for the canons and for the office holders to the council, and furnished the provost with the pontifical insignia, which meant that he now bore all the external dignities of a bishop—episcopal miter, ring, and staff. To provide the necessary income, the collegiate church of Amsoldingen, the female Augustinian convent at Interlaken, and the Cluniac priories of Münchwiler, St. Petersinsel, and Rüeggisberg were incorporated into the new foundation. The Teutonic Order, which had held the rights of patronage and since the 13th century had appointed the parish pastor (*Leutpriester*), was forced to leave the city. With the approval of the papacy, Bern became the principal authority over the ecclesiastical foundation, with the rights of patronage and presentation in the hands of the council, which appointed office holders and examined the financial records annually. The city now not only had the practical status of an episcopal seat but also appointed the canons of St. Vincent. The bishop of Lausanne, in whose jurisdiction the new foundation lay, was kept at arm's length.[13]

The house of the Teutonic Order stood very close to the Minster. The members of the Teutonic Order had played a central role in the early history of the Zähringer city, holding rights of patronage and presentation at the parish church of St. Vincent, where they maintained thirteen altars, and the rights of patronage over the Nydegg chapel, where they were responsible for both the

12 Richard Feller, *Geschichte Berns*, vol. 2: *Von der Reformation bis zum Bauernkrieg, 1516 bis 1653* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1974), 85.

13 Kathrin Utz Tremp, "'Das houptstuk, zu(o)m Gots- und der kirchen dienst gehörend, namlich die Priesterschaft.' Das Chorherrenstift St. Vinzenz (1484/1485–1528) als 'Ausstattungsstück' des Münsters," in *Berns große Zeit*, 474–82; Kathrin Tremp-Utz, *Das Kollegiatstift St. Vinzenz in Bern. Von der Gründung 1484/85 bis zur Aufhebung 1528* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1985); Guy P. Marchal, "St. Vinzenz in Bern," in HS II/2: 151–61.

main altar and two side altars. And all city endowments, such as the chapel at the Lower Spital, were maintained by the Teutonic Order. When the collegiate church of St. Vincent was founded, the house of the Teutonic Order was transferred to the canons and subsequently used as the chapter meeting house and as a home for the provost and treasurer. By the time of the Reformation the Minster would have twenty-five altars. Along with the Minster and the Dominican church, the Franciscan church was one of the largest churches in the town, and membership of the Franciscan friary had grown as more altars and masses were endowed. Within the inner new town in the west, the most significant ecclesiastical presences were the Dominican friary and the Inselkloster, a convent of Dominican nuns. The most important ecclesiastical locus in the east of the town was the Nydegg chapel, where renovations between 1480 and 1494 included the addition of a very substantial bell tower. In the outer new town in the west lay the Holy Ghost Spital, also called the Upper Spital (*Oberes Spital*), endowed as an ecclesiastical institution in the 13th century and turned into a town charitable institution in the 14th century, where those in need, both the sick and the poor, received care. The endowment of an early mass in the church at the Spital meant that attendance at the parish church was no longer the only option. Much like the Nydegg chapel in the east, the Upper Spital became the heart of ecclesiastical life in part of the city in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Lower Spital (*Niederes Spital*) had been founded by the town and had been moved in the 14th century to a new location outside the city gates, with a chapel and graveyard added. In 1450 the Lower Spital had five altars that were maintained by the Teutonic Order. Within the original town as founded by the Zähringer, the Brothers of St. Anthony had a chapel with a small spital. Also to be noted are the numerous houses of beguines, endowed by wealthy citizens in support of the religious and diaconal life of the city. And finally, the wealthy monasteries had property in the town that they used for administrative purposes and as accommodation.

The religious revival of the 15th century saw the churches of Bern richly fitted out with altars and works of art. As the number of properties in the city owned by church institutions grew, so too did the number of clergy and nuns. But the council was not without influence over these developments. Since the 14th century, all ecclesiastical institutions in the city had been under the oversight of a member of the council. These caretakers for church and spital were responsible for the economic and legal affairs of these foundations.[14]

At the end of the 15th century, these ecclesiastical institutions were the source of a flourishing devotional life in which much of the population

14 Roland Gerber, "Die geistlichen Niederlassungen," in *Berns große Zeit*, 62–74.

participated. The upsurge in religious activities in the second half of the 15th century led to the building of many churches and the establishment of many foundations. The city-state of Bern participated fully in this trend. Life in the city was characterized by a late medieval piety that was both varied and rich. Churches and monastic buildings and lands, sites of procession and stations of the cross, wayside chapels and crosses—all were vital parts of the urban and rural landscape. Churches and monasteries were splendidly outfitted with altars, private chapels, tabernacles, offering boxes, carved wooden altars, pictures and wall paintings, and with images of the saints in both wood and stone. In his chronicle of the city, Konrad Justinger could record, "God himself has now become a citizen of Bern."[15]

This life and the next were very closely related. Christ would sit in judgment, rewarding the good and punishing the bad, and to face that coming judgment every individual had to prepare in this life. They were to do good and shun evil. Good works were necessary for the salvation of the soul and could be carried out in a number of ways. Guidelines for the treatment of one's neighbor were laid down in the six biblical works of charity: feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, house the stranger, clothe the naked, care for the sick, and visit the prisoner (Matt. 25:35–40). Additionally, all activities that supported religious life could be understood as good works, including any form of endowment. A benefactor might establish a chapel with an altar, including the necessary altar image and liturgical vessels. Or that benefactor might use part of his or her assets to establish a benefice to provide a living for a priest, who then in accordance with the terms of the endowment would say a set number of masses for the soul of the benefactor or for those designated by the benefactor. Endowments were established in perpetuity, that they might serve the faithful both in this world and in the next until the Day of Judgment.[16] Some seventy such altars could apparently be found in the churches and chapels of the city of Bern before the Reformation, a very impressive number.[17]

Professional associations and guilds organized themselves into fraternities, each of which selected a patron saint and made donations for chapels, altars,

15 *"got ist ze bern burger worden …"* Conrad Justinger, *Die Berner-Chronik*, (ed.) Gottlieb Studer (Bern: Wyss, 1871), 102, 1–2 (Chapter 146).

16 Franz-Josef Sladeczek, "'Jedermann gen Himmel wollt!' Zwischen Heilserwartung und Selbstinszenierung. Religiöse Stiftungen und ihre Motivationen," in *Berns große Zeit*, 366–80; Peter Jezler, "Jenseitsmodelle und Jenseitsvorsorge—eine Einführung," in *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer. Das Jenseits im Mittelalter*, (ed.) Gesellschaft für das Schweizerische Landesmuseum (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1994), 13–26.

17 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 18.

images, and masses for its members. So, for example, the tanners maintained an altar in the Minster and the blacksmiths gathered once a year in Freibach by Melchnau, where they were responsible for a chapel.[18] Less wealthy artisans could contribute in this way to the expensive cost of endowments.

Veneration of the saints was a significant part of a pious life. Not only could the saintly carry requests to God, but they could also themselves step in and help. St. Vincent was the patron saint of the Minster. At the head of all the saints stood the mother of God, to whom, to give just one example, the pilgrimage chapel at Oberbüren was dedicated. Parents would bring their stillborn children to this chapel, where a child might be miraculously, if briefly, returned to life and immediately baptized, making possible the child's eternal salvation. A feather would be placed on the lips of the child and the lifeless body heated with coals and candles. Any movement of the feather was declared to be a sign of breath and of life; baptism could then be performed and the child was saved.[19] This example illustrates very effectively contemporary anxieties about salvation. To create a nearness to salvation, the relics of saints were collected in churches and chapels, with every consecrated altar containing a relic. Both the city of Bern and other towns within Bernese territory had impressive relic collections.[20]

Indulgences also served as preparation for salvation. Pilgrimage was one means of making amends through an act of penance, but so too was a financial gift. In the late medieval period the discharging of sin was extended to relief from time spent in the fires of purgatory. In 1476 the Knights of St. John in Saanen sold letters of indulgence against the backdrop of the Burgundian Wars, and five years later the Knights of St. John from Thunstetten offered an indulgence for sale in Bern. The council organized the sale of several indulgences to finance the continuing construction of the Minster. Only the pope could grant the Jubilee indulgence, a plenary indulgence also known as the "journey to Rome" (*Romfahrt*). This indulgence was offered in Bern for the first time in autumn 1476, and after renewal in Rome in 1478 it was available again the following year, although the timing of its sale was moved to Lent. By visiting the parish church of St. Vincent in Bern and by donating a sum equivalent to his or her normal expenses for food in the course of eight days, an individual could receive this indulgence, which had the same value as a pilgrimage to Rome

18 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 32.

19 Daniel Gutscher, Susi Ulrich-Bochsler, and Kathrin Utz Tremp, "'Hie findt man gesundtheit des libes und der sele.' Die Wallfahrt im 15. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der wundertätigen Maria von Oberbühren," in *Berns große Zeit*, 380–91.

20 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 33–7.

during a Jubilee year. Confession of one's sins was a precondition for receipt of the indulgence, and therefore the necessary personnel had to be available, ready to hear these confessions. Reports speak of some one hundred confessors who came to Bern and who had to be paid. The indulgence was available for five successive years, and in 1486 an extension of a further three years was granted. The council proved eager to stage more events at which indulgences could be acquired, and such occasions were therefore repeated, successfully, throughout the years up to 1522. The first whispers of self-criticism by the council at this intensive sale of indulgences would be heard only in 1518, when Bernhardin Sanson, Guardian of the Franciscans in Milan, began the sale of the "foreign" indulgence for the rebuilding of St. Peter's in Rome. The council noted that the people of both town and countryside were already sufficiently weighed down by poverty, but it still permitted Sanson to sell the indulgence in the Minster that November.[21]

The religious resurgence saw the number of clergy increase, often as a result of the greater number of masses required to be said at the numerous altars. The education and behavior of the clergy were varied and are not easy to assess. Bern was not unaffected by the widespread anticlericalism, with the reputation of the clergy often poor and their actions much criticized. The so-called Jetzer affair illustrates the theological, religious, and political dimensions of that tension. Hans Jetzer was a tailor from Zurzach who became a lay Dominican brother. In 1507 the Virgin Mary appeared to him several times, sometimes accompanied by angels and saints, bringing messages. The statue of the Virgin in her chapel in the Dominican church was said to have wept tears of blood, and the climax of these miracles was reached with the appearance of Mary, wearing a crown, on the chancel screen. These events in a Dominican church seemed to endorse the Dominicans in their dispute with the Franciscans over the immaculate conception of Mary, the mother of Christ, a position that the Dominicans rejected. But the vision also had political implications, for the figure who appeared criticized the Bernese authorities' involvement in payments for mercenary service. The miracle was exposed as a fraud, and Jetzer was handed over to the bishop of Lausanne. Jetzer blamed the superiors of the friary, who, he said, had deceived him and had faked the visions. The trial by the Inquisition and the appeal that followed resulted in the four monastic superiors being condemned to death and executed in 1509; Jetzer was imprisoned but managed to escape. These events showed how devotion could be

21 Kathrin Tremp-Utz, "Gottesdienst, Ablasswesen und Predigt am Vinzenzstift in Bern (1484/85–1528)," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 80 (1986), 31–98, here at 52–8; Guggisberg, *Bern* KG, 30.

variously deployed, for visions, miracles, and signs were set to work alongside polemical texts in the dispute between the Dominicans and the Franciscans. And the temporal authorities were not willing to sit by and watch their handling of political and economic affairs criticized. The scandal did nothing for the reputation of the clergy.[22]

The poor fiscal management of some monasteries also gave cause for criticism. The secular authorities were already actively involved in ecclesiastical matters in the 15th century. In 1474, for example, a bailiff was appointed to the double monastery of Interlaken, and in the years between 1484 and 1486 monasteries and convents were dissolved and their possessions were used to fund the collegiate church of St. Vincent, founded in the city of Bern in 1484.[23]

In both political and ecclesiastical terms, even before the Reformation the rights held by the city of Bern within the Bernese lands were increasingly understood as the rights of a territorial state. The temporal authority now frequently claimed the ability to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs.[24]

3.2 The Reformation and Authority

3.2.1 *The Early Reformation—The Magistrates Hesitate*

The commotion surrounding Martin Luther and his supporters came to the attention of theologians and educated laity in Bern as early as 1518. Bartholomäus May, a successful merchant and respected member of the council, evidently drew on Luther when he criticized Bernhardin Sanson's sale of an indulgence in Bern. Town chronicler Valerius Anshelm reported that May was forced to kneel down and ask for mercy and had to abjure Luther as an archheretic.[25] By 1522 Luther's reformation ideas were being controversially debated by the clergy. Jörg Brunner, the highly articulate parish priest in Kleinhöchstetten, was called before the council after the dean of the chapter at Münsingen

22 Kathrin Utz Tremp, "Eine Werbekampagne für die befleckte Empfängnis. Der Jetzerhandel in Bern (1507–1509)," in *Maria in der Welt. Marienverehrung im Kontext der Sozialgeschichte 10.–18. Jahrhundert*, (eds.) Claudia Opitz et al. (Zürich: Chronos, 1993), 323–37; Romy Günthart, (ed.), *Von den vier Ketzern. "Ein erdocht falsch history etlicher Prediger münch" und "Die war History von den vier ketzer prediger ordens." Edition und Kommentar* (Zürich: Chronos, 2009).

23 Tremp-Utz, *Kollegiatstift*, 50–8.

24 Berner/Gäbler/Guggisberg, "Schweiz," 281–2.

25 Valerius Anshelm, *Die Berner-Chronik des Valerius Anshelm*, (ed.) Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, vol. 4 (Bern: Wyss, 1893), 259, 26–32.

complained that he was making defamatory comments and inciting unrest. The dean had demanded that Brunner be removed from his post. Examination of the two parties before the council made evident that the questions of belief involved were really matters for the bishop of Constance, but the council did not wish to take that path and established instead a commission composed of both councilors and clergy. Their deliberations, which took place in August 1522 in the Franciscan church, were attended not only by the parties involved and the members of the commission but also by a highly engaged public. The dean accused Brunner of having made a number of provocative statements—that pope, cardinals, and bishops were devils and antichrists, that the clergy served only their own stomachs and worked for their own financial profit by seeking to sell God, that masses served neither the living nor the dead, but only the priest himself, that instead of caring for the sheep for whom they were responsible, the parish clergy were leading their congregation to slaughter. Brunner, the complaints continued, was contemptuous of his own ordination as a priest and recognized the authority of neither pope nor bishop, claiming that the church relied on its hierarchy, its regulations, and its power, but did not put its trust in Jesus Christ, the gospel, and the grace of God. Brunner quoted scripture in support of his criticisms and in his own defense, and he repeatedly called on his accusers to respond to the passages he cited. The dean referred him to the bishop, pointing out that they were not there to hold a disputation.

Three elements stand out from Brunner's case: (1) anticlericalism, which was typical of the Reformation movement, was very much present, (2) although Luther was not mentioned by name, the issues addressed were issues of the Reformation, and (3) while Brunner demanded that scripture be determinative, his accusers looked instead to the bishop. The commission composed a report and Brunner was acquitted. Judgment had been passed not by the bishop of Constance, but by a commission that the council itself had established. Already involved in the administration of the church, the council of Bern was now also staking its claim in matters that had traditionally fallen under the jurisdiction of the church.[26]

Bern did not send an official delegation to the First Zurich Disputation, held on 29 January 1523, but individuals in Bern had close ties to Zwingli in Zurich. Both Berchtold Haller, who in 1519 had become parish priest (*Leutpriester*) at the Minster and the following year was appointed a canon at the collegiate

26 Walder, "Reformation und moderner Staat," 484–90; Rudolf Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre Bernischer Reformationsgeschichte (1522–1532). Eine Einführung," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation*, 25–59, here at 27–9.

FIGURE 3.3 *Self-portrait of Niklaus Manuel Deutsch (ca. 1484–1530), 1520. Mixed media on parchment on linen, 34.4 × 28.5 cm*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE KUNSTMUSEUM BERN

church of St. Vincent, and Niklaus von Wattenwyl, son of a leader of the city council, who in 1508 had become a canon and in 1523 provost of the collegiate church, corresponded regularly with Zwingli and supported his ideas for reform. In 1522 Sebastian Meyer, a well-educated principal (*Lektor*) of the school at the Franciscan monastery who had studied in Basel and held a doctorate in theology, had defended Luther's views during an exchange at Fraubrunnen. Meyer participated in the First Zurich Disputation, evidently with the approval of the magistrates.[27]

27 Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 106; Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 25–6.; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 113.

Niklaus Manuel, too, represents early Reformation impulses in Bern. An ambitious citizen and member of the Bern council who had held a variety of offices, Manuel was also a very fine artist. In addition to painting banners, flagpoles, and the containers in which official papers were transported (1513), he also received larger commissions and had worked on altarpieces at the Dominican friary (1515), painted the vault of the choir in the Minster (1517), and provided the monumental "dance of death" on the wall of the graveyard at the Dominican friary (1516–1519); he was also involved in the work on the high altar at the chapel of the Brothers of St. Anthony (1518–1520). He personally experienced the catastrophic defeat of the French army at Bicocca in 1522, where mercenaries from the Swiss Confederation had provided support for the French king; the victorious emperor had the papal army on his side. Two weeks after the First Zurich Disputation, Manuel staged two plays in the Kreuzgasse as part of the celebrations of carnival. On the Sunday before Ash Wednesday (*Pfaffenfastnacht*), his play "On the Pope and His Priests" (*Vom Papst und seiner Priesterschaft*) was performed, followed by his work "On the Contrast between the Pope and Christ" (*Von Papst und Christi Gegensatz*) on the Sunday after Ash Wednesday (*Alte Fastnacht*). Both plays sharply criticized the papacy and its ostentatious, worldly, and ephemeral authority, which was set against Christ, poorly dressed and surrounded by the oppressed, the wretched, and the sick. These highly critical plays must have left their mark on their audiences, for in letters of 18 March 1523 to Joachim Vadian, the reformer of St. Gallen, Valerius Anshelm and Sebastian Meyer wrote that a good part of the clergy, the council, and the citizens of the town were evangelically minded.[28] Anshelm recorded that the indulgence set to be sold in Bern on Ash Wednesday, at the beginning of Lent, had been carried through the streets and ridiculed.[29]

In light of the ongoing religious unrest in both town and countryside that had begun in 1522, the council issued an edict on 15 June 1523, the feast day of Saints Vitus and Modestus. Specifically intended to prevent discord and bring about Christian unity, the edict required that the holy gospel and the teachings of God as recorded in scripture be preached. The pulpit was not the place for debate and dispute, whether generated by Luther or any other educated figure. The people were to hear only the simple, clear truth of scripture. The edict

28 VBS 3: 11–2 (no. 341), 12–4 (no. 342); Hans Rudolf Lavater, "Niklaus Manuel Deutsch—Themen und Tendenzen," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation*, 289–312; Hans Christoph von Tavel, "Niklaus Manuel als Maler und Zeichner," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation*, 313–49; Bernd Moeller, "Niklaus Manuel Deutsch—ein Maler als Bilderstürmer," *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 83–104.

29 Anshelm, *Berner-Chronik*, 4: 475, 10–12; Tremp-Utz, "Gottesdienst," 45, 58.

FIGURE 3.4 *In 1525 Niklaus Manuel composed a short play entitled "The Seller of Indulgences"* (Der Ablasskrämer). *On the last page Manuel added a sketch showing the seizure of the indulgence seller by a group of men and women who reproach him for his own sins; under torture he confesses that his letters of indulgence are worthless*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE BURGERBIBLIOTHEK BERN

adopted a model already established for Basel, and its principal concern was not to support or condemn the reform movement, but rather to ensure religious peace. As religious unrest grew, the council wanted to ensure that it remained master of the situation.[30]

The implementation of the Reformation in Zurich in 1524 led to considerable tensions within the Confederation. With their agreement made at Beckenried, the five inner Confederates (Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug) put pressure on Bern to end "error and misbelief" (*irrung und missglouben*) and to ensure that all remained "by the old faith" (*bi dem alten glouben*).[31] In April 1524 the council decided to carry out a survey of the views of the Ämter. The result was unambiguous: the present faith should be retained.[32] Although the council acknowledged this outcome and informed the five inner Confederates of the verdict, it did not participate in the increasing isolation of Zurich within the Confederation. In Zurich, churches in both town and countryside were cleansed. Unrest broke out in neighboring Stammheim. When the relevant authority in the Confederation sought to arrest one of the leaders, the people rebelled and, finally, stormed the Carthusian monastery at Ittingen. The Zurich council delivered up the leaders to the Confederate authorities, who condemned them to death and carried out the sentence. By autumn 1524 war seemed possible.[33] In November 1524 and April 1525 the Bern council issued two further edicts, seeking in the midst of very tense circumstances to secure its authority over the church and at the same time to protect traditional teachings and practices.[34]

A disputation sponsored by the Confederation in 1526 at Baden was intended to ensure the restoration of the traditional church. Zwingli and the Zurich council rejected the procedural framework of the disputation, were critical of the choice of Baden as meeting place, doubted the promise of safe conduct, challenged the competence of the gathering to make decisions in religious matters, and resisted attempts to have the condemnation of Luther by the Diet of Worms applied in the Swiss Confederation. Zurich joined the other Confederates in sending representatives to attend the disputation, although the Zurich

30 ABER 65–8 (no. 249); Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 30–1; Walder, "Reformation und moderner Staat," 502–3.

31 ABER, 99–101 (no. 383).

32 ABER, 98–9 (no. 382), 101–12 (no. 384).

33 Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 79–80. On the Ittinger affair, see Chapter 2 above.

34 ABER, 155–6 (no. 510), 190–5 (no. 610); Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 33–4; Walder, "Reformation und moderner Staat," 503, 506–10; Peter Bierbrauer, *Freiheit und Gemeinde im Berner Oberland. 1300–1700* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1991), 250–5.

delegation did not specifically take part. Because his safety was not assured, Zwingli was not present. Bern sent Berchtold Haller and Peter Kunz, both of whom favored the Reformation. Two further polls of the Ämter, in January and May 1526, had produced, however, clear declarations in favor of retaining the old church, a verdict that was relayed to the representatives of the seven Confederates and known to the two Bern delegates. Over the course of four weeks, seven theses provided by Johannes Eck, professor in Ingolstadt, were debated in Baden.[35] Eck, Luther's adversary at the debate held in Leipzig in 1519, was well known as an opponent of the Reformation. The outcome of the disputation in Baden strongly favored the established church. Zwingli's teachings were condemned, the church's role in interpreting scripture confirmed, and established forms of worship retained. The decision was not, however, unanimous, for Zurich along with Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen refused to accept the verdict.[36]

Believing their victory secured by the disputation at Baden, the seven Confederates now made a momentous tactical error that would escalate diplomatic tensions. Despite a request from Bern, they refused to allow access to the records of the disputation. In response, the Bern council distanced itself from these accounts. The seven Confederates increased the pressure, threatening that they would appeal directly to the subjects of their fellow Confederates. The Bern council had no choice but to see such bullying as an attack on its authority within its own territory. This diplomatic exchange of blows forced Bern into the arms of the reformed movement, which, additionally, had won a comfortable majority in the elections to the Large Council held at Easter 1527.[37]

After another survey of the Ämter, on 27 May 1527, the edict *Viti et Modesti* of 1523 was affirmed. While services were still to follow old forms, the requirement that all preaching be solely scriptural was strengthened and given in greater detail. By November 1527 the stage was set for the disputation that would provide the definitive decision in favor of the Reformation.[38]

3.2.2 *The Introduction of the Reformation*

Adopting the Zurich model, the Bern council decreed that the disputation would be held in public. The bishops whose jurisdiction covered Bernese territory—Constance, Basel, Sion, and Lausanne—were required to attend,

35 For the proceedings of the disputation see *Baden Disp.*

36 Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 102–3; Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 34–5; Backus, *Disputations*, 19–78.

37 Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 36–7.

38 Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 37; Walder, "Reformation und moderner Staat," 516–21.

under threat of losing all their rights within Bernese lands. Clergy from both city and countryside were also to be present. The members of the Confederation and a number of south German towns were invited to send delegations.[39] With one eye on a future council, Emperor Charles V ordered that the disputation be cancelled, but the answer he received noted that his imperial directive had arrived too late in Bern.[40]

The Disputation of Bern took place from 6 to 26 January 1528 in the Franciscan church (*Barfüßerkirche*). Along with the council and clergy of Bern, a large delegation from Zurich attended, with Zwingli at its head. Representatives from the other evangelical Confederates and from the imperial cities of southern Germany were also present: Johann Oecolampadius from Basel, Joachim Vadian and Benedikt Burgauer from St. Gallen, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito from Strasbourg, Ambrosius Blarer from Constance, and Andreas Althamer from Nuremberg. In total, about 350 of those who were present at the disputation were from Bernese lands, and around 100 of the participants came from elsewhere. The bishops refused to attend, for to have done so would have given implicit recognition to the authority of the Bern council; similarly the Catholic members of the Confederation did not send delegations to the disputation. With outstanding theologians such as Johannes Eck and Johannes Fabri absent, the Catholic party was playing only its reserve team.

German was the language of discussion and debate. All those present were entitled to speak. Their words could be taken down in writing, and the speakers themselves were permitted to use notes. In consultation with Zwingli, Berchtold Haller and Franz Kolb drew up ten theses for debate that were distributed along with the announcement of the disputation. These theses drew on the Ilanz Articles of 1526, which, in turn, reflected Zwingli's fundamental positions.[41] Alongside Zwingli, who spoke more than one hundred times, the principal responsibility for defending the theses fell to Haller and Kolb from Bern and to Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito. In addition to the positions of Rome and Zurich, the Lutheran viewpoint was also presented during the disputation, by Burgauer from St. Gallen and Althamer from Nuremberg.[42]

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39 ABER, 518–21 (no. 1371).

40 ABER, 558–60 (no. 1428), 584 (no. 1453); Gottfried W. Locher, "Die Berner Disputation 1528," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation*, 138–55, here at 144; Gottfried W. Locher, "Die Berner Disputation 1528. Charakter, Verlauf, Bedeutung und theologischer Gehalt," *Zwingliana* 14 (1974–1978), 542–64, here at 542–6.

41 On the Ilanz articles, see Chapter 8 below.

42 Locher, "Disputation," 547–50; Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 107.

FIGURE 3.5 *The Bern Disputation of January 1528. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Most controversial was the definition of the church. According to the first thesis, the Christian church was born of God's Word and Jesus Christ was its only head, a statement that was implicitly directed at the Roman church and its head, the pope. The second thesis required that the teachings of the church be based on the Word of God, rejecting the tradition that understood the church as a second means of revelation, alongside scripture. The third thesis tied salvation to Jesus Christ and rejected the merits of good works as a means of access to heaven. Thus these three theses stated in brief and concentrated form the essential theological tenets of the Reformation movement. They served as the basis for the subsequent theses, which addressed much-disputed theological topics such as the mass, the veneration of the saints, purgatory and the cult of the dead, the veneration of images, and priestly marriage. The sermons held in the course of the disputation also made an important contribution to the Reformation cause. Zwingli preached on the Apostles' Creed in order to demonstrate the orthodoxy of his teachings, and the day before he left Bern, he preached on the steadfastness of the Christian.[43]

The disputation had the outcome desired by the secular authorities, for a large majority of those present voted in favor of the theses. On 27 January, only one day after the disputation ended, the council called for the mass to be abolished in Bern and for the churches to be cleared within eight days.[44] The council record (*Ratsmanual*) for 29 January lists a number of incidents indicating that the clearing of the churches had caused vehement disagreements on the previous day. Several men had entered the Minster, and one of them swore in disgust at the pastors and all who contributed to requiring the removal of images, and angrily threatened that anyone who removed or destroyed the altar that belonged to his fraternity was risking his life. A second man rode in on a donkey and in a verbal exchange complained about the clearing of the church, saying that he hoped that the hands of all who took part, in word or deed, in this dreadful act would fall off. Another man compared the house of God to a horse stable. And finally, another man commented that the churches would not be cleared within eight days as required. It had looked as if the men were about to come to blows, but in this instance that outcome was avoided.[45]

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43 Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 107–8; Locher, "Disputation," 550–61; Backus, *Disputations*, 99–109.

44 ABER, 610–1 (no. 1487); Valerius Anshelm, *Die Berner-Chronik des Valerius Anshelm*, (ed.) Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, vol. 5 (Bern: Wyss, 1896), 244, 24–33.

45 ABER, 612–3 (no. 1490); Franz-Josef Sladeczek, "'Da ligend die altär und götzen im tempel.' Zwingli und der Bildersturm in Bern," in *Berns große Zeit*, 588–604, here at 594–9; Franz-Josef Sladeczek, "Bern 1528—Zwischen Zerstörung und Erhaltung," in *Bildersturm. Wahnsinn oder Gottes Wille? Katalog zur Ausstellung*, (eds.) Cécile Dupeux et al. (Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2000), 97–103, here at 98–100.

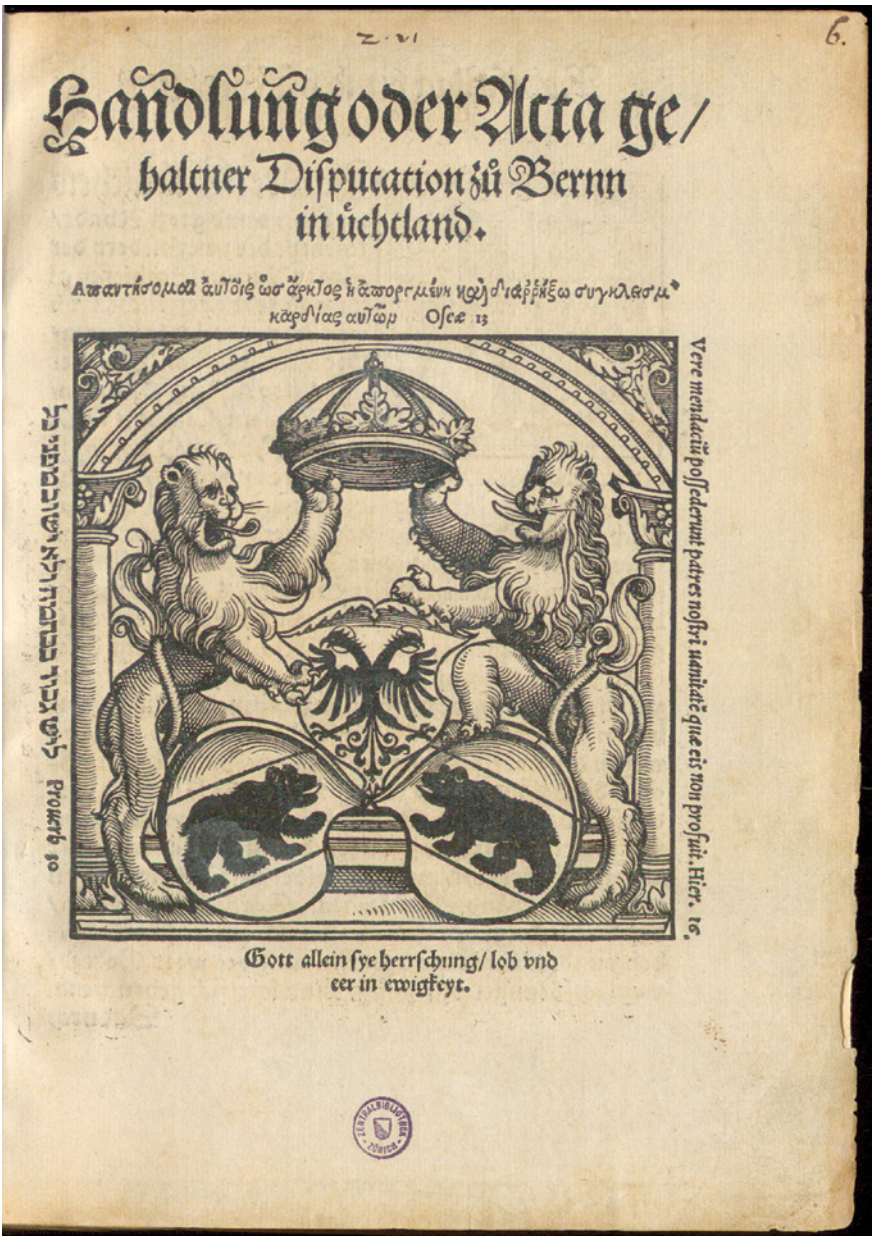

FIGURE 3.6 *The Bern Council arranged for the records of the Disputation of Bern to be published in two editions by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich, on 23 March and 23 April 1528. The title page shows the Imperial shield with the double-headed eagle above the double Bern shield, flanked by two lions holding the imperial crown. The heraldry depicts Bern's status as self-governing under the emperor, able to apply the law and exercise lordship in his name. By placing its insignia on the title pages of an account of the event foundational to the Bern Reformation, the council was asserting its sovereignty over the church*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

FIGURE 3.7 *Iconoclasm in Bern. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

With the abolition of the mass and the removal of images—quickly ordered and quickly carried out—the introduction of the Reformation was both evident and irreversible.[46] When Zwingli preached in the Minster on the steadfastness of the Christian on 30 January, the day before his departure, he was surrounded by debris. Images and statues of the saints had been pulled down from altars and from their pedestals. Zwingli referred explicitly to the dramatic destruction and implicitly to its irrevocability.[47] The charnel house at the cemetery and the Armbruster chapel on the Münsterplatz were also affected by the destruction, with their furnishings thrown on the bonfire or added to the pile on the raised terrace beside the Minster.[48] The churches in the Franciscan and Dominican friaries were also cleared. The choir and altar space in the Dominican church became a grain store, while the Franciscan church first was turned into a warehouse and later was torn down. The benefactors were specifically recognized in the clearing of the chapel of the Brothers of St. Anthony, which in 1533 became a storehouse. In 1528 the Nydegg church was already a storage space for barrels, timber, and grain. On 6 June 1530, after two and a half years, the council announced that the clearing of the city's churches had reached an end.[49]

In March 1528 it was established that preaching was to take place in the Minster, the Dominican friary, to which the Lower Spital was transferred, and the Inselkloster. Four sermons were to be given on Sundays: in the morning at the new spital in the Dominican friary and then in the Minster, in the afternoon again in the Minster and then at the Inselkloster, although this final location would cease to be used for worship that same year. On weekdays, the council was to meet after its members had attended an early sermon. The sermon thus had a function similar to that previously held by the early mass.[50]

On 2 February 1528 and without further resistance, the citizens of Bern swore an oath in the Minster, promising to follow the magistrates in both spiritual and temporal matters. This occasion marked the first time such an oath was administered during the Reformation.[51] On 7 February, the council

46 Sladeczek, "Zwingli," 599–601; Sladeczek, "Bern 1528," 98.

47 Z 6/1: 493–9; Sladeczek, "Zwingli," 599–601.

48 Franz-Josef Sladeczek, *Der Berner Skulpturenfund. Die Ergebnisse der kunsthistorischen Auswertung* (Bern: Benteli, 1999).

49 Sladeczek, "Bern 1528," 99–100.

50 Z 9: 409–12 (no. 706); Theodor de Quervain, *Kirchliche und soziale Zustände in Bern unmittelbar nach der Einführung der Reformation (1528–1536)* (Bern: Grunau, 1906), 33–5 (no. 21); vgl. Tremp-Utz, "Gottesdienst," 92–6.

51 ABER, 625 (no. 1504); Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 108.

issued their Reformation edict, for which Zwingli had provided a draft.[52] In the introduction, the magistrates assumed responsibility not just for secular affairs but also for the true Christian faith. The following thirteen articles laid out the verdict and consequences of the disputation. The ten theses, it noted, were founded on scripture and therefore binding for all. Any cleric who taught counter to these theses was to lose his living. The bishops, absent from the disputation, had forfeited their spiritual rights, for they had not been able to prove their decrees and prohibitions were according to the Word of God. The deans who supervised what the clergy taught and how the clergy behaved were to answer to the council, not to the bishops. All ecclesiastical affairs within the territory of Bern were now the remit of the council. The edict also noted that although the council had ordered the abolition of the mass and the removal of images for the city of Bern, in communities in which matters were still unresolved, a majority vote should determine the next step. An order of worship for the Lord's Supper, baptism, burials, and marriages would be drawn up. Donors were given access to the assets of ecclesiastical foundations and fraternities. The council promised not to redeploy endowments to new ends, but rather to use them in line with the intentions of the original benefactor. Celibacy, mandatory fasts, and the monastic life were all brought to an end. And finally, the parish clergy in both town and countryside were informed that the mass was to be replaced by preaching on Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The edict introduced the Reformation to both towns and rural districts. The council's restraint in implementing the Reformation is very evident. Traditional legal or contractual arrangements were respected in the new order. The thirteen articles gave shape to the new church. The ten theses had received an official stamp of approval.[53]

3.2.3 *The Implementation, Enforcement, and Consolidation of the Reformation*

On 23 February 1528 messengers distributed the printed edict to the Ämter, where the contents were read out at assemblies of all men entitled to vote.[54] But even with this first step in the implementation of the Reformation, all did not run smoothly. As the clearing of the churches had made evident, the introduction of the Reformation seemed very likely to meet with significant resistance. In the Bernese Oberland, opposition to the Reformation was very great. In the survey of the Ämter held before the Reformation, the inhabitants of

52 Z 6/1: 499–508.

53 ABER, 629–34 (no. 1513); Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 37–40.

54 ABER, 644–6 (no. 1534).

the Oberland had spoken against change, and with the Reformation edict now published, news of opposition in the Oberland reached Bern almost daily: Corpus Christi was being celebrated according to customary practice, priests who said mass were continuing as before, reformed preachers were chased away or the clearing of the churches prevented. Believing their longstanding rights to be under threat, the autonomous districts of Hasli, Frutigen, Aeschi and Obersimmental held fast to the old church. Ecclesiastical privileges and customs were part of their traditional rights and freedoms. Communal autonomy seemed to be under attack, for with the introduction of the Reformation, the Bernese magistrates for the first time were claiming a comprehensive sovereignty over all parts of the territory.[55]

The monastery at Interlaken became the focus of resistance. On 30 March 1528 the Augustinian canons transferred the monastery, with all its rights and possessions, to the Bernese council. The subjects of the monastery had hoped that the burdens that fell on them would now lessen and that monastic income would not simply flow to Bern. On 23 April these subjects occupied the monastery and then set off for Bern. At an official gathering (*Rechtstag*) held on 4 May, the council recognized the established rights of the subjects of the monastery and made a number of concessions that reduced the contributions they were required to pay, but the council insisted that the Reformation edict be implemented and did not release the subjects from ground rents and tithes as had been requested. In June the community of Hasli resolved to retain the mass, pointing out to the council that the Reformation edict itself stated that force could not be used to abolish the mass. But Bern remained resolute, even when Hasli looked to the Confederation for arbitration. At the beginning of September, the council permitted mass to be celebrated again in Frutigen and Obersimmental. At a gathering at Lauterbrunnen on 27 September, subjects of the monastery resolved to administer the monastery themselves. In October, at another gathering in Interlaken held with representatives from Hasli, Aeschi, Frutigen, Obersimmental, and Krattigen, they reaffirmed the old faith along with their traditional freedoms and said they would accept mediation only from the seven Catholic Confederates. Military conflict seemed possible. Bern, believing that its territorial authority was again threatened by the five inner Confederates, called on Zurich, Fribourg, and Solothurn for help and mobilized its military forces, who occupied the monastery in Interlaken. The adversaries from the Oberland fled without giving battle. Their leaders were condemned to death, and legal rights and freedoms were deemed forfeit. This example makes

55 André Holenstein, "Die gewaltsame Durchsetzung der Reformation im Berner Oberland 1528," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 164–7, here at 164–5.

very clear that the introduction of the Reformation was also an opportunity for the magisterial authorities to further their political interests.[56]

The Reformation edict had annulled all episcopal rights, both judicial and territorial. As this annulment in effect extended to episcopal jurisdiction over marriage and morals, on 29 May 1528 the council of Bern, following the Zurich model, established a marriage court for the city, composed of two members drawn from the Small Council, two members from the Large Council, and two preachers. This *Chorgericht*, as it was known in Bern, met in the former chapter house of St. Vincent on Mondays and Wednesdays—and later also on Fridays—in the morning after the early sermon. The Chorgericht had extensive competencies and could punish by means of fines, imprisonment, and shaming. The most serious cases, such as repeated adultery or crass profanity, were heard by the council, which could pass a death sentence. The Chorgericht also had administrative responsibilities that included the processing of ecclesiastical endowments, regulation of holy days, examination of pastors, and provision of livings. In March 1529 regulations for a marriage court were sent to all pastors and officials in the Ämter. These regulations provided for the introduction of a Chorgericht in each parish, with its membership formed by at least two honest men and the pastor. The Chorgericht oversaw behavior in daily life, taking action in instances of failure to attend church, swearing and cursing, dancing, gambling, and drinking, as well as verbal and physical attacks. Tasked with examining the clergy, the Chorgericht therefore also oversaw the moral conduct and teachings of the pastors. Ecclesiastical and moral discipline was not a matter for the magisterial and ecclesiastical authorities alone, for the communities also undertook a form of self-surveillance. The Chorgericht provided a means whereby Christian and confessionally derived principles and values could be realized within the community through the joint action of magistrate and community.[57]

Immediately after the introduction of the Reformation, the council took in hand the organization of schooling. The council sent letters to Zurich and Chur on 2 and 12 February 1528 about filling three teaching positions. The same year the council ratified a school ordinance drawn up by the *Venner* (one of

56 Holenstein, "Durchsetzung," 166–7; Bierbrauer, *Freiheit und Gemeinde*, 257–85; Dellsperger, "Zehn Jahre," 42–8; Hermann Specker, *Die Reformationswirren im Berner Oberland 1528. Ihre Geschichte und ihre Folgen* (Freiburg i. Ue.: Paulusverlag, 1951), 20–82.

57 Thomas Brodbeck, "'Christliche Zucht' durch die Chorgerichte. Die Alltagspraxis der Sittenzucht," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 241–57; Walther Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, vol. 1: *Das Zürcher Ehegericht und seine Auswirkungen in der Deutschen Schweiz zur Zeit Zwinglis* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932), 308–57, here at 318–29.

the highest positions in the city government) and the town secretary, although the text of that ordinance has not survived. The school ordinance of 1548 distinguished between a "lower school" and an "upper school." The lower school, with five classes, was to teach the basics: reading and writing in German and Latin, which would be practiced using classical, biblical, and catechetical texts, and the catechism in German and Latin, with Greek and Hebrew added in the highest classes. Three-class Latin schools modeled on the school in the city of Bern were also established in other towns within Bernese territory, in Thun, Zofingen, Brugg, Aarau, and Burgdorf. These Latin schools were to prepare students for the upper school, also known as the *Barfüßer Kollegium*, where public lectures were to be given on classical texts, logic and ethics, arithmetic and astronomy, the Old and New Testaments, and dogmatics. This "high school," as it was also called, was to be attended not just by theologians who would later serve as teachers and pastors within Bernese territory, but also by all who would later serve in the government or administration of Bern. After the demolition of the Franciscan church, the council erected another school building between 1577 and 1582 in order that the unity of the upper and lower schools might be evident not only in their curriculum but also in their location.[58]

Alongside Latin schools, German schools provided private instruction by both women and men in reading and writing in German. The magistrates had oversight of teachers and gave permission for instruction to take place, but their involvement reached no further. The first school ordinance for the German schools was issued only in 1596, when the council sought to ensure the teachers' income.[59] The catechism was fundamental to teaching in the German schools and was taught along with prayers, the Psalms, and hymns of praise. Instruction by the church was closely associated with instruction in the schools. The ordinances for the deans composed by Berchtold Haller had already stated that the pastors were to prepare children between the ages of

58 ABER, 626 (no. 1505), 637 (no. 1518); Ulrich Im Hof, "Die reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern. Vom Gründungsjahr 1528 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation*, 194–224; Urs Martin Zahnd, "Lateinschule—Universität—Prophezey. Zu den Wandlungen im Schulwesen eidgenössischer Städte in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Bildungs- und schulgeschichtliche Studien zu Spätmittelalter, Reformation und konfessionellem Zeitalter*, (ed.) Harald Dickerhof (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1994), 91–115; Beat Immenhauser, "Die Schule im Dienst der Konfession: Lateinschulen in Stadt und Land," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 222–7.

59 Adolf Fluri, "Beschreibung der deutschen Schule zu Bern. Aufzeichnungen der deutschen Lehrmeister Gabriel Hermann (1556–1632) und Wilhelm Lutz (1625–1708). Mit einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen," *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern* 16 (1902), 492–651; 17 (1903), 1–224.

FIGURE 3.8
Berchtold Haller (1490?–1536). Front face of a portrait medallion ascribed to Jakob Stampfer (1535)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE MÜNZKABINETT DER STADT WINTERTHUR

eight and twelve to receive the Lord's Supper,[60] and to that end the Bern Synod provided a catechism.[61] The curriculum of the Latin and German schools and the instruction given by the church were linked through the contents of the catechism. The leading figures in the government of church and state had a shared corpus of philological, philosophical, and theological learning acquired in the lower and upper schools.

With the catastrophic defeats at Kappel and Gubel in October 1531, the Reformation movement faced very real problems.[62] Rural subjects of both Zurich and Bern made their opposition evident. On 22 November 1531, after peace had been concluded with the five Confederates but before they had returned home from the campaign, representatives of Bern's subjects in Thun, Burgdorf, and Nidau sought to present their grievances. The members of the council who were present insisted that normal legal channels be followed.[63] The council in Bern saw a need to declare unequivocally that the Reformation would remain in place.[64] Delegates from the Ämter who listed their grievances in seventeen articles dated 5 December were highly critical of the authorities' political and military actions and demanded that their local rights and freedoms be protected and that they receive economic concessions. They also insisted that the pastors preach only the Word of God as recorded, without any additions, and that they should not clamor for confrontation and the spilling of blood, as they

60 ABER, 1317–9 (no. 2928).

61 *Synodus,* 1: 8–9.

62 Gäbler, *Zwingli,* 132–4; Helmut Meyer, *Der zweite Kappeler Krieg. Die Krise der Schweizerischen Reformation* (Zürich: Rohr, 1976), 282–4, 301–2; see also Chapter 2 above.

63 ABER, 1477 (no. 3239).

64 ABER, 1478 (no. 3241), 27. November 1531.

had done previously, causing great disunity.[65] As in Zurich, so also in Bern the pastors had to bear the consequences of their actions. In their response, the so-called Letter of Kappel dated 6 December, the council confirmed the Ämter's claim to be involved in decisions concerning alliances and military engagements and agreed with their subjects' position on the small tithe and on their right to sell freely, but they rejected the suggestion that representatives from Bernese territory should come together for negotiation of such matters. Turning to the issue of the pastors, the council promised that a synod would be held, and indeed details of that meeting were announced the same month.[66]

Four years after the disputation of Bern, the council arranged for clergy from both the city of Bern and the Bernese rural territory to meet, from 9 to 14 January 1532, to discuss the issues that had been raised, to make clear the responsibilities and position of the church, and to regulate the relationship between magistrates and church. Wolfgang Capito, who had arrived unexpectedly in Bern from Strasbourg via Basel, was largely responsible for the material drawn up in preparation for the synod, which along with the records of the synod itself was presented to the Bern council for approval. The council added a preface and had the material published with the title *Berner Synodus*.[67] The text recognized the magistrates' responsibility for the church and for worship, but at the same time noted that they were not to interfere with the beliefs of the faithful through requirements or prohibitions that could impugn a good conscience or limit in any way the Holy Spirit, for Jesus Christ alone was master over the conscience of the faithful.[68] The secular authorities were servants of God responsible for ensuring the externally correct ordering of worship; pastors were emissaries of Christ, ministers of the Spirit, and administrators of the secrets of God who held an internal, spiritual office.[69] Both magistrates and church served the "ways of grace," which were not the work of humans.

The second Bern Synod proved to be a vital step in the consolidation of the Reformation in Bern. The relationship between church and state was finely balanced. Moderation was to be key in relating to both the traditional church, at one end, and the Anabaptists, at the other. The theological foundations encouraged the pastors in their office, and a strong emphasis was placed on the

65 De Quervain, *Kirchliche und soziale Zustände*, 231–5 (no. 21).

66 De Quervain, *Kirchliche und soziale Zustände*, 235–40 (no. 22); ABER, 1484, (no. 3258), 14. Dezember 1531; Hans Rudolf Lavater, "Die 'Verbesserung der Reformation' zu Bern," in *Synodus*, 2: 35–117, here at 58–61.

67 Lavater, "Verbesserung der Reformation," 64–6, 74–82, 112–7.

68 *Synodus,* 1: 8–9.

69 *Synodus*, 1: 11–2.

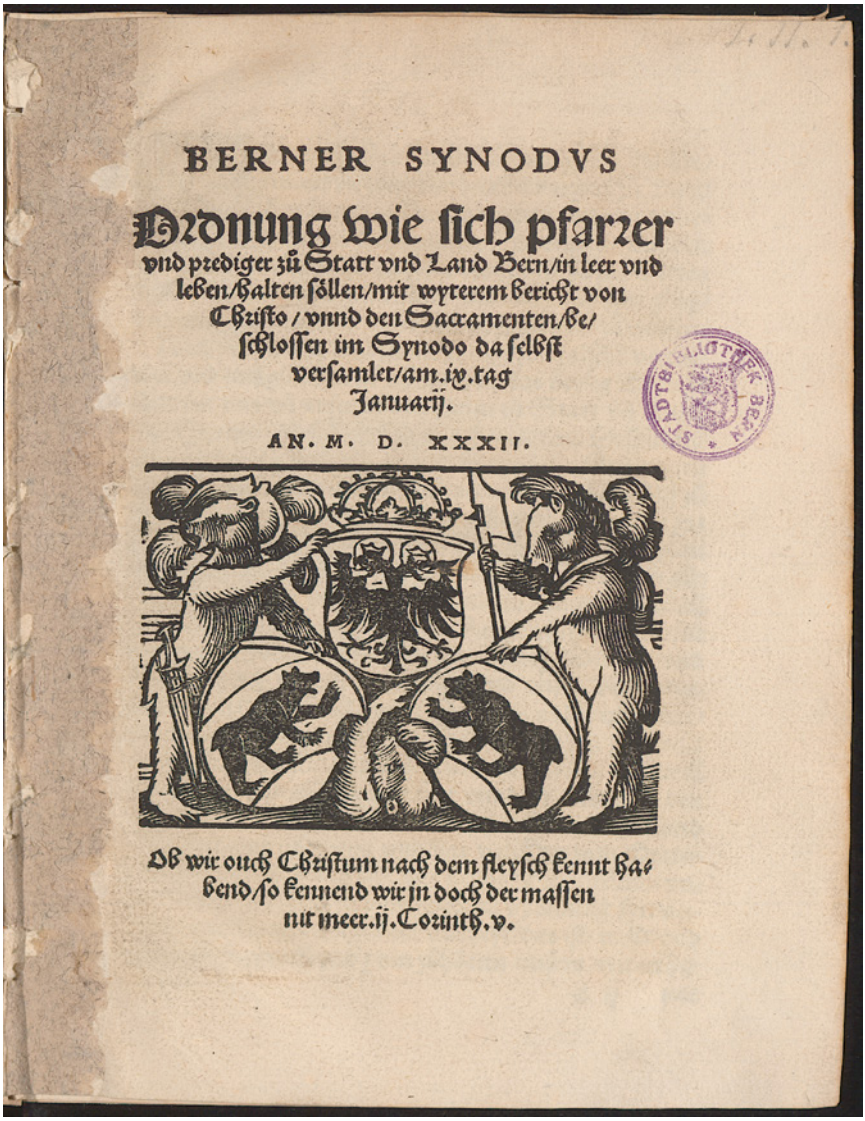

FIGURE 3.9 *Title page of the* Berner Synodus (*Basel: Froben, 1532*). *The insignia of Bern are again portrayed, surrounded and supported by bears who are dressed as* Landsknechte

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE BURGERBIBLIOTHEK BERN

pastors' conduct and teachings. The preface by the authorities noted that "at subsequent synods, held in or around May Day, these acts are to be assiduously read, elucidated, expounded, and renewed."[70] And yet the Berner Synodus would soon be forgotten.

3.3 Establishing a Territorial Church

3.3.1 *Conquest of the Vaud and Geneva*

Even as a member of the Confederation since 1353, Bern had looked west, while the interests of the five allied inner Confederates lay in the east.[71] Solothurn, in the north, and Fribourg, in the west, became members of the Confederation in 1481. In 1406 Bern had formed an alliance with Neuchâtel, to the west, and in 1423 Bern and Fribourg had jointly acquired Schwarzenburg (Grasland), to the south of Bern. Since the Burgundian Wars, Aigle in the Rhône valley had belonged to Bern, while Orbe-Echallens, Grandson and Murten, to the south, west, and east of the Lake of Neuchâtel were administered jointly with Fribourg. This expansion of Bern's territorial interests secured Bern's western flank politically and had economic implications, for it brought under Bernese control the trade route running west–east through central Switzerland.[72]

Although nominally Geneva was the seat of a bishop, in practice it was under the influence of the duchy of Savoy. For economic reasons the citizens of Geneva looked more readily, however, to the Swiss Confederation than to Savoy, and in 1519 they formed an alliance (*combourgeoisie*) with Fribourg. The duke of Savoy responded by killing the plan and occupying the city militarily. In 1526, against the will of the duke of Savoy and the prince-bishop, Geneva joined an alliance with Fribourg and Bern. Geneva's aspiration for political and economic independence acquired a useful religious dimension after Bern adopted the Reformation in 1528, for now the interests of Bern and Fribourg were divided.[73]

With Bern's approval Guillaume Farel had been active since 1526 in the district of Aigle. The Reformation was introduced there in 1528, after the Bern Disputation. In 1529 Farel moved to Lausanne, which had been allied with Bern and Fribourg since 1525, but his efforts in the cause of the Reformation

70 *Synodus*, 1: 6; cf. 1: 76.

71 For more detail on the following, see Chapter 9 below.

72 Berner/Gäbler/Guggisberg, "Schweiz," 294–5.

73 E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York: Wiley, 1967), 33–49; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 554–5.

proved fruitless, as the bishop was able to assert his influence over the council. Farel then moved to Neuchâtel and was active around the Lake of Neuchâtel. In 1530 Neuchâtel abolished the mass. In 1531 Farel could be found in Murten, Orbe-Echallens and Grandson, and in Orbe he was able to win over Pierre Viret to his cause. Farel had the support of Bern, but he encountered resistance everywhere.[74]

In order to reassert their influence over Geneva, in 1527 the nobility of the Vaud formed the so-called *Löffelbund*, and with the support of the duke of Savoy endangered the trade routes, put pressure on the city, and prevented access to it. Several attempts to take control of Geneva failed, and in 1530 troops from Bern, Fribourg, and Solothurn were able to raise a siege of the city. The terms of the peace of St. Julien required that the duke of Savoy recognize that he would forfeit the Vaud should he encourage further agitation against Geneva. From 1532 to 1534 Bern was able to make its influence felt in Geneva. Farel went to Geneva with a safe conduct from Bern, but he had to give way in the face of significant protests by Fribourg, and in 1533 Viret was sent to Geneva to provide him with support. Within Geneva itself, bitter disputes broke out between supporters and opponents of the Reformation, buttressed by Bern and Fribourg respectively.

In 1534 the situation moved in favor of the supporters of the Reformation in Geneva, in particular when the reforming party won the upper hand in the elections to the city council. Fribourg abandoned its alliance with Geneva, which was now dependent on Bern alone. Farel and Viret continued to push for the introduction of the Reformation. Only after iconoclastic acts in 1535 did the council forbid these reformers to continue their activity, but at the same time the council also provisionally banned the mass. The bishop excommunicated the residents of the city and fled. In 1536 the duke of Savoy besieged Geneva and as fears grew that the king of France might seize the city, Bern put together an army of six thousand men, under the leadership of Hans Franz Nägeli. These forces occupied the Vaud without resistance and on 2 February 1536 marched into Geneva. Nägeli also occupied Savoyard lands to the south and west of Lake Geneva. On 21 May 1536, in light of the prevailing political circumstances, the citizens of Geneva, meeting as the General Council (*Conseil général*), voted in favor of the introduction of the Reformation in the city.

74 Michael W. Bruening, "Bern, Geneva, or Rome? The Struggle for religious Conformity and confessional Unity in early Reformation Switzerland" (Ph.D. diss, University of Arizona, 2002), 41–78; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 557.

In the "eternal treaty" of 7 August 1536 Bern granted political independence to the city, but it continued to control Geneva's political alliances.[75]

3.3.2 *Disputes over Doctrine and Church Life in Bern*

Franz Kolb died in 1535, and Berchtold Haller died soon afterward, in 1536. These two reformers were succeeded by Peter Kunz and Sebastian Meyer, who had strong sympathies for Martin Bucer's conciliatory theology, as could be seen in their teaching on the Lord's Supper. Between 1537 and 1548 the Lord's Supper was frequently a subject of dispute in Bern. Sebastian Meyer was accused by his colleagues Kaspar Megander and Erasmus Ritter of favoring a real presence, maintaining that the flesh and blood of Christ were eaten and drunk at the celebration of the Supper. A synod held in May 1537 proved unable to end the dispute, and a second synod was called for September. Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito from Strasbourg were present, and so too were Oswald Myconius und Simon Grynaeus from Basel. Bucer provided a short account of the Lord's Supper, which he elaborated orally. Attempts to find a common way forward proved fruitless. During the discussions, Bucer had repeatedly criticized Megander's catechism of 1536, often called the *Kinderbericht*, and the text was reworked several times in light of Bucer's concerns before being published, in 1538, on the orders of the council. The council dismissed Megander, who returned to Zurich. Calvin expressed his shock at this course of events to Bucer.

Megander's elected successor was Simon Sulzer, who favored the compromise theology of Strasbourg. In the course of the dispute, a number of texts were cited as authoritative guides to the position of the church in Bern: the ten theses from the Bern Disputation of 1528, the Bern Synodus of 1532, the first Helvetic Confession of 1536, and the January 1537 response of the Swiss churches to the Wittenberg Concord, which reached Luther in Schmalkalden. In 1546 a register of preachers was introduced. By entering his name, a preacher pledged his loyalty to the Bern Disputation and Bern Synodus and to the current church ordinances. The disagreement between the theologians who defended the theology of Zurich and those who supported the Wittenberg Concord would continue until 1548, when Simon Sulzer and two other pastors were dismissed by the council.[76] Their successors, Johannes Haller and

75 Monter, *Calvin's Geneva*, 49–56; Bruening, *Bern*, 123–40.

76 C.B. [Carl Bernhard] Hundeshagen, *Die Conflikte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532–1558* (Bern: Jenni, 1842), 69–109, 199–200; Rainer Henrich, "Ein Berner 'Kunzechismus' von 1541. Bucers verloren geglaubte Bearbeitung des Meganderschen Katechismus," *Zwingliana* 24 (1997), 81–94; Cornelis

Wolfgang Musculus, were both of very high caliber. While Haller took an active role in ecclesiastical and political affairs, Musculus was above all a scholar. Musculus's appointment was itself controversial, and he was required to enter his name in the register of pastors and to avoid contact with "Lutherans and Bucerians."[77]

3.3.3 *Bloody Conflict with the Anabaptists*

The clash with the Anabaptists reached back before the time of the Bern Disputation.[78] Anabaptism arrived on Bernese soil in Aargau from Zurich and Waldshut, but there are no clear early traces in the city of Bern. The first documented Anabaptists in Bern were present in 1527 and had roots in Basel. Haller wrote to Zwingli that the Anabaptists had come to Bern from Basel,[79] and Hans Seckler, Hans Treyer, and Heini Seiler, the first three Anabaptists to be executed in Bern, in 1529, came from Basel's rural territory and from Aargau. After the execution of Felix Manz in Zurich in 1527—the first death sentence to be passed by the reformed party against an Anabaptist—the Zurich authorities sought to establish a common front with other cities and eventually joined with Bern and St. Gallen. The Catholic Confederates issued a decree against the Anabaptists in 1532, and together the Confederates agreed that Anabaptists in the mandated territories should be punished with death. The harsh response from the reformed side was principally the work of Zurich and Bern.

Three further Anabaptists appear to have been executed in 1530 in Bern, but tension was reduced somewhat between 1531 and 1534, when no death sentences were passed. Explanations for this change in policy may lie in a series of events: a three-day disputation held in April 1531 that led to the recanting of Hans Pfistermeyer, the most successful of the Anabaptist preachers; the

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Augustijn, "Bern and France. The background to Calvin's letter to Bucer dated 12 January 1538," in *Ordenlich und fruchtbar. Festschrift für Willem van 't Spijker, anläßlich seines Abschieds als Professor der Theologischen Fakultät Apeldoorn*, (eds.) Wilhelm H. Neuser and Herman J. Selderhuis (Leiden: Groen, 1997), 155–69; Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans. Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), 45–70.

77 Eduard Bähler, "Dekan Johann Haller und die Berner Kirche 1548–1575," *Neues Berner Taschenbuch* 28 (1922), 1–52; 29 (1923), 1–65; 30 (1924), 1–58; 31 (1925), 1–61; Eduard Bähler, "Bern und die Augsburger Interimsflüchtlinge," *Neues Berner Taschenbuch* 26 (1920), 67–124, here at 89–90; Marc van Wijnkoop, "Wolfgang Musculus in Bern," in *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563) und die oberdeutsche Reformation*, (eds.) Rudolf Dellsperger et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 281–98.

78 See Chapter 10 below.

79 QTGS 3: 144–5 (no. 330).

victory of the Catholic Confederates at the Battle of Kappel in October 1531; the second Bern Synod, held in January 1532, which favored less harsh treatment of Anabaptists; and the Zofinger Anabaptist disputation, held in July 1532, which although indecisive did improve the atmosphere. Two edicts, from 1531 and 1533, called for more lenient treatment of Anabaptists, but as the prisons began to overflow and the Anabaptist movement continued to grow, the authorities increased the pressure. Attendance at sermons and the Lord's Supper was to be monitored and stricter punishments reintroduced. Anyone who had been banished but returned now faced the death penalty. Between 1535 and 1537 between seven and nine Anabaptists were executed. The harshest of all Bernese edicts against the Anabaptists was issued in 1538, with Anabaptist preachers, teachers, and leaders to be condemned to death without the option of recanting.[80] Members of Anabaptists communities were to receive death sentences if after three discussions over the course of three days they still refused to recant. Eleven further executions followed up until 1539.

A change in this drastic punishment regime came in 1541 under Hans Franz Nägeli, who was one of the leaders of the council between 1540 and 1568. Rather than blame the Anabaptists, he accused the pastors, among other things, of recklessly starting the conflict over the Lord's Supper. The new edict stated that anyone who broke his or her oath for a third time should be examined and punished accordingly. Attendance at preaching and the Lord's Supper was closely monitored and communities were regularly required to repeat their oaths, which included a responsibility to inform on Anabaptists, and indeed, Anabaptists were hunted down on the basis of information that was gathered. There were between thirty and thirty-two executions up until the last official death sentence, imposed on Hans Haslibacher from Sumiswald in 1571. Because preachers who had been banished tended to return repeatedly, in 1585 the pastors proposed that relapsed Anabaptists be sent to the galleys and their possessions seized, for just as the blood of the martyrs formed the seeds of the true church, so too, they related, the blood of the heretics sowed the seeds of their sects.[81]

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80 QGTS 3: 402–5 (no. 825).

81 QGTS 3: 506–10 (no. 1065), here at 508; Martin Haas, "Die Berner Täufer in ihrem schweizerischen Umfeld. Gesellschaft und Herrschaft," in *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich. Berner Täufer in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Beiträge eines Vorlesungszyklus an der Universität Bern im Winter 2006/2007*, (eds.) Rudolf Dellsperger and Hans Rudolf Lavater (Bern: Simowa Verlag, 2007), 1–27, here at 3–5, 19–26; Hanspeter Jecker, "'Biss das gantze Land von diesem unkraut bereiniget sein wird.' Repression und Verfolgung des Täufertums in Bern—Ein kurzer Überblick zu einigen Fakten und Hintergründen," in *Wahrheit ist untödlich*, 97–131, here at 103–6; Hans Rudolf Lavater-Briner, "'Was wend wir aber heben an

The introduction and consolidation of the Reformation strengthened both church and secular authorities, but at the same time made the position of the Anabaptists all the harder, for they rejected any ties between these two institutions. The idea that part of the population might not be loyal to the magistrates, even on religious grounds, did not fit comfortably with contemporary understandings of secular authority.

3.3.4 *The Bitter Struggle of Bern and Geneva*

In the Vaud Bern had acquired an extensive subject territory that now had to be administered. Although Geneva had asserted its political freedom, it retained its alliance (*Burgrecht*) with Bern and was very much part of that city's sphere of political influence. As Geneva was both geographically and culturally closely related to the Vaud, Bern also had influence over the church in Geneva. In 1538 Bern sought a standardization of church life across the Vaud and Geneva, with Bern itself as the model. The central issues were the use of the baptismal font, the retention of four feast days in addition to Sundays, and the celebration of the Lord's Supper using wafers. In expressing their reservations on all these matters, Calvin and Farel heightened their conflict with the Geneva council, until finally, in 1538, both reformers were dismissed.[82]

The Vaud was the cause of repeated friction between Bern und Geneva. In 1547, in a dedicatory preface addressed to the Bernese council, Pierre Viret, pastor and professor at the Academy at Lausanne, criticized the involvement of the magistrates in ecclesiastical matters and expressed his approval of the disciplinary element in Geneva's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Believing Zwingli's interpretation to be under threat and Bernese practice undermined, theologians fought back against this support for the theology of Geneva. The dispute that started in Lausanne spread, and the Bernese council became involved. Heinrich Bullinger acted as mediator and John Calvin also weighed in, and in the end Viret was able to retain his position. In Bern, however, Simon Sulzer and two colleagues were dismissed in 1548 because of their support for Viret. Any deviation in doctrine and practice was vigilantly flushed out. The

…' Bernische Täuferhinrichtungen 1529–1571. Eine Nachlese," in *Mennonitica Helvetica* 37 (2014), 11–63, assumes at least 49 executions up to 1571.

82 Cornelis Augustijn, "Farel und Calvin in Bern 1537–1538," in *Calvin im Kontext der Schweizer Reformation. Historische und theologische Beiträge zur Calvinforschung*, (ed.) Peter Opitz (Zürich: TVZ, 2003), 9–23, here at 18–20; Frans Pieter van Stam, "Calvins erster Aufenthalt in Genf," in *Calvin Handbuch*, (ed.) Herman J. Selderhuis (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 30–7, here at 34–6.

rejection of the Genevan teaching helped make possible the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549, the agreement between Zurich and Geneva on the Lord's Supper.[83]

From 1550 predestination became the cause of intense internal controversy. The conflict was initiated by Jérôme Bolsec, a former Carmelite from Paris who had studied medicine and practiced as a physician. Bolsec openly and repeatedly criticized Calvin's stance on double predestination because it made God a tyrant and the author of sin. Bolsec was arrested and investigations begun. The written opinions received from Zurich, Basel, and Bern signaled fundamental agreement with the Genevan position but at the same time were somewhat reserved and advised moderation. Bern did not want to see an escalating scandal and recommended the use of fraternal admonition to convince Bolsec of his error. Calvin complained, however, that the sister churches' attitude was negligent. In 1551 Bolsec was banished permanently from Geneva. But that response did not bring an end to the controversy, as Bolsec fled to Bernese territory, where the authorities initially tolerated his presence.

In the following years the relationship between Bern and Geneva worsened. Bern saw in Geneva competition for influence in the Vaud. In order to safeguard doctrine and liturgy, in 1551 the catechism and liturgy were translated into French and distributed to all pastors in the Vaud. Further conflicts tested the relationship. In 1553 after a long trial, Michael Servetus was condemned in Geneva for heresy and executed. In 1554 the Bolsec affair broke out again, and although Bolsec was forced out of Bernese territory in 1555, the continuing controversy led Bern to forbid in the Vaud both preaching on predestination and celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the Genevan liturgy. All Calvinist writings directed against the Bern disputation and reformation were to be burned and the use of Calvin's *Institutes* at the Academy in Lausanne was deemed unacceptable. Viret and Calvin's supporters in the Vaud protested, speaking out in favor of preaching on predestination and voicing their approval of excommunication as a form of church discipline. The sharp distinctions between Geneva and Bern on both theology and the politics of the church came to a head in 1558: when Viret in Lausanne renewed his demands for church discipline including the right to exclude from the Lord's Supper, the Bern council removed him from office, together with other like-minded pastors. Viret and four colleagues from the Academy at Lausanne, including Theodore Beza, and fourteen parish pastors moved to Geneva, where in 1559 the Geneva Academy was founded. These events placed such a burden on the relationship between Bern and Geneva that their alliance was allowed to run

83 Bruening, *Battleground,* 183–94; see Chapter 11 below.

out in 1556 and was only renewed two years later. Calvin turned away from Bern and focused instead on France.[84]

3.3.5 *Toward Social and Religious Conformity*

In the last quarter of the 16th century, the secular authorities increasingly pursued social and religious conformity. In 1587 they issued several edicts intended to regulate and shape moral behavior: a morals ordinance with an ordinance for the Chorgericht, a marriage ordinance for the rural territories, and an ordinance for preachers. The regulation of morals in the "Christian Mandate" called for regular attendance at worship and for children to be presented for baptism within three days of birth; avoidance of the Lord's Supper or its unworthy reception were prohibited; "papist ceremonies" such as masses, church consecrations or pilgrimages were forbidden, as were swearing and blaspheming. In keeping with this reverential life, drunkenness and gluttony were forbidden, prayers were to be said in inns both before and after meals (under the oversight of the innkeeper), gaming, dress, and dancing were all regulated, and much space was devoted to marriage and lending at interest. A significant part of the edict was dedicated to the organization of and appointment to the Chorgericht and to the offices of this institution. The edict looked also to the appointment of "secret overseers"[85] in the parishes who were to inform the Chorrichter of immoral behavior.[86]

In the introduction to the marriage ordinance, the authorities noted that the rules and ordinances for the Chorgericht that had been introduced after the Reformation had not yet been made fully public; that omission was now to be rectified.[87] The detailed ordinance addressed both the office of Chorgericht and its activities in order to bring uniformity to the various Chorgerichts. The secret overseers (called *Heimlicher*) mentioned in the "Christian Mandate" were to assume their duties with an oath.[88] The closely related religious and moral regulations for the parishes were now to be implemented.

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84 Bruening, *Battleground*, 214–21, 237–55; Philip C. Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination from 1551 to 1555. The Statements of Jerome Bolsec, and the Responses of John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and Other Reformed Theologians*, 2 vols. (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993); Chapter 9 below.

85 "Heimliche uffseheren;" *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Bern*, Teil 1: *Stadtrechte*, vol. 6.2: *Staat und Kirche* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1961), 840–50 (no. 31b), 840,27.

86 *Rechtsquellen* 6.2: 840–50 (no. 31b).

87 *Rechtsquellen* 6.2: 693–703 (no. 30e), 693–4.

88 *Rechtsquellen* 6.2: 693–703 (no. 30e), 695–6.

In the introduction to the preachers' ordinance, the *Schultheiß* (head of the council) and members of the council made their understanding of the role of the pastor very clear: the pastors were to devote themselves to Christian teaching and to live in a way that reflected this, in order to set an example for the edification and improvement of Bern's subjects. Yet, they acknowledged, often the opposite was the case: many pastors were frivolous, preached badly, kept a disorderly household, and led an objectionable life. As a result pastors were despised, women and children driven into poverty, and the Word of God neglected, while Anabaptist sects multiplied and the disreputable and godless existence of the subjects grew. The text recorded that this ordinance was issued because it was the responsibility of a Christian authority to care for the temporal and eternal wellbeing of its subjects.[89] The discussion that followed addressed the tasks and duties of pastors, visitors, and deans, punishments for failure to meet responsibilities, and oaths that were required. Pastors were to preach at least three times a week. Their sermons were to be taken down in writing with a record also of the date on which they had been given, although they were to be memorized and not simply read aloud, for not only was reading from a text not beneficial to the audience, but additionally it created a bad impression. Details of the pastors' continuing education were also noted: they were to read through all of the Bible several times and to study theological works in order to extend their understanding of scripture and theology, with Heinrich Bullinger's writing against the Anabaptists specifically recommended. Registers of baptisms and marriages and the records of the Chorgerichts were to be maintained. The need for suitable clothes and behavior was strongly emphasized.[90]

Conformity was also the watchword for all theological positions adopted, following closely the stance of Geneva. The points of conflict that came to the fore after Reformed exiles from France moved to the county of Montbéliard (Mömpelgard) were treated at a religious colloquy held in 1586. The Lutheran party was represented by Jakob Andreae and Lukas Osiander, and the Reformed party by Theodore Beza and Antoine de la Faye, both from Geneva, and by Abraham Musculus and Peter Hübner from Bern. Although the preparations for the meeting had not proposed predestination as a theme, that topic was addressed, alongside Christology and the Lord's Supper. After the records of the Montbéliard religious colloquy were published, Samuel Huber, pastor in Burgdorf, attacked Musculus and Hübner for stepping outside the limits of

89 *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Bern, Teil 1: Stadtrechte*, vol. 6.1: *Staat und Kirche* (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1960), 573–86 (no. 27d), 573.

90 *Rechtsquellen* 6.1: 574–5 (no. 27d).

the doctrine and confession of the Bernese church through their support of Beza's theses. Already in 1581 Huber had opposed Musculus vehemently and successfully when the traditional wafer was to be replaced by the breaking of bread, a change that Musculus had supported. Huber was invited before the Chorgericht and had then to present his complaints in writing, with Musculus also responding in writing. This material was to be discussed at a colloquy in Bern in 1588, which was attended by representatives from Basel, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and Beza himself was invited from Geneva.

Huber stood by his position that supported the universal validity of Jesus Christ's salvific act: Christ had died for the sins of all people. According to this interpretation, damnation was not then a product of a decree from God but was caused by the failure to respect the Word of God, which offered salvation. Musculus insisted, however, that God had elected a set number of people for life and therefore also damned a certain number. Although Christ's salvific act was sufficient for the sins of all people, only the elect would benefit from it, just as the promise was to be declared to all, but would be effective only for the elect. Along with the Large Council, the three presidents from Basel, Zurich, and Schaffhausen all agreed that Musculus had not acted against the Word of God or the Bern Reformation. Huber was dismissed and subsequently also banished. Where at one time the council had prohibited all discussion of the doctrine of predestination and Beza had been forced to leave the Lausanne Academy for Geneva, now the Genevan teaching on predestination in all its aspects was recognized. Here we have evidence that the developing orthodoxy in the Bern Church, as also in Basel and Zurich, was essentially characterized by the Calvinist tradition. Later, at the Synod of Dort, Johann Jakob Breitinger, Antistes in Zürich, would interpret Heinrich Bullinger very much in line with Calvinist thinking.[91]

The invitation to the Synod of Dort (Dordrecht) of 1618 was accepted with some reticence by the four Reformed members of the Confederation. The pastors initially did not wish to send representatives to the gathering, believing there was no real prospect of a positive outcome. In Bern there was particular fear that Huber's conflict over predestination could break out again. At a meeting in Aarau, the four Confederates acknowledged that there were political reasons for their participation. A second report from the ministers of Bern voiced unreserved support for a presence, as the discussion at Dordrecht concerned not just the Dutch church but the Reformed Church as a whole.

91 Gottfried Adam, *Der Streit um die Prädestination im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert. Eine Untersuchung zu den Entwürfen von Samuel Huber und Aegidius Hunnius* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), 50–90.

The Large Council finally approved participation, and preparations were made by the four Confederates working together. There was fear that the synod would interfere in the affairs of the individual churches and, additionally, that a single confession would be preferred over the current several. Basel had not yet signed the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 and had retained instead its own confession. The complex preparations attempted on one hand to ensure a consolidated front at Dordrecht and on the other to prevent the emergence of new doctrinal differences amongst the Reformed Confederates. The Swiss representatives at Dordrecht, Marx Rütimeyer from Bern, Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger from Zurich, Sebastian Beck and Wolfgang Meyer from Basel, and Konrad Koch from Schaffhausen, met up in Augst and travelled together to Dordrecht via Basel and Heidelberg. Breitinger was drawn into the discussions about the correct interpretation of Bullinger, to whom the Remonstrants appealed, but the other Swiss representatives remained largely in the background. Rütimeyer was particularly reticent and needed even to be exhorted to send more frequent reports back to the Bern council and to apologize for his neglect in doing so.[92] On his return he reported in person to the Large Council, noting the good reception in Dordrecht and the agreement on the resolutions.[93]

The desire for social and religious conformity was also evident in Bern's dealings with the Anabaptists. With the number of Anabaptists still not falling, in summer 1585 the Bern authorities pushed for a broad front to be created across the Confederation. The immediate cause for their concern was the arrival of emissaries from Moravia, travelling with Swiss Anabaptists who had previously either been banished or had left Swiss territory voluntarily, who brought news from the Anabaptists to the families they had left behind. The Reformed Confederates met on 4 July 1585 in Aarau to discuss what action they might take jointly. They based their discussions on a report that had been drawn up by theologians and was largely adopted. Moral decay amongst large parts of the population, including the clergy, was identified as the cause of Anabaptism. The report made a number of suggestions for future action, with the behavior and conduct in office of the clergy and of the secular authorities in the territories to be monitored and improved. People were to be better informed about Anabaptism through sermons, colloquies, and disputations. It is noticeable that in the discussion of the steps that could be taken against Anabaptists, the report clearly rejected the death penalty and proposed imprisonment

92 F.[riedrich] Trechsel, "Marx Rütimeyer. Zeitbild aus dem Anfange des XVII. Jahrhunderts," *Berner Taschenbuch* 17 (1868), 149–237, here at 201.

93 Trechsel, "Marx Rütimeyer," 149–237.

instead.[94] New edicts were soon in the works in Bern and Zurich. The Bern edict drew largely from the report, with the growth in Anabaptism noted, along with the disorderly condition of both clerical and secular orders who failed to provide a good model. The death penalty was reserved for Anabaptist leaders, preachers, and teachers who had already recanted or been banished but then returned either to Anabaptism or to Bernese territory.[95]

3.4 Bern as a Reformed Member of the Confederation

With the introduction of the Reformation, a magisterial church had taken shape in Bern. The council functioned as the ultimate adjudicator in ecclesiastical matters: it approved church ordinances and confessions, exercised its authority over the Chorgericht in matters concerning marriage and morals, administered the possessions of the church, and appointed pastors. Members of the council attended the synods of the church, which provided the pastors in return with access to the council on both ecclesiastical and political issues. The rural parishes were made part of the territorial organization of the church. The council selected the pastors on the basis of recommendation from the Convent, to which the dean, pastors, and professors of the city all belonged. The authorities in Bern refused to allow the church to hand down punishments even in spiritual matters. The issue of who had the right to exclude from the Lord's Supper (the ban) proved particularly controversial. Tensions frequently characterized the charged relationship between the Bern council and the pastors in the Vaud, which lay within the ecclesiastical and theological influence of Geneva: the liturgy, the Lord's Supper and the use of the ban, church discipline, and the doctrine of predestination proved especially fraught issues. The Bern council's goal was to work with the institution of the church to achieve social and religious conformity across its territory.

A weighty member of the Confederation, Bern, along with its allies Zurich, Basel, and Schaffhausen, formed the Reformed party, with the five inner Confederates and the city-states of Fribourg and Solothurn in the Catholic corner. Although the Catholic Confederates were in a majority at meetings, in practice the confessional parties were evenly balanced, as the Reformed members, and Zurich and Bern in particular, had a dominance that stemmed from the size of their territories and populations, and from their military and economic weight. And beyond purely confessional boundaries, Bern also worked with

94 Jecker, *Ketzer,* 82–6.

95 *Rechtsquellen* 6.1: 431–6 (no. 24i).

Lucerne, Fribourg, Solothurn, and the prince-bishopric of Basel in furthering the common interests of the estates against their subjects. Solidarity among the authorities in the Confederation was pronounced when it came to dealing with peasant wars and the Anabaptists. Economic and financial considerations and the protection of trade and travel routes also ignored confessional boundaries.[96]

Only when the *Ancien Régime* came to an end did the magisterial church slowly give way in new circumstances characterized by an increased democratization of society. The manifold changes of the 19th century left as much of a mark on the character of the church today as did the innovations of the 16th century, the age of the Reformation.

96 Berner/Gäbler/Guggisberg, "Schweiz," 300–2, 309–11; Andreas Würgler, "Einbindung der Macht. Bern im eidgenössischen Bündnissystem," in *Berns mächtige Zeit*, 108–14.

CHAPTER 4

The Reformation in Basel

Amy Nelson Burnett

4.1 Introduction

Studies of the evangelical movements in the cities of south Germany and Switzerland have emphasized several features common to the urban Reformation.[1] Evangelical ideas were first introduced through the printing press and by individual preachers in the early 1520s. By the end of 1524, growing popular support for the evangelical movement merged with social and political unrest in the countryside, pressuring city governments to introduce liturgical changes and extend their control over the property and personnel of the church. In these cities the official adoption of the Reformation was marked by the abolition of the mass and issuance of legislation that established new ecclesiastical structures and practices, but the consolidation of the new church would extend over the next several decades.

The Reformation in Basel followed this general pattern, but the particular form it took also reflected Basel's situation as a relatively new member of the Swiss Confederation, as home to the Confederation's only university, and as a major printing center closely linked with the biblical humanism of Erasmus. These factors initially accelerated the spread of evangelical ideas but eventually hindered the official adoption of the Reformation. Basel too would introduce new church structures and religious practices, but the shaping of a new religious identity would be complicated by the city's position on the border between the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation. In an effort to maintain ties with both sides of the growing religious and political divide, Basel held a confessionally open position until the last quarter of the century, when it finally embraced Reformed Orthodoxy. The official rejection of the Roman church in 1529 was an important turning point in Basel's Reformation, for it marked the culmination of developments over the previous decade and was the beginning of a longer process of religious change that extended through the rest of the century.

1 For an overview of older research, Kaspar von Greyerz, "Stadt und Reformation: Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung," ARG 76 (1985), 6–63; of more recent work, Matthias Pohlig and Vera Isaiasz, "Social Ordnung und ihre Repräsentationen: Perspektiven der Forschungsrichtung 'Stadt und Religion,'" in *Stadt und Religion in der frühen Neuzeit: soziale Ordnungen und ihre Repräsentationen*, (ed.) Vera Isaiasz (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2007), 9–32.

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4.2 Basel on the Eve of the Reformation

4.2.1 *Church and State*

Basel's path to the establishment of Reformed Orthodoxy at the end of the 16th century differed significantly from that of the other Swiss Reformed cities, but that path followed naturally from the city's geographical, political, ecclesiastical, and intellectual situation at the beginning of the 16th century.[2] Basel became a member of the Swiss Confederation in 1501, and at the beginning of the 16th century it had much more in common with the free imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire than it did with the other urban members of the Swiss Confederation. With a population of about ten thousand, Basel was almost twice the size of either Zurich or Bern and almost three times bigger than Lucerne. While each of the latter cities controlled a significant rural hinterland already in the fourteenth century, Basel's territorial expansion came only in the second half of the fifteenth century and was limited to a relatively small area southeast of the city. Its economic ties at the beginning of the century were stronger with the margraviate of Baden and Habsburg-ruled Outer Austria (*Vorderösterreich*) to the north than they were with the other members of the Swiss Confederation. This would change over the course of the 16th century, as political and religious developments strengthened Basel's links with the other Reformed *Orte*, but Basel's full political and economic integration into the Swiss Confederation was a gradual process that formed the backdrop to the formation of its confessional identity over the course of the 16th century.[3]

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2 There are several older accounts of the early Reformation in Basel that are particularly valuable because of their authors' profound familiarity with the primary sources. They underlie much of the first half of this article and so are listed here, and they will be cited below only where they provide additional detail: Paul Roth, *Die Reformation in Basel, 1. Teil: Die Vorbereitungsjahre (1525–1528)* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1936); Paul Roth, *Die Durchführung der Reformation in Basel 1529–1530* (*Die Reformation in Basel II*) (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1943); Paul Roth, *Durchbruch und Festsetzung der Reformation in Basel. Eine Darstellung der Politik der Stadt Basel im Jahre 1529 auf Grund der öffentlichen Akten* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942); Paul Burckhardt, *Basel in den ersten Jahren nach der Reformation* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1946); and Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel,* 3 vol. (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1907–1925), 3: 317–524. The most important printed sources are contained in ABSR and BC. Alfred Ehrensperger, *Der Gottesdienst in Stadt und Landschaft Basel im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: TVZ, 2010), is the most recent overview of the Basel Reformation.

3 Edgar Bonjour and Albert Bruckner, *Basel und die Eidgenossen. Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen: Zur Erinnerung an Basels Eintritt in den Schweizerbund, 1501* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1951); Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 6–25; Julia Gauss, "Basels politisches Dilemma in der Reformationszeit," *Zwingliana* 15 (1982), 509–48; Wolfgang Kaiser, "Gesellige Rivalität. Zum Umgang mit Grenzen im Basler Raum (16.–17. Jahrhundert)," BZGA 102 (2002), 23–36.

FIGURE 4.1 *View of the city of Basel looking south. Kleinbasel, with the parish church of St. Theodor and the smaller church of the Carthusian monastery, is in the forefront, and Grossbasel is on the opposite bank of the Rhine, with the cathedral prominent on the right and the priory and parish church of St. Alban on the left. From Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Basel also differed from its fellow Swiss city-republics in that it was an episcopal city. The diocese of Basel was bounded by the Aare to the south and east and extended along the left bank of the Rhine into upper Alsace; to the west it followed the Jura down to its border with the diocese of Lausanne. As a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Basel's bishop claimed secular jurisdiction over a small territory that extended to the southwest of the city, part of which

lay outside the bounds of the diocese. From the fourteenth century, the bishops had preferred to live outside the city and eventually settled in Porrentruy (Pruntrut). The two dozen canons of the cathedral chapter were drawn from the upper Rhenish nobility, but since most of them were pluralists, only about half of them were resident in Basel at any given time. Relations between the bishop and cathedral chapter were complicated by financial difficulties, and their differences would weaken the ability of both parties to respond to the challenges of the Reformation.[4]

4 HS I/1: 127–45; Konrad Wilhelm Hieronimus, *Das Hochstift Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Basel: Verlag der historischen und antiquarischen Gesellschaft, 1938), 14–5, 68–75.

FIGURE 4.2 *The citizens of Basel confirm their new alliance with the Swiss Confederation by oath (13 July 1501). From Schilling's* Luzerner Chronik*, property of the Korporation Luzern* PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB; REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE KORPORATION LUZERN

Although he was nominally Basel's overlord, the bishop had gradually lost most of his power over the city to the city council. In 1521, the Council rejected the bishop's formal right to approve elections to it and refused to swear the traditional oath of obedience to the bishop, thereby ending his last claim to political authority over the city. Over the next fifty years the city council interacted with the bishop primarily as a neighboring ruler, taking advantage of his weakness in the northernmost part of the episcopal territory to extend its protection over the villages closest to the city gates and using his stronger position in the south to block the expansionary policies of Solothurn.[5]

By the beginning of the 16th century the older patrician families had been excluded from Basel's government, and political power was based in the city's fifteen guilds. These in turn were divided between the four guilds whose members were largely merchants and bankers and the eleven artisans' guilds. Citizenship and therefore political rights were tied to guild membership, but election to political office rested in the hands of each guild's leadership rather than its membership as a whole. Basel was governed by its *Häupter* or "heads"—the *Bürgermeister* and *Oberstzunftmeister*—together with a Small Council of two members from each of the fifteen guilds. Elections were held annually, but council members were re-elected in alternate years, so that membership was virtually for life. The members of both the "old" and the "new" Small Council regularly met together under the presidency of the "old" and "new" *Häupter*. There was also a Large Council of elected guild members that was called on to ratify decisions made by the Small Council. The city's highest political offices were dominated by members of the merchants' guilds, who put commercial before manufacturing interests. Through the 1520s this group also resisted the religious changes advocated by a large proportion of the city's inhabitants. With the adoption of the Reformation and the exclusion of several Catholics from the Council, the artisans' guilds would gain a greater share of political power.[6]

4.2.2 *Intellectual and Religious Life*

Basel's religious and intellectual importance was supported by its university. Inspired by the reforms of the Council of Basel, the city council obtained a foundation charter for the university from the pope in 1460. The pope incorporated the collegiate chapter of St. Peter into the university so that its

5 Hans Berner, *"die gute correspondenz". Die Politik der Stadt Basel gegenüber dem Fürstbistum Basel in den Jahren 1525–1585* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1989), 9–12.

6 Alfred Müller, "Die Ratsverfassung der Stadt Basel von 1521 bis 1798," BZGA 53 (1954), 5–98; Hans Füglister, *Handwerksregiment: Untersuchungen und Materialen zur sozialen und politischen Struktur der Stadt Basel in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1981), 137–56, 257–92.

prebends could be used to support the latter's teachers, but the city funded several professorships as well. About a quarter of the university's students came from other parts of Switzerland. Many of these became pastors or teachers or were appointed to canonries when they returned home. A greater percentage came from Alsace and south Germany and so helped integrate the city into the larger cultural and intellectual world of the upper Rhine.[7]

The university benefited the city by providing a pool of educated clergy who could be appointed to ecclesiastical benefices in the city. Most of the men who held a position as parish priest in Basel in the 1520s had at least matriculated at the university, and several of them held advanced degrees. All seven of Basel's parish churches were incorporated into one of the city's religious foundations, which appointed the priests who provided pastoral care. The largest parishes were those of St. Martin, St. Peter, St. Leonhard, and St. Alban in the main part if the city and St. Theodor in Kleinbasel. Because it was located on the right bank of the Rhine, St. Theodor came under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constance rather than of Basel. The parish of St. Ulrich included the suburbs beyond the city walls to the south, while the chapter house of the Knights of St. John served as the parish church for those who lived near the northwestern gate, where the Rhine flowed out of the city. In the 1470s a pastoral position was created for the cathedral, whose incumbent had authority to exercise pastoral care through the entire diocese. In fact he functioned more as assistant to the cathedral preacher than as a pastor.[8]

In addition to the parish clergy, there were also endowed preacherships associated with the cathedral and with St. Peter whose incumbents were required to have a theology degree. They were obligated by the terms of their appointment to preach on Sundays, festivals, and daily during the seasons of Advent and Lent, and they could be removed from office for improper conduct. The mendicant clergy associated with the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian convents also provided pastoral care and preached regularly to Basel's inhabitants.[9]

Basel had its share of other religious foundations as well. At a time when monastic reform movements seemed to have faltered, the Carthusian

7 Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel, von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 1460–1960* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), 21–48, 70–73; Marc Sieber, *Die Universität Basel und die Eidgenossenschaft 1460 bis 1629. Eidgenössische Studenten in Basel* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960), 35–7, 158–9; Dieter Mertens, "Austausch und Abgrenzung: Die oberrheinischen Universitäten an der Wende zum 16. Jahrhundert," BZGA 102 (2002), 7–22; Berndt Hamm, "Der Oberrhein als geistige Region von 1450 bis 1520," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 3–50.

8 Johannes Bernoulli, "Die Kirchgemeinden Basels vor der Reformation," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1894), 220–43; (1895), 99–162.

9 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation,* 22–6; a more detailed discussion of Basel's churches and its religious life in Heribert Smolinsky, *Kirche und Religion in Basel um 1501* (Basel: Schwabe, 2002).

monastery in Kleinbasel (the part of the city on the north bank of the Rhine) stood out for the ascetic piety of its inhabitants. The same could not be said, however, of the Cluniac priory of St. Alban or the Augustinian canons of St. Leonhard. There were four female convents: the Franciscan houses of Gnadental and St. Clara, and the Dominican houses of Klingental and Maria Magdalena in den Steinen. The Knights of St. John and the Teutonic Order each had chapels in the city as well. Last but not least, the civic hospital had its own priest.[10]

The existence of a university was only one reason for Basel's early development as a printing center. Just as important were the city's paper mills and the major trade routes that connected Basel to Italy, France, and the Empire. By 1520, Basel's presses were turning out between one hundred and one hundred twenty titles a year. A significant percentage of Basel's book production was in Latin and intended for foreign markets. This created a need for educated compositors and correctors, most of whom, like the printers themselves, were immigrants to the city. The printing shops provided employment and served as gathering places for those interested in the humanistic studies that had moved north from Italy by the turn of the century.[11]

The arrival of Erasmus in 1514 invigorated the humanist circle in Basel and helped point it in the direction of patristic studies. Johann Froben's printing of Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament was the beginning of a fruitful partnership that would last for two decades. Froben also produced Erasmus's editions of Jerome, Cyprian, and other church fathers. The circle of humanists who assisted Erasmus in his editing included a number of prominent scholars and several later reformers, including Beatus Rhenanus, Heinrich Glareanus, Wolfgang Capito, Johannes Oecolampadius, and Konrad Pellikan.[12]

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10 Wackernagel, *Geschichte*, 1:156–9; Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "Die Basler religiösen Frauen im Mittelalter," in *Eine Stadt der Frauen. Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte der Baslerinnen im späten Mittelalter und zu Beginn der Neuzeit (13.–17. Jh.)*, (ed.) Heide Wunder (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1995), 28–48; Ehrensperger, *Gottesdienst*, 26–46, gives more detail on the history of each monastic foundation. On efforts to reform the female convents in the 15th century, see Bernhard Neidiger, "Stadtregiment und Klosterreform in Basel," in *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, (ed.) Kaspar Elm (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1989), 539–67.

11 Peter Bietenholz, "Printing and the Basel Reformation 1517–1565," in *The Reformation and the Book*, (ed.) Jean-Francois Gilmont (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 235–63; Valentina Sebastiani, "Die kulturelle, geistige und materielle Bedeutung der Bündnisses zwischen Humanismus und Druckwesen in Basel von 1477 bis 1513. Studie zur Zusammenarbeit zwischen Johannes Heynlin und Johannes Amerbach," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel,* 79–95.

12 James S. Hirstein, "Wolfgang Capito and the Other Docti in Johann Froben's Basel Print Shop," in *Reformation Sources: The Letters of Wolfgang Capito and His Fellow Reformers in Alsace and Switzerland*, (eds.) Erika Rummel and Milton Kooistra (Toronto: Centre

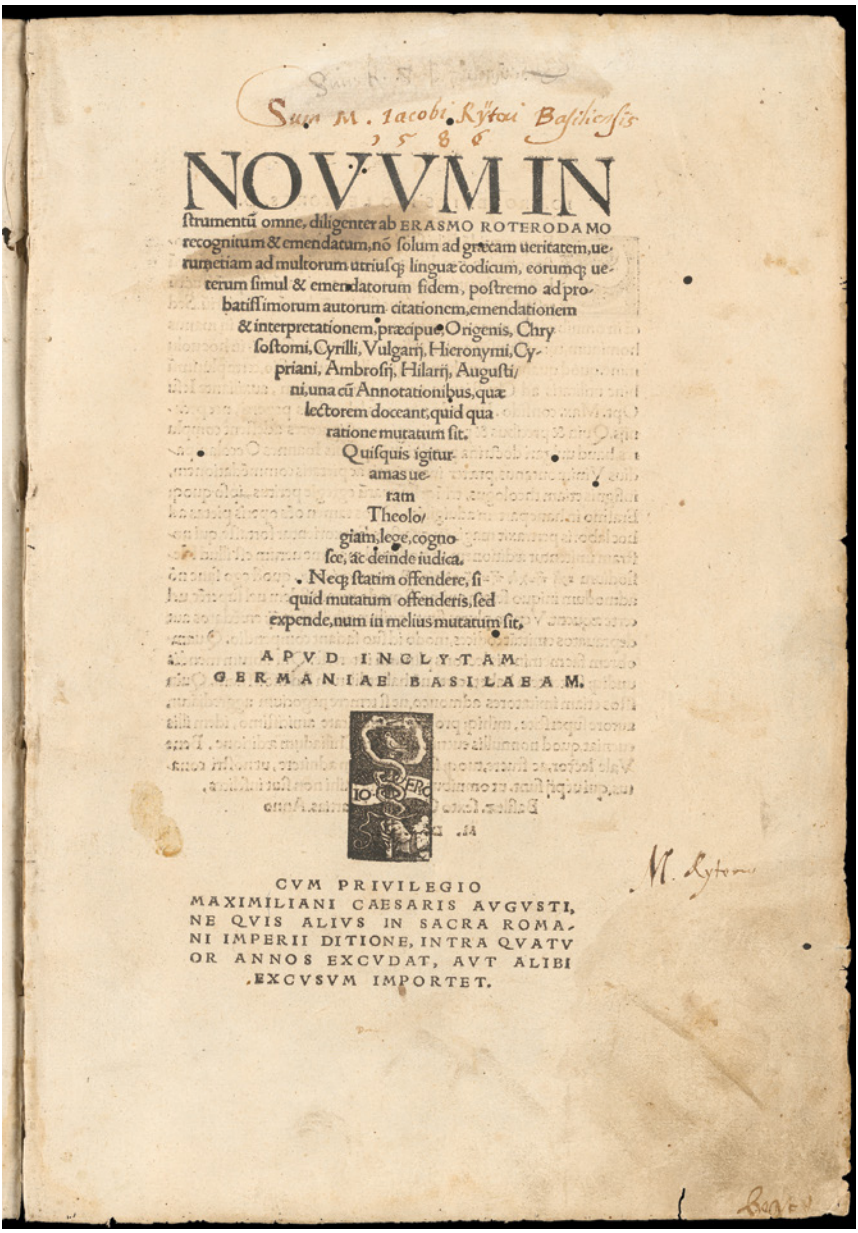
Sum M. Iacobi Rytui Basilien.
1586
NOVVM IN
strumentū omne, diligenter ab ERASMO ROTERODAMO
recognitum & emendatum, nō solum ad græcam ueritatem, ue-
rumetiam ad multorum utriusq; linguæ codicum, eorumq; ue-
terum simul & emendatorum fidem, postremo ad pro-
batissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem
& interpretationem, præcipue Origenis, Chry
sostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgatæ, Hieronymi, Cy-
priani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augusti-
ni, una cū Annotationibus, quæ
lectorem doceant, quid qua
ratione mutatum sit.
Quisquis igitur
amas ue-
ram
Theolo-
giam, lege, cogno
sce, ac deinde iudica.
Neq; statim offendere, si
quid mutatum offenderis, sed
expende, num in melius mutatum sit.
APVD INCLYTAM
GERMANIAE BASILEAM.
CVM PRIVILEGIO
MAXIMILIANI CAESARIS AVGVSTI,
NE QVIS ALIVS IN SACRA ROMA-
NI IMPERII DITIONE, INTRA QVATV
OR ANNOS EXCVDAT, AVT ALIBI
EXCVSVM IMPORTET.

FIGURE 4.3 *The title page of the first (1516) edition of Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament. Jacob Christoph Ryter, owner of the volume, was the pastor of Liestal, in Basel's rural territory, from 1570–1610*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

4.3 The Era of Reformation

4.3.1 *Evangelical Beginnings, 1518–1525*

Printing was the door through which evangelical ideas first entered Basel.[13] Adam Petri reprinted the 95 theses before the end of 1517, and in October of 1518 Froben published a collection of Luther's Latin pamphlets that sold out within a matter of months. Erasmus pressured Froben not to publish anything further by Luther, but Petri continued to produce Luther's works, concentrating especially on vernacular pamphlets, publishing over forty of them between 1518 and 1522. Most of those pamphlets that Petri did not print were published in nearby Strasbourg, and the close connections between the two cities meant that almost all of Luther's vernacular works were easily available in Basel. Basel's printers were even more important for the production of evangelical works intended for a scholarly and international audience. Petri, Andreas Cratander, Thomas Wolf, and Valentin Curio together reprinted about half of those works by Luther that were either published originally in Latin or translated from German through 1522. They also published the pamphlets, disputations, and scholarly works of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt and Philipp Melanchthon, Luther's closest associates in Wittenberg.[14]

Basel's humanist circle played an active role in furthering Luther's ideas at a time when many saw little difference between Luther and Erasmus. Wolfgang Capito, the cathedral preacher from 1515, was responsible for Froben's early

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for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007), 19–45; Hans R. Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century. Aspects of the City Republic before, during, and after the Reformation* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 10–7.

13 For short summaries of the events of the 1520s, see Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century*, 19–35, and Thomas Wilhelmi, "Die staatskirchlich geprägte Reformation in Basel," in *Martin Bucer zwischen den Reichstagen von Augsburg (1530) und Regensburg (1532). Beiträge zu einer Geographie, Thologie und Prosopographie der Reformation*, (ed.) Wolfgang Simon (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 39–47. Ulrich Gäbler, "Die Basler Reformation," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 47 (1991), 7–17, highlights those aspects that distinguished Basel from Zurich, while Bernd Moeller compares Basel's reformation to that of Lübeck, "Die Basler Reformation in ihrem stadtgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang," in idem, *Die Reformation und das Mittelalter. Kirchenhistorische Aufsätze*, (ed.) Johannes Schilling (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 182–95.

14 Jozef Benzing, (ed.), *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1966); Frank Hieronymus, *1488 Petri-Schwabe 1988. Eine traditionsreiche Basler Offizin im Spiegel ihrer frühen Drucke* (Basel: Schwabe, 1997), E5–E6, 237–79; Wackernagel, *Geschichte*, 3: 318–25; Bietenholz, "Printing." On the impact of Luther's writings in Basel and in Switzerland more generally, Paul Wernle, "Das Verhältnis der schweizerischen zur deutschen Reformation," BZGA 17 (1918), 227–315, esp. 253–72.

publications of Luther's works. In the Lenten sermons he delivered in 1518, Capito abandoned the older scholastic model of topical preaching and began a series of sermons explaining the text of Romans. He continued the series in Advent of that year and Lent of 1519.[15] The following year he began preaching on the Gospel of Matthew. When he left Basel for a position in Mainz, his friend Kaspar Hedio continued the sermons on Matthew, but Hedio soon followed Capito to Mainz and succeeded his mentor as preacher there at the beginning of 1521.[16]

Luther's more incendiary works gradually had an impact on preaching in the city. By the spring of 1522, the young pastor of St. Alban, Wilhelm Reublin, was attracting large crowds who came to hear sermons in which he criticized the ecclesiastical hierarchy and rejected traditional ceremonies. On Palm Sunday he ostentatiously broke the Lenten fast by participating in a meal of roast pork along with two other priests, the Spital preacher Wolfgang Wissenburg and Bonifatius Wolfhart, who held a chaplaincy at St. Martin. On the feast of Corpus Christi Reublin went even further, carrying a Bible rather than relics in procession and proclaiming that "this was a truly holy object, and the rest were only dead bones." When the bishop pressured the city council to depose Reublin, members of Reublin's parish gathered at the Franciscan church to defend their pastor, but they could not prevent his expulsion.[17]

With Reublin's departure, the Spital church and the neighboring Franciscan convent became the center of evangelical preaching in Basel. In June the bishop issued a mandate condemning those who preached in a "seditious, offensive, Jewish, and suspicious way" and specified that clergy were to preach only the gospel, drawing on the teaching of the church fathers, and to teach people to submit to the ordinances of the church. Wissenburg refused to obey the mandate, claiming that it prevented him from explaining scripture rightly. In February 1523 the cathedral chapter demanded that the Council punish him for preaching against established Christian practices and for teaching that

15 Thomas Kaufmann, "Capito als heimlicher Propagandist der frühen Wittenberger Theologie," ZKG 103 (1992), 81–91; Sven Grosse, "Die Emergenz lutherischer Theologie in Basel: Capitos Lutherausgabe von 1518," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 149–77; Beate Stierle, *Capito als Humanist* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1974), 55–6.

16 Erika Rummel and Milton Kooistra, (eds.), *The Correspondence of Wolfgang Capito,* 3 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 1: xviii–xix, 36–8.

17 Wackernagel, *Geschichte* 3: 327–9; BC 1: 33–4. The Palm Sunday meal followed by only a few weeks the better-known "sausage eating" in Zurich; see Chapter 2 above. On Reublin's later Anabaptist career, see James M. Stayer, "Wilhelm Reublin. Eine pikareske Wanderung durch das frühe Täufertum," in *Radikale Reformatoren*, (ed.) Hans-Jürgen Goertz (Munich: Beck, 1978), 93–102.

every Christian had the same power as the pope or bishop, but Wissenburg was protected by the fact that his father was a member of the Council.[18]

The Franciscan preacher Johannes Lüthardt also attracted crowds with his evangelical sermons. The Guardian of the Franciscan convent, Konrad Pellikan, had successfully defended himself against accusations of Lutheranism at a 1522 general convent of his order by claiming that he had helped publish Luther's works only so that others could judge his writings against scripture. The following year, however, the Franciscan provincial Kaspar Schatzgeyer came to Basel to remove Pellikan and Lüthardt from the city. Despite the support of both the cathedral chapter and the theology faculty, Schatzgeyer failed in his mission, for the city council refused to turn the Franciscans over to his custody. Angered by the university's opposition to Pellikan, the Council dismissed the two theology professors Johann Gebweiler and Moritz Fininger and appointed Pellikan and Johannes Oecolampadius in their place.[19]

At the time of his appointment Oecolampadius had been in Basel for only a few months, but he was no stranger to the city. After studying in Heidelberg, Bologna, and Tübingen, Oecolampadius came to Basel in 1515, where he matriculated at the university and assisted Erasmus with the edition of the New Testament. He left the city at the end of 1516 to become preacher in his hometown of Weinsberg, but he returned in the spring of 1518 as episcopal *Poenitentiarus*, the priest who dealt with cases of penance and excommunication for serious sins reserved for the bishop. After receiving his doctorate in theology, he left Basel at the end of the year to become the preacher in the Augsburg cathedral, but in April 1520 he resigned that post to enter the Brigittine convent of Altomünster outside of Augsburg. During his years in Weinsberg, Basel, and Augsburg, Oecolampadius had continued to work on editions and translations of the church fathers, and in 1519 he wrote a defense of Luther against Eck that was published anonymously. The pamphlets he published in Altomünster demonstrated his sympathy for Luther, and at the beginning of 1522 he fled the monastery to escape arrest for heresy. After serving as court chaplain for Franz von Sickingen for most of that year, he moved to Basel in November to

18 ABSR 1: 38–40, 48–50. On Wissenburg's long career in Basel, Karl Gauss, "Der Basler Reformationspfarrer Wolfgang Wissenburg," *Christlicher Volksfreund* 51 (1925), 487–9, 498–502, 508–13, 524–5, 533–7, 548–9.

19 Theodor Vulpinus, trans., *Die Hauschronik Konrad Pellikans von Rufach. Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1892), 79–81; ABSR 1: 61–3. Schatzgeyer intended to remove Pellikan's second in command, the vice-guardian Johann Kreiß, as well. The Council also deposed Johannes Wonecker, professor of medicine, and Johannes Mörnach, professor of law.

FIGURE 4.4
Portrait of Johannes Oecolampadius, from Christian Wurstisen, Baszler Chronick (*Basel: Henricpetri, 1580*)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

oversee the publication of a collection of Chrysostom's homilies that he had translated.[20]

Oecolampadius quickly became the leader of Basel's evangelical party. His daily lectures on Isaiah, given in Latin but followed by a sermon in German, attracted not only students and clergy but also a large lay audience.[21] His influence expanded even further when he was appointed to preach in the place of the ailing pastor of St. Martin. Three other parish pastors—Jakob Immeli at St. Ulrich, Marcus Bertschi at St. Leonhard, and Peter Frauenberger, Reublin's successor at St. Alban—also attracted crowds with their evangelical preaching, but the remaining parish priests, as well as the preachers at the cathedral and St. Peter and the majority of the Dominicans, remained faithful to the old church.[22] In an effort to limit the insults, polemic, and charges of heresy made from the pulpit, the Council issued a preaching mandate in the late spring, modeled on one issued in Zurich at the beginning of the year. The clergy were told to preach only the gospel as contained in the Old and New Testaments; all other teachings, "whether from Luther or other doctors, whoever they may be," were to be suppressed.[23] The mandate had only a limited impact, and over the next several years the Council would repeatedly refer back to its provisions in a vain effort to end the polemic from the pulpit.

20 Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1939), 15–169. Oecolampadius had held the Weinsberg preachership, which was endowed by his parents, from 1510.

21 According to Jakob Ceporinus, over four hundred citizens attended these lectures; Cratander reported to Bonifacius Amerbach that the room could not hold all those who wanted to hear them; Staehelin, *Lebenswerk*, 189–90.

22 Bertschi had served as parish pastor of St. Theodor from 1520–1523 before moving to St. Leonhard. Frauenberger was also called Frabenberger or Gynoraeus.

23 ABSR 1: 65–9, no. 151.

FIGURE 4.5
A depiction of early evangelical preaching that shows the blurred line between lecture and sermon. The preacher is seated in a master's chair as he explains the biblical text. From Wurstisen, Baszler Chronick
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Evangelical reforms were by no means limited to preaching. By the summer of 1523, Wissenburg had begun to celebrate the mass in German, while Immeli was the first to offer both bread and wine to the laity in communion. In January of 1524 Stephan Stör, the parish priest of Liestal, the largest city in Basel's rural territory, married his concubine. A month later the city pastors helped Stör defend the marriage in a public disputation held in Basel, but he nevertheless lost his benefice. The Council had forbidden Oecolampadius to hold a disputation the previous August, but over the objections of the university it allowed Guillaume Farel, who arrived in Basel in late 1523, to defend six theses rejecting the ordinances and laws of the church in a disputation at the beginning of March.[24]

The pace of reform gradually accelerated over the course of 1524 and early 1525. With the arrival of Thomas Gierfalk at the end of 1524, the Augustinian church became another center of evangelical preaching. In the parish of St. Ulrich Jakob Immeli preached daily, condemning a host of traditional practices ranging from auricular confession to the use of holy water and salt. He also refused to celebrate masses for the dead, introduced a German baptismal ceremony, and continued to administer communion in both kinds.[25]

The liturgical reforms in the city moved in tandem with the growing unrest in the countryside. By the fall of 1524, peasants were using "Lutheran teaching" to justify their refusal to pay tithes, and at the turn of the year the weavers' guild told the city council that the money used to pay for the candles lighting one of the altars in the cathedral would be better used to support their own poor. The tensions came to a climax in early May, when Basel's rural subjects attempted

24 Wackernagel, *Geschichte*, 3: 347–8; Karl Gauss, "Jakob Immeli und die Reformation in Pratteln," *Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift* 33 (1916), 193–218. ABSR 1: 74–6, nos. 161–2; 1: 95–105, nos. 194–5.

25 BC 7: 274–5; Gauss, "Immeli."

to enter the city in order to present their grievances to the Council. Their articles included demands for the free preaching of God's Word and the right of each parish to choose its own priest. Fearful that the peasants would be joined by the weavers and other disaffected groups in the city, the Council granted enough concessions to satisfy the peasants and prevent further violence.[26]

The Council took advantage of the growing tensions in 1525 to extend its control over the church's personnel and property, appointing administrators for the monasteries and convents, drawing up inventories of their possessions and allowing their inhabitants to leave if they so desired. It also extended its protection over the city's clergy, requiring them in return to take oaths of citizenship, and a number of monks, nuns, and canons left the religious life.[27] At the same time, however, the involvement of clergy from both the city and rural parishes in the peasant unrest provoked a conservative reaction from the magistrate. A number of instigators were jailed for involvement in "the treasonous Lutheran affair," and in its agreements with the peasants of the rural districts it reminded the pastors that they were to preach the Word of God in a way that maintained unity and peace among neighbors.[28]

4.3.2 *The Problem of Religious Disunity, 1525–1529*

By the spring of 1525 the evangelical party was encountering difficulties of its own. Andreas Karlstadt's visit to the city in the fall of 1524, where he published several pamphlets rejecting Christ's bodily presence in the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper, was only the first sign of difficulty. After reading one

26 The concessions made to the peasants would be revoked in 1532. ABSR 1: 145–6, no. 269 and 271; 1: 180–5, no. 316; Wackernagel, *Geschichte* 3: 369–78; Hans R. Guggisberg and Hans Füglister, "Die Basler Weberzunft als Trägerin reformatorischer Propaganda," in *Stadt und Kirche im 16. Jahrhundert*, (ed.) Bernd Moeller (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1978), 48–56; Roth, *Vorbereitungsjahre,* 15–18; Paul Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1942), 10–13.

27 ABSR 1: 206–8, no. 348; 1: 217, no. 372; 1: 220–1, no. 393, 1: 231, no. 395; 1: 349–65, no. 462; 1: 379–80, no. 489; 1: 437–78, no. 501, 1: 478–547, no. 502; 2: 28, no. 36. The secularization of church property was a continuation of long-standing efforts to extend authority over the church and not necessarily an endorsement of evangelical teaching; Friedrich Meyer, "Staat und Kirche in Basel am Vorabend der Reformation," *Basler Stadtbuch* (1965), 52–79, and more generally, Christopher Ocker, *Church Robbers and Reformers in Germany, 1525–1547* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 50–103.

28 The phrase *Lutterischen verrettderischen sach* occurs repeatedly in the oaths taken by those released from jail; cf. ABSR 1: 281, no. 429, 1: 334, nos. 450 and 452, 1: 367 no. 467. The former Liestal priest, Stephan Stör, had been involved in the peasant unrest, ABSR 1: 233 no. 397; in the city both Marcus Bertschi and Wolfgang Wissenberg were involved in gatherings viewed by the magistrate as seditious, ABSR 1: 367, no. 469; 1: 372 no. 472. The *Freiheitsbriefe* in ABSR 1: 385–425.

of the pamphlets, Oecolampadius reported to Zwingli that Karlstadt's views "differed in no way from our own," and by early January several of the reformers and their lay supporters also openly rejected belief in Christ's corporeal presence.[29] There were some in Basel who rejected this understanding of the Lord's Supper, though, and in early April Zwingli wrote to all of the city's pastors urging them to agreement among themselves and with the churches of Zurich and Strasbourg.[30] His appeal seems to have worked, for the understanding of the Lord's Supper did not become a major cause of division among Basel's evangelical pastors.

A far more serious threat to evangelical unity in Basel was the spread of Anabaptist teachings.[31] Zurich's proto-Anabaptist circle had assisted in the publication and distribution of Karlstadt's pamphlets, and by August of 1525 there were reports of individuals in Basel gathering in secret meetings that included the baptism of adults.[32] In July 1526 the city issued a mandate against Anabaptism that prohibited re-baptism, required parents to baptize their newborn children, and forbade citizens and subjects to attend unauthorized preaching or to harbor itinerant preachers.[33] The mandate did little to check the movements of Anabaptist preachers. By early 1526 individual Baslers were criticizing Oecolampadius for modifying his earlier teachings after his official appointment as parish priest of St. Martin, and in June 1527 an Anabaptist named Carlin tried to engage both Oecolampadius and the new cathedral preacher, Augustinus Marius, in a disputation; a month later the Council sharpened and reissued its mandate against rebaptism and unauthorized preaching.[34]

Last but not least, the outbreak of the Eucharistic controversy only strengthened Catholic opposition to the evangelical movement both within and outside Basel. Oecolampadius' book *On the Genuine Exposition of the Words, "This is my Body," According to the Oldest Authorities,* published in the fall of 1525,

29 Z 8: 251–3, 21 Nov. 1524; Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 91–9, 144–5.

30 Z 8: 315–20, 5 Apr. 1525. Immeli shared Oecolampadius' belief that the elements remained bread and wine and were only signs or figures of Christ's body, BC 7: 274, but Wissenburg's view initially was closer to Luther's position.

31 For more detail, see Chapter 10 below.

32 ABSR 2: 33, no. 46; Hanspeter Jecker, "Die Basler Täufer. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte," BZGA 80 (1980), 5–131.

33 ABSR 2: 355–6, no. 438. For an overview of the historiography, Hanspeter Jecker, "Die Bedeutung von Basel für die Anfänge des Täufertums," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel,* 257–72.

34 ABSR 2: 483–6, no. 654; 2: 545–611, nos. 675–7 (the disputation theses and the responses from both Oecolampadius and Marius); revised mandate ABSR 2: 634–6, no. 681 (6 July 1527); see also Chapter 10 below.

was a detailed and scholarly defense of a figurative understanding of Christ's words instituting the Supper. It provoked responses not only from the evangelical pastors in Swabia to whom it was addressed but also from the bishop of Rochester John Fisher, the Flemish theologian Josse Clichtove, and the Nuremberg humanist Willibald Pirckheimer. Oecolampadius would defend his understanding of the Lord's Supper in a series of treatises aimed at Lutheran authors published over the next few years. These treatises would cause Luther to devote much of his first major contribution to the Eucharistic controversy to refuting Oecolamapadius' arguments.[35]

Already in August 1524, Johannes Eck had proposed a public debate with Zwingli to be held before representatives of the Swiss Confederation. In the fall of 1525 he included Oecolampadius in his renewed proposal for a public disputation.[36] That disputation was eventually held in Baden in May 1526. Because Zwingli was not given sufficient guarantees of security, he did not attend, and so Oecolampadius was Eck's chief opponent. The disputation was an embarrassment for Basel in several ways. Not only did Eck best Oecolampadius in the public debate, but he and the other Catholics tried to identify Basel publicly with the heresies of Luther and Zwingli, a position that Basel's Council was eager to avoid.[37] Basel's delegates to the Confederal Diet held at the close of the disputation claimed that the city adhered to a policy of strict neutrality, allowing preachers for both sides as long as they preached only God's Word and did not discuss disputed issues in their sermons. As the city's delegates reminded the Diet held at Lucerne in July, Basel could not be called "Lutheran" because it still allowed the mass and other church offices, and it had not removed images and other decorations from its churches.[38]

Basel's protests did not persuade the Catholic *Orte* of the city's religious neutrality, but the Council was doing everything in its power to maintain Catholic worship without provoking public unrest. An influential faction in the city council, led by Bürgermeister Heinrich Meltinger, fought to preserve Catholic practices, forbidding the sale of meat during Lent in 1526 and punishing

35 DE GENVINA *Verborum domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta uetutissimos authores exposition liber* (Strasbourg: Knoblauch, 1525); Amy Nelson Burnett, "Oekolampads Anteil am frühen Abendmahlsstreit," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel,* 215–31; idem, "Rhetoric and Refutation in Luther's *That These Words Still Stand Firm*," *Lutheran Quarterly* 29 (2015): 284–303.

36 Z 3: 304–5; in a second letter to the Swiss Confederation in October 1525 he criticized Oecolampadius as well and offered to debate both reformers, ABSR 2: 124, no. 173. On the background to the Baden disputation, *Baden Disp,* 68–87; Backus, *Disputations,* 1–8.

37 *Baden Disp,* 87–165; Backus, *Disputations*, 19–61.

38 On the insults and Basel's maneuvering to apply or avoid the label of heresy, ABSR 2: 336–7, no. 407; 2: 337–42, nos. 409–11 and 414; 2: 347–5, no. 429; 2: 360–2 no. 445.

FIGURE 4.6 *Johannes Eck and Johannes Oecolampadius debate at the Disputation of Baden in 1526. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

individuals who broke the Lenten fast. Their measures had little effect, for according to an anonymous Catholic chronicler the majority of the population ignored the Lenten fast, and several thousand people received communion at Easter not in their own parish but at St. Martin, where they were given both bread and wine "in remembrance of Christ" without having previously confessed their sins to a priest.[39]

Indeed, for all practical purposes Basel had become a bi-confessional city. The evangelical party was concentrated in the churches of the Augustinians, the Franciscans, and the Spital as well as in the two parish churches of St. Martin and St. Leonhard. Supported by his parishioners, Marcus Bertschi at St. Leonhard was able to resist the Council's demand that he continue to celebrate the mass. Oecolampadius went even further, introducing a new liturgy not only for the Lord's Supper but also for baptisms, and at the end of summer the congregation was singing German Psalms as part of the

39 BC 1: 301–2. Oecolampadius had introduced a simplified liturgy for the Lord's Supper on All Saints Day 1525, Z 8: 417.

preaching service.[40] His chaplains, however, were unsuccessful in their efforts to avoid saying mass as required by the terms of their benefices. The remaining parish churches were in the hands of the Catholics, for both St. Ulrich and St. Alban lost their evangelical preachers over the course of 1525: Jakob Immeli was removed from office after he married his long-time concubine, while Peter Frauenberger was deposed at the end of the year for refusing to say mass.[41] Control of these parish churches gave the Catholics a significant advantage, for even though Basel's inhabitants could easily hear evangelical preaching, they were still required to attend mass and receive the sacraments in their own parish. The Catholic party was further strengthened by the appointment of Augustinus Marius as cathedral preacher in the spring of 1526.[42]

Over the next year the differences between the two sides emerged most clearly in polemical preaching on the mass, with one side upholding it as "salutary and holy" and the other condemning it as "blasphemy and an abomination." The result was further polarization among Basel's inhabitants. In May 1527 the Council tried to limit the polemic by ordering each side to present a written justification of its understanding of the mass based solely on the Bible, and in the meantime forbidding discussion of the mass from the pulpit.[43] Four months later, after receiving the written defenses from each side, the Council clarified its position towards the mass. Henceforth it would be left to each individual's conscience whether to attend mass, and the priests and chaplains at St. Martin, St. Leonhard, and the Augustinian church were explicitly exempted from any obligations to celebrate mass. The edict stated, however, that those priests whose benefices obligated them to say mass had to do so under threat of removal from office. Two weeks later it specified that priests in the rural parishes would be removed from office if they refused to celebrate mass, since their parishioners had no other access to the mass.[44]

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40 The liturgical agenda was first published in Augsburg in 1526 as *Form vnd gstalt Wie das Herren Nachtmal/ der kinder Tauff/ Der Krancken haymsuochung/ zuo Basel gebraucht vnd gehalten werden*.

41 Z 8: 419; complaint against the chaplain Hieronymus Bothanus, ABSR 2: 230, no. 629. When Oecolampadius was officially appointed pastor of St. Martin in early 1526, the Council freed him from the requirement to say mass but required the chaplains to do so under the threat of losing their benefices, ABSR 2: 254–6.

42 ABSR 2: 290–3, no. 350; Marius had arrived in Basel the previous December, Wackernagel, *Geschichte* 3: 469.

43 ABSR 2: 487–9, no. 657; responses of the reformed, 2: 504–45, of the Catholics, 2: 639–78; the individual submission by Leonhard Rebhan, the preacher at St. Peter, 2: 611–34; of the Dominican preacher Ambrosius Pelargus, 2: 685–701.

44 ABSR 1: 715–6, no. 728; 717–8, no. 733.

With these edicts the Council officially recognized the evangelical status of two parishes and freed the city's inhabitants from enforced attendance at the worship services, whether Catholic or reformed, of their own parish churches. Henceforth the Council adopted a strategy intended to guarantee the existence of a Catholic minority in a city whose inhabitants were predominantly reformed. This proved to be a difficult task, for neither the Catholic nor the reformed preachers were willing to tolerate the views of their opponents. On 22 October over four hundred people gathered at the Augustinian church and demanded that the Council enforce its mandate against the Catholic preachers who insulted and condemned them from the pulpit. On the following Sunday the Council sent a messenger to each of the guilds to express its displeasure at the gathering and to read the newly-reissued preaching mandate, which forbade divisive preaching and left individuals free to decide which sermons to hear and whether to attend mass. Although the guilds accepted the Council's decision, the chronicler Fridolin Ryff expressed the view of Basel's reformed inhabitants: "they thought it would bring great unity if each one had his own preacher or faith, but they did not consider how this would be seen before God and the Christian community."[45]

The preaching edict did little to defuse religious tensions in Basel, and in February 1528 the Council issued a second mandate, this time forbidding Baslers to condemn the faith of their fellow citizens or to attack publicly the sermons of any of the preachers. A few weeks later the Council complained to the bishop that Marius was ignoring the prohibition against divisive preaching. In August the cathedral chapter told Marius to moderate his preaching because of the complaints made against him. Marius acknowledged the contentiousness of his sermons, but he argued that this was necessary in order to force the Council to act against his opponents.[46]

The provocations did not all come from the Catholic side, however. On Good Friday, five men had destroyed several of the images in St. Martin, and a group of about thirty did the same in the Augustinian church three days later. This prompted the Council to order the removal of all remaining images in both churches, as well as those from the Spital and Franciscan churches and from St. Leonhard, although it specified that the images in the choir and side chapels

45 BC 1: 55–6, ABSR 2: 720–1, no. 740, 2: 723, no. 746. ABSR gives the date of the preaching edict's re-issuance as Oct. 21, the day before the gathering at the Augustinian church, but the date given in the original document is Oct. 26. Although the meeting may have been prompted by the re-issuance of the edict, it seems more likely that the re-issuance was the council's response to the meeting.

46 ABSR 3: 152–3, nos. 200 and 202.

of the latter two churches should remain for the sake of those who still celebrated mass there, and it prohibited the removal of images from the rural churches. The reformed party was not satisfied with these partial measures, and over the next several months there were continued criticisms of the Council's policy in the city and incidents of iconoclasm in the countryside.[47] The Council had to contend with increasing pressure from outside the city as well. Within a few days of the iconoclasm at Eastertime, Zurich and Bern (which had officially embraced evangelical reforms only a few months earlier) sent an official delegation to Basel urging the city to abolish Catholic preaching and offering a defensive alliance. Lucerne too offered its aid in dealing with the religious divisions, presumably by suppressing reformed preaching.[48]

4.3.3 *The Decisive Turn*

Tensions in the city came to a head at the end of 1528.[49] Encouraged by Oecolampadius, Basel's reformed citizens took more direct action. On December 23 a crowd of two hundred gathered in the gardeners' guildhall and approved a petition to the Council asking it to end divisive preaching in the city by deposing those "who opposed Christ's gospel with papal teachings" and to abolish the mass until its supporters could justify it satisfactorily. The crowd, which had by this time swelled to five hundred, appointed a committee of six to present the petition to Bürgermeister Meltinger, who refused to accept it. In response to the reformed party, smaller groups of Catholics assembled in Kleinbasel and in the Spalenvorstadt, which belonged to the parish of St. Peter. The situation was diffused and both parties dismissed after the second Bürgermeister, Adelberg Meyer, accepted the petition and allowed the reformed citizens to appoint a commission to negotiate with the Council.

News of the events in Basel quickly spread outside of the city. Twelve of the city's fifteen guilds sent a copy of the petition to Bern, asking for its support. Bern responded by sending a delegation to mediate between Basel's citizens and the Council. Forewarned by Oecolampadius, Zwingli persuaded Zurich to send a delegation as well. This in turn prompted Lucerne to send a delegation to Basel. By the end of December, additional delegations had arrived from Zug, Schwyz, Uri, Solothurn, Fribourg and Unterwalden; the reformed side was supported by delegations from Schaffhausen, Strasbourg, and Mülhausen (Mulhouse).[50]

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47 Z 9: 430; ABSR 3: 50–1, no. 60; 3: 55–6, no. 66; 3: 65–9, no. 86–8; 3: 108–10 nos. 117 and 123; 3: 115–8, no. 133, 3: 123, no. 145; 3: 133, no. 163.

48 ABSR 3: 70–1, no. 92; 3: 75, no. 96.

49 Z 10: 14–9; BC 1: 67–88, 446–9; Wackernagel, *Geschichte*, 3: 502–8; Roth, *Durchbruch*, 11–21.

50 Z 9: 620–1, 624–5; ABR 3: 197–205, 209–13, nos. 291–5, 302–3, 306.

In the meantime, the situation in the city had reached a crisis. Angered by the Council's refusal to discuss the petition, a large crowd of armed supporters of the reformed party gathered again at the gardeners' hall on December 25 and swore they would not disperse until the Council had responded to their petition. A much smaller group of armed Catholics gathered in Kleinbasel.[51] Again Bürgermeister Meyer was able to persuade both sides to disband by promising to discuss the petition presented by the reformed citizens; the Catholics were also allowed to submit a petition and appoint a negotiating committee.

The arrival of the outside mediators over the next few days guaranteed that Basel's Council would not be able to ignore the rival petitions. Although the majority of the Council supported the Catholic side, the overwhelming number of the reformed forced them to accept a compromise. The Council promised to hold a public disputation two weeks after Pentecost, and the guilds would then vote whether to abolish or retain the mass. In the meantime, the mass was abolished in all of the city's churches, with the exceptions of the daily masses said in the cathedral, St. Peter, and St. Theodore. The preachers were once again commanded to avoid divisive preaching and to base their sermons only on God's Word "without human traditions." They were also ordered to meet weekly for instruction on the contents of the Bible, and those who refused to attend these meetings were threatened with deposition.[52]

Basel's reformed citizens were willing to accept the compromise, in part because they saw it as a temporary measure that would last only until the promised disputation. The Catholic preachers, however, were staunchly opposed to the provisions of the new mandate. For two weeks they refused to preach

51 Contemporary accounts estimated the size of the reformed gathering on Dec. 26 at between eight hundred and twelve hundred men, while the Bern delegation reported that eighty Catholics had assembled in Kleinbasel. At the meetings held on 4 Jan., the reformed chronicler Fridolin Ryff stated that the reformed numbered over two thousand, while the Catholics could assemble only five hundred; the Bern delegation reported that the reformed side had many more than three thousand citizens, while the Catholics had no more than four hundred. A Carthusian chronicler reported that the reformed numbered fifteen hundred "mostly young boot-lickers, apprentices, and peasants from the neighboring villages," while the Catholic party consisted of 800 "old, proven and upstanding men," although the Bern delegation had earlier described the reformed party as "the great majority of Baslers…including reasonable, lordly and mighty rich men." Those in the Council who had family members who were clergy, had financial ties to the bishop, or who otherwise supported the Catholic side included the two Bürgermeister, Heinrich Meltinger and Adelberg Meyer, one of the two Oberstzunftmeister, and two-thirds of the Small Council; ABSR 3: 207–10, 212–3, 224–5, 232–3, no. 300–1, 306, 322, 331; BC 1: 72, 74–5; 446.

52 ABSR 3: 234–9, nos. 333–6.

at all rather than to meet with their reformed counterparts, which gave the reformed party an excuse to ask the Council to replace them with men who would preach from God's Word. To forestall this, the council persuaded Sebastian Müller, the preacher at St. Peter, to resume his sermons. There were also complaints that priests continued to celebrate masses because the Council refused to enforce its own mandate.[53]

Provoked by the Council's failure to enforce the terms of the compromise, the commission representing the reformed side summoned their supporters to discuss further action. Over eight hundred men gathered at the Franciscan church in the early morning of February 8, the Monday before Lent. The citizens demanded that the Council expel twelve of its members who were seen as most opposed to the reformed cause; they also demanded that guild members be given a greater voice in the election of council members. The council met through the course of the day, but their only decision was to exclude the twelve Catholic council members from any discussions that concerned the church.[54] This proposal was both too little and too late. When the delegates of the reformed side reported on the Council's actions at the end of the day, their supporters armed themselves, assembled in the marketplace in front of the town hall, and took over the streets and city gates. Fearing violence, the Council asked its reformed citizens to return home and promised that they would respond to their concerns the next day. Instead, the reformed side took control of several of the guildhalls and the Rhine bridge. The situation had become so tense that Bürgermeister Meltinger and the Catholic council member Egli Offenburger escaped the city by boat during the night.

As the Council continued its deliberations the next day, the reformed citizenry became restless. A crowd gathered in front of the cathedral and some people went into the building. There, whether accidentally (as later claimed) or not, a halberd became caught on the edge of a painting and pulled it to the floor, breaking it to pieces. Although the offending party left the cathedral and the priests barred its doors, news of the incident quickly spread, inciting a mob of about two hundred to break into the cathedral and to destroy the remaining images. The iconoclasts then proceeded to the other churches in the main part of the city and destroyed the images in them as well.[55]

53 ABSR 3: 243, 248–9, 264–6, nos. 343, 348, 364; Ryff blamed Bürgermeister Meltinger for the resumption of Catholic preaching; BC 1: 78–80.

54 ABSR 3: 268 no. 368.

55 BC 1: 80–9, 447; BC 6: 116; B&A 2: 280–5; ABSR 3: 277–8, nos. 374–6; Roth, *Durchbruch*, 26–32; Roth, *Durchführung*, 12–7; Wackernagel, *Geschichte* 3: 509–16; Wandel, *Idols*, 167–74. The iconoclasts were prevented from crossing the Rhine to destroy the images in the churches of Kleinbasel.

The iconoclastic violence prompted the Council to capitulate to the demands of the reformed party. It removed the twelve offending council members and ordered that all of the city's pulpits be filled with preachers who would proclaim God's word according to the preaching mandate. On the following day, Ash Wednesday, bonfires were lit in front of the churches to burn the wood from the destroyed images, and the Council ordered the removal of the images remaining in the churches of the city and the rural territory.[56]

4.4 Establishing a Reformed Church, 1529–1553

4.4.1 *The Church under Oecolampadius's Leadership*

In order to justify these actions to the outside, the Large Council was summoned to endorse the religious changes. Representatives were sent to every guild, where a general amnesty was announced for those involved in the iconoclasm, and every citizen was required to renew his oath of obedience to the government. Finally, provisions for electing council members were modified in response to citizen complaints about the Council's unresponsiveness to popular demands. These constitutional changes proved ephemeral, for they were abolished in 1533.[57]

The adoption of the Reformation signaled the virtual end of the monastic life in Basel. Both the cathedral canons and those of St. Peter moved to Freiburg im Breisgau. Rather than abandon their vows, the Dominicans and the nuns of Gnadental left Basel as a group, as did individual members of the priory of St. Alban and the Carthusian monastery. The two nuns remaining at St. Clara surrendered the convent to the city and were given pensions. The only monastery to remain open into the 1530s was that of the Carthusians, and it could not accept new members.[58]

The first priority of Basel's secular and religious authorities was to stabilize the religious situation both internally and externally.[59] On 1 April the Council issued a church ordinance outlining the structure of the new church. It consolidated the city's parishes, establishing four parish churches: the cathedral,

56 ABSR 3: 274–6, 289–90, nos. 371–2, 388.

57 ABSR 3: 184–9, no. 387, 3: 295–301, no. 398; Roth, *Durchbruch*, 31–3; Müller, "Ratsverfassung," 20–1.

58 Roth, *Durchbruch*, 50–2; Veronika Gerz-von Büren, *Geschichte des Clarissenklosters St. Clara in Kleinbasel 1266–1529* (Basel: Kommissionsverlag Friedrich Reinhardt, 1969), 123–6. The houses of the two knightly orders also remained open until the early 19th century, Ehrensperger, *Gottesdienst*, 43–4. The representatives of both orders, who were not native Baslers, are among the few Catholics to appear in archival documents in the later 16th century.

59 For a more detailed treatment of this period, see Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 47–87.

St. Peter, and St. Leonhard in the main city and St. Theodor in Kleinbasel. The former parish churches of St. Alban, St. Ulrich (this church was soon replaced by St. Elizabeth), and St. Martin were reduced to filial churches of the cathedral, each with its own pastor. In addition to the senior pastor, each of the four parishes had at least one assistant pastor to assist with preaching and pastoral care. The Reformation Ordinance also outlined the duties of the parish clergy, including the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, prescribed the holding of semi-annual synods, created a secular marriage court, and established penalties for a variety of moral infractions.[60] In the wake of the official reformation, the city may also have issued a revised version of the liturgical agenda first published in 1526, although the earliest extant copy dates from 1537. This later edition also contained a catechism by Oecolampadius, probably also written in 1529.[61]

Over the next decade this basic institutional structure would be modified in several ways. Although two synods of all pastors in city and territory were held in 1529 and again in 1530, from 1531 they were called only once a year, and in 1539 a visitation of the rural districts was held instead. Synods and visitations were held only sporadically through the next decade. Within the city itself, the church was administered on a collegial basis, as its pastors met weekly to discuss the day-to-day governing of the church.[62] At Oecolampadius's instigation, the Council adopted a ban ordinance at the end of 1530 that placed disciplinary powers in the hands of two council members and a layman in each parish. From 1532 these twelve *Bannherren* joined with the city's parish pastors and the *Häupter* to form a church council responsible for overseeing all ecclesiastical affairs. This council was abolished in 1539, however, and in practice church affairs became the responsibility of the *Deputaten*, the three council members plus the city clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) who oversaw the city's schools and its university.[63]

60 ABSR 3: 383–409, no. 473.

61 The liturgies for the Lord's Supper in the 1526 and 1529/1537 agendas are reproduced in Irmgard Pahl, (ed.), *Coena Domini 1. Die Abendmahlsliturgie der Reformationskirchen im 16./17. Jahrhundert* (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1983), 203–25; Oecolampadius's catechism is reproduced in Ferdinand Cohrs, (ed.), *Die evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1978), 4: 10–7. Cohrs believed that the catechism was written in 1525–26, but the text bears clear parallels to the Reformation Ordinance.

62 The earliest mention of these meetings is from the spring of 1531, at which point they were well established, in *Das Tagebuch des Johannes Gast. Ein Beitrag zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte,* (ed.) Paul Burckhardt (Basel: Schwabe, 1945), 149.

63 Amy Nelson Burnett, "'Kilchen ist uff dem Radthus'? Conflicting Views of Magistrate and Ministry in Early Reformation Basel," in *Debatten über die Legitimation von Herrschaft:*

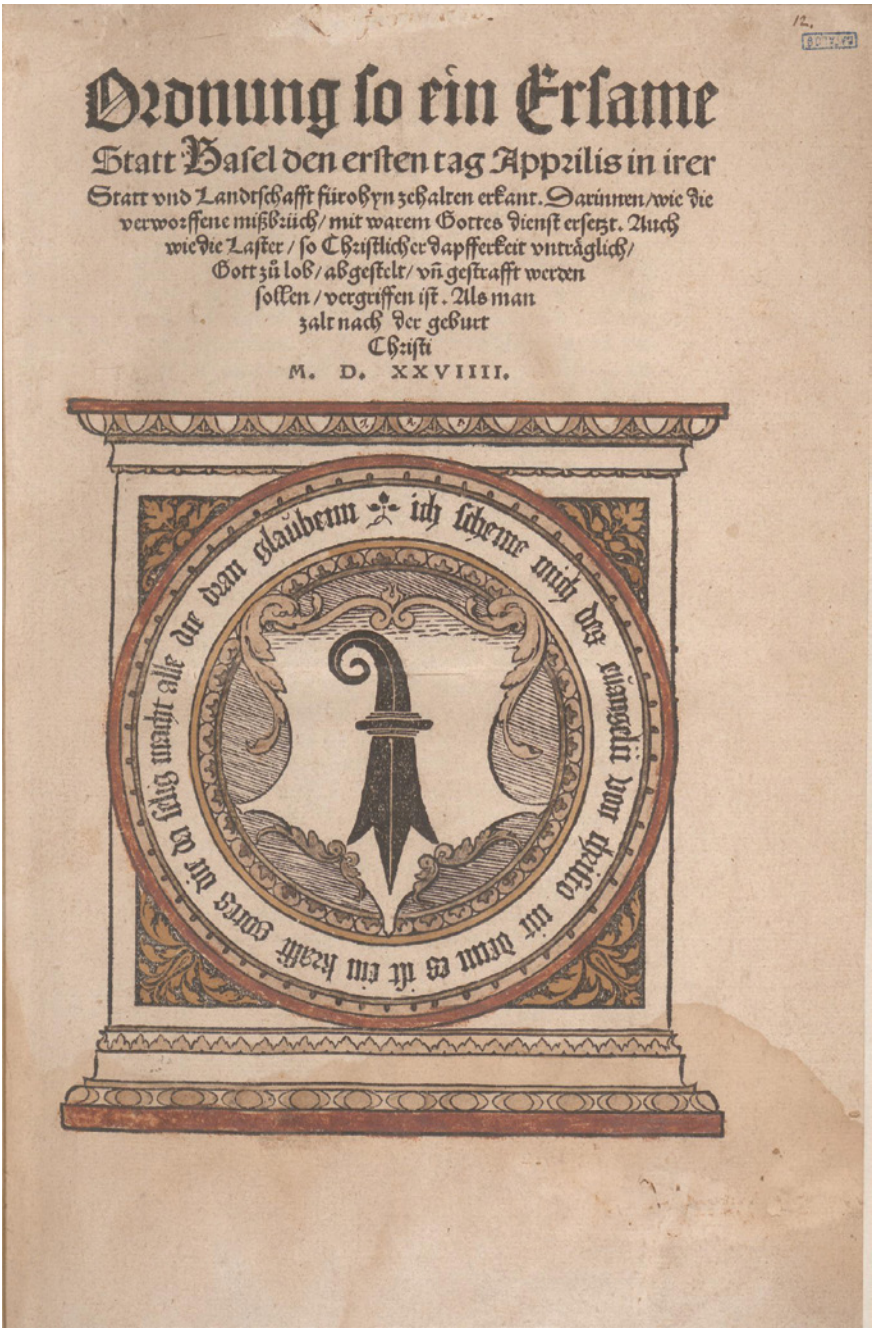

FIGURE 4.7 *The title page of the Reformation Ordinance that created Basel's Reformed church, published on 1 April 1529*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BASEL

Unlike his colleagues in Zurich, Oecolampadius held that church discipline should be distinct from the civil punishment imposed by a Christian magistrate, a view that would reach its most developed form with Jean Calvin. The Reformation Ordinance and the liturgical agenda each specified that unrepentant sinners should not be admitted to the Lord's Supper, and the ban ordinance gave the power to excommunicate to each parish's *Bannherren*.[64] In the early 1530s, however, the most important task of Basel's *Bannherren* was not to prevent known sinners from receiving communion but rather to identify those who separated from the city's church by refusing to receive communion. This included not only Catholics and Anabaptists but also Lutherans who rejected the Swiss understanding of the Lord's Supper. Even before adopting the ban ordinance the Council asked each guild to provide a list of those members who had not received communion, and extant records from the meetings of the *Bannherren* over the next few years show that their sole concern was to persuade these individuals to receive the sacrament; only from 1534 did they begin to deal with other offenses.[65]

This concerted action against non-communicants had the effect of persuading those opposed to the new church, especially Catholics, to emigrate. Resistance to the Reformation had been strongest in Kleinbasel, but the pressure put on Catholics to conform to the new church or leave, combined with the appointment of Wolfgang Wissenburg as the pastor of St. Theodor, effectively eliminated those with outspoken loyalty to the old faith. Other individuals—most notably the law professor Bonifacius Amerbach—were tolerated until they finally felt able to conform fully to the city's church.[66]

Politische Sprachen in der Frühen Neuzeit, (eds.) Luise Schorn-Schütte and Sven Tode (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2006), 49–65.

64 Pahl, *Coena Domini,* 1: 204–5, 216; ABSR 3: 394–5, no. 473; ABSR 5: 60–4, nos. 76–7; this was modified in the summer of 1531 to specify that unrepentant sinners were to be reported to the *Häupter* for a final admonition by the Council before they could be excommunicated, ABSR 5: 236–7, no. 267. There were further modifications to the ban ordinance over the next several years; Olaf Kuhr, *"Die Macht des Bannes und der Buße." Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad (1482–1531)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 207–79.

65 ABSR 4: 483–95, no. 547. Kuhr points to the preoccupation with non-communicants, although he misses the significance of abstention from the Lord's Supper as a way to detect Anabaptists, *"Die Macht des Bannes,"* 216–20, 250–2.

66 Amerbach was finally persuaded to receive the Lord's Supper at the end of 1534 in response to Martin Bucer's concord efforts; Theophil Burckhardt-Biedermann, *Bonifacius Amerbach und die Reformation* (Basel: Reich, 1894), 100–3. The question of whether non-communicants should be excommunicated caused disagreement among the city's pastors in the months after Oecolampadius's death; Friedrich Rudolf, "Oswald

The exercise of church discipline alone was not sufficient to combat the spread of Anabaptism in Basel. Through the spring of 1530 Anabaptists were discovered in over half of the rural parishes, and at the synod held in May the pastors complained about the number of people, including officials, who had separated from the church to form sects. In November 1530 the Council issued a mandate prohibiting rebaptism and threatening those who joined such sects with expulsion; Anabaptists who returned after being exiled were to be drowned.[67] A small number of Anabaptists were executed in Basel's territory over the next few years, but the edict seems to have deterred further conversions to Anabaptism. Although individual Anabaptists were reported at later synods and visitations, the pastors no longer saw the spread of Anabaptist beliefs as a serious threat to the church.[68]

In the days after the official adoption of the Reformation, Basel's Council looked to its reformed neighbors to protect it from outside threats. In March 1529 it entered into a defensive alliance with Zurich and Bern, in violation of the terms of its admission to the Swiss Confederation, which required Basel to remain neutral when disputes arose between the other Confederates. In response to this alliance, the five Catholic *Orte* signed an agreement with King Ferdinand to defend the old faith. This led in turn to the First Kappel War, which was ended without bloodshed by the Peace of Kappel signed at the end of June. Growing confessional tensions within the Confederation were paralleled by developments in the Holy Roman Empire, prompting Landgraf Philipp of Hesse to propose a united evangelical front against the Catholic threat. His plans foundered when the Marburg Colloquy failed to resolve differences between the Swiss and the Wittenbergers over the Lord's Supper, but at the beginning of 1530 the city of Strasbourg entered into a defensive alliance with the evangelical Swiss cities, and in November of that year Basel, Zurich, Strasbourg, and the Landgraf created yet another defensive alliance. The only result of these alliances was to involve Basel in Zurich's aggressive actions against the Catholic *Orte* that led to the Second Kappel War. Basel's troops were mobilized too late to prevent Zurich's disastrous defeat on 11 October, and they were themselves the victim of a surprise attack on the Gubel on 24 October that left half of them dead, wounded or captured. Basel was forced

Myconius, der Nachfolger Oekolampads," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1945), 14–30; Reinhold Friedrich, "Kirchenzucht und -bann vor dem Hintergrund des Briefwechsels Bucers mit den Basler Predigern im Jahr 1532," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 193–202.

67 ABSR 5: 51–3; Roth, *Durchbruch*, 66–70.

68 Jecker, "Basler Täufer," 109–17; Jecker, *Ketzer*, 40–6.

to reach a separate peace with the Catholic *Orte* and to renounce its alliances with foreign powers.[69]

4.4.2 *The Era of Oswald Myconius*

Oecolampadius did not live to see the long-term consequences of this defeat. Only a few weeks after Zwingli's death he was confined to bed by an ulcer on his tailbone, and he died on 24 November 1531.[70] Basel called Heinrich Bullinger to replace him, but Bullinger accepted the call from Zurich instead. Simon Grynaeus, professor of Greek and Basel's most prominent churchman, also refused the position, and in August Oswald Myconius was chosen as Oecolampadius's successor. Myconius was neither an ordained priest nor an academically trained theologian. A schoolmaster who belonged to the humanist circle in Basel in the years before the Reformation, he taught in his home city of Lucerne and then in Zurich from 1522. His theological education came through his participation in the *Prophezei*, lecturing on the New Testament in the Fraumünster. Fearing backlash against Zwingli's allies in the days after the reformer's death, Myconius decided to leave Zurich, and through Thomas Platter's mediation he was elected pastor of St. Alban in Basel at the end of 1531, where he served until his election as pastor of the cathedral parish.[71]

Myconius' lack of formal academic credentials would weaken his position of authority within Basel's church, as he became embroiled in a controversy over the relationship of the church to the university through the second half of the 1530s. In the wake of the city's official adoption of the Reformation, most of the university's professors and students left for Freiburg im Breisgau. To prevent their re-opening the university in that city, Basel's Council confiscated the university's insignia, its documents, and its cash. The university remained officially closed for the next three years, but some lectures, especially those in theology, continued on an informal basis. When the university formally reopened in the fall of 1532, Myconius and the pastor of St. Peter, Paul Phrygio,

69 Burckhardt, *Basel in den ersten Jahren*, 17–30; Roth, *Durchbruch*, 89–100; Roth, *Durchführung*, 42–5.

70 Markus Bertschi placed Oecolampadius' death on 24 Nov., but the chronicler Fridolin Ryff gave Oecolampadius' death date as 23 Nov.; other accounts are even less specific. Staehelin concludes that it occurred in the night between 22–3 Nov., B&A 2: 714–6. Martin Jung gives the date as 24 Nov., RGG[4] 6: 458–9.

71 Rudolf, "Oswald Myconius;" Willy Brändly, "Oswald Myconius in Basel," *Zwingliana* 11 (1960), 183–92; on Myconius's early career, Markus Ries, "Oswald Myconius in Luzern," in Campi FS, 1–20. The most perceptive discussion of Myconius is J.V. Pollet, O.P., *Martin Bucer. Études sur la correspondance* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958–62), 2: 335–67.

FIGURE 4.8
The two leaders of Basel's church after Oecolampadius' death: Top: Oswald Myconius (1488-1552); PHOTO COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BASEL
Bottom: Simon Grynaeus (1493-1541)
PHOTO COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

held the chairs in New Testament and Old Testament respectively.[72] Two years later Andreas Karlstadt was appointed to the chair in Old Testament, and when Phrygio moved to Tübingen in 1535, Karlstadt succeeded him as pastor of St. Peter. Although Myconius had helped bring Karlstadt to Basel, within a short time their relationship began to deteriorate. Karlstadt had all the official qualifications for church leadership that Myconius lacked: he was an ordained priest who had served as a parish pastor, he had doctorates not only in theology but also in canon and civil law, he had published prolifically in the early years of the Reformation, and he had years of experience as a university professor in Wittenberg before his break with Luther.[73] It is therefore not surprising that Myconius felt challenged by Karlstadt.

The issue that brought their rivalry to a head was the relationship of the church to the city's university, and particularly its theology faculty. In 1535 the question arose whether theology professors needed a degree in theology, but this did not become a major problem until 1538, when a commission headed by Bonifacius Amerbach drafted a revision of the university statutes. Among its other provisions, the new statutes required the appropriate degrees for all of its professors and specified that the city's pastors were to matriculate in the theology faculty. These two provisions split the city's church: Myconius, Grynaeus, and Bertschi opposed them, while Karlstadt and Wissenburg supported them. Ultimately the latter party prevailed. Not only were the new statutes adopted in 1539, but the Council decreed that henceforth the presidency of the weekly meetings of the city's clergy would rotate among the four parish pastors, "in order to remove the suspicion that one of them is higher than the others."[74] This effectively removed Myconius from his position of influence in the university and gave equal authority to Karlstadt in overseeing the church's internal affairs.

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72 For the impact of the Reformation on Basel's university, see Amy Nelson Burnett, "Ausbildung im Dienst der Kirche und Stadt: die Universität Basel im Zeitalter der Renaissance und Reformation," in *Gelehrte zwischen Humanismus und Reformation. Kontexte der Universitätsgründung in Basel 1460,* (ed.) Martin Wallraff (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 47–68.

73 The standard biography of Karlstadt is Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* (Leipzig: Brandstetter, 1905). On his career in Switzerland, Hans-Peter Hasse, "Zum Aufenthalt Karlstadts in Zürich (1530–34)," *Zwingliana* 18 (1990/91), 366–89; Martin Anton Schmidt, "Karlstadt als Theologe und Prediger in Basel," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 35 (1979), 155–68.

74 Peter Ochs, *Geschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Basel,* vol. 6 (Basel: Schweighauser, 1821), 145–7. As a concession to Myconius and Bertschi, they and two other pastors were released from the expectation of regular participation in university disputations. Underlying the move towards collegial leadership was Karlstadt's deep suspicion, manifest in his earlier polemic against Luther as the "new pope," of any individual who set himself up as the sole authority in the church.

Myconius complained bitterly about Karlstadt's ambition and the damage he inflicted on the church up until the latter's death at the end of 1541.[75]

Through the 1530s, Myconius and Grynaeus divided the responsibility for staying in contact with reformed churches outside of Basel. It was especially important to maintain Basel's ties with Zurich and Strasbourg after the deaths of Zwingli and Oecolampadius and the end of the political alliance between the three cities. Myconius became Bullinger's most frequent correspondent during these years, and he wrote regularly to his other former colleagues in Zurich. He also corresponded with individuals in other Swiss churches, but he was little known outside of Switzerland.[76] Grynaeus had wider contact with churchmen in the Empire, especially Capito and Bucer in Strasbourg. Grynaeus also corresponded with Farel and with Calvin after the latter's move to Geneva.[77]

The Wittenberg Concord would gradually shift Basel's theological orientation away from Zurich and towards Strasbourg. Myconius was open to Bucer's concord efforts through the first half of the decade, but in his letters to Bullinger he was skeptical about the possibility of reaching any agreement with the Lutherans. The dominant faction in Basel's Council favored concord, however, and it pushed for the city's adoption of the Wittenberg Concord in the summer of 1536.[78] Grynaeus and Karlstadt were sent to Strasbourg, where Bucer and Capito were able to overcome their reservations, and in early August the city's church endorsed the Concord. From this point on, Grynaeus and Myconius became the strongest supporters of concord among the Swiss. As relations between Bucer and Bullinger deteriorated over the next few years, the Baslers staunchly defended Bucer's motives and conduct. By the 1540s the differences between Zurich and Basel concerning the Lord's Supper would

75 Burnett, "'Kilchen ist uff dem Radthus'?," 55–65.

76 A list of Myconius' correspondence is available through the Myconius Briefwechsel-Project at: http://www.myconius.unibas.ch/briefdb.php (accessed 24 February 2016).

77 Olivier Millet, *Correspondance de Wolfgang Capiton (1478–1541). Analyse et index (D'après le Thesaurus Baumianus et autres sources)* (Strasbourg: [Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg,] 1982); Jean Rott, *Correspondance de Martin Bucer. Liste alphabétique des correspondants* (Strasbourg: Association des Publications de la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1977); Pollet, *Martin Bucer*, 2: 370–400. Several of Grynaeus's letters are translated in Herbert Rädle, "Simon Grynäus (1493–1541): Briefe. Ausgewählt, übersetzt und hg. v. Herbert Rädle," BZGA 90 (1990), 35–118; a discussion of Calvin's correspondence with Grynaeus in Paul Wernle, *Calvin und Basel bis zum Tode des Myconius, 1535–1552* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1909), 13–4.

78 See especially the letters of Capito to Bürgermeister Jakob Meyer, 22 June 1536, *Capito Correspondance*, 3: 446–50, no. 616, and Bucer and Capito to the Basel Council, 5 July 1536, *Capito Correspondence,* 3: 450–2, no. 616a.

cause tensions between the two churches, although they never led to open disagreement.[79]

Myconius contributed to the development of Basel's official theology by building on Oecolampadius's legacy in two ways. Together with Grynaeus he translated and reworked a confession of faith delivered by Oecolampadius at the synod held shortly before the latter's death in 1531. The Council published this confession as the city's official confession of faith in January 1534, and all guild members were required to accept it.[80] The Basel Confession's article on the Lord's Supper reflected the Swiss position as formulated in response to Bucer's early concord efforts. Its strongest resemblance to Oecolampadius's position occurred in the marginal gloss that emphasized John 6 and stated that one was fed through faith by raising one's mind to heaven, not by Christ's descending from the right hand of the Father. When a new edition of the Basel Confession was published in 1547, this gloss was omitted, thereby allowing the Confession's statement concerning the Lord's Supper to be harmonized with the Wittenberg Concord. In 1544 Myconius also modified Oecolampadius's catechism, adding explanations of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer and expanding its treatment of baptism and the Lord's Supper. This expanded catechism, in both Latin and German forms, would be used in Basel for the rest of the century.[81]

After the controversies of the 1530s, the early 1540s were a time of relative peace and gradual stabilization for Basel's church. The deaths of both Grynaeus and Karlstadt in a severe outbreak of plague in 1541 left Myconius without any rivals for authority. Matriculations at the university slowly increased as

79 Bullinger criticized Grynaeus's explanation of the Lord's Supper in July 1541, HBBW 11: 265–88. Grynaeus died of the plague a few weeks later, and so there were no further repercussions of this disagreement. In February 1544, Bullinger rebuked Myconius about the contents of a sermon on the Lord's Supper preached the preceding year, HBBW 14: 93–6; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Basel and the Wittenberg Concord," ARG 96 (2005), 33–56.

80 B&A 2: 688–90; ABSR 6: 403–10, no. 400; Ernst Staehelin, (ed.), *Das Buch der Basler Reformation, zu ihrem vierhundertjährigen Jubiläum im Namen der evangelischen Kirchen von Stadt und Landschaft Basel* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1929), 249–51; Richard Stauffer, "Das Basler Bekenntnis von 1534," in *Ecclesia Semper Reformanda. Vorträge zum Basler Reformationsjubiläum 1529–1979*, (eds.) Hans R. Guggisberg and Peter Rotach (Basel: Reinhardt, 1980), 28–49. The Basel Confession would be adopted by Mulhouse three years later.

81 Johann Michael Reu, (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600*. Teil 1: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*, vol. 1: *Süddeutsche Katechismen* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), 155–67.

its chairs were filled and its curriculum regularized. The city's schools were also consolidated, and Thomas Platter was hired as the rector of the Latin school located near the cathedral.[82] At the end of the decade the city council reorganized the stipendiary system that supported the education of boys intended for the ministry. The impact of these reforms on Basel's ministerial corps was profound: by the 1580s most of Basel's pastors were native sons who had received their theological training at the city's Latin school and university.[83]

The outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War in 1546 brought new dangers to Basel. As political tensions rose through the first half of the 1540s, Strasbourg looked in vain to Basel to help it create an alliance with the Swiss. Although Basel remained neutral once war broke out, it provided loans to the imperial cities and allowed them to recruit mercenaries from its subjects. At the same time, Basel's Council worked to maintain good relations with the Catholic *Orte*. Alone among the Reformed cities, Basel was willing to accept the traditional wording of the oath of confederation, with its invocation of the saints, if by this means the Swiss Confederation could be renewed; it also agreed to send delegates to the Council of Trent.[84]

4.5 Basel in the Later 16th Century

4.5.1 *Simon Sulzer and the Politics of Concord, 1553–1570*

By mid-century Myconius's health was failing, and he died of the plague in the fall of 1552. The man who succeeded him as cathedral pastor, Simon Sulzer, would be the determining figure in Basel's church for the next three decades. Originally from the Bernese Oberland, Sulzer studied in both Strasbourg and Basel before becoming a professor in Bern's academy and then pastor.[85]

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82 Platter's fame rests on his autobiography, which gives a fascinating picture of the early Reformation in Zurich and Basel; Thomas Platter, *Lebensbeschreibung*, (ed.) Alfred Hartmann, 2nd ed. (Basel: Schwabe, 1999). There is a problematic English translation in Paul Monroe, *Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, International Education Series (New York: Appleton, 1904), 80–227; see also Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor: a Sixteenth-century Family Saga* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

83 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 38–46, 80–94, 99–100.

84 Paul Burckhardt, "Basel zur Zeit des Schmalkaldischen Krieges," BZGA 38 (1939), 5–103; Hans Ulrich Bächtold, "'Das uns gott helff und die heiligen': Zürich im Streit um die eidgenössische Schwurformel," in Campi FS, 295–346.

85 The most detailed biography of Sulzer is still Gottlieb Linder, *Simon Sulzer und sein Antheil an der Reformation im Land Baden, sowie an den Unions-bestrebungen*

He became the head of the Buceran party that dominated Bern's church through the 1540s, but he was removed from his position in 1548 after a conflict over the appointment of ministers in the Vaud.[86] He moved to Basel, where he was elected pastor of St. Peter and began teaching at the university. Sulzer's academic and practical experience far surpassed that of Basel's other pastors, and in early 1553 he was elected cathedral pastor and given the chair in New Testament at the university.

Both his contemporaries and later historians have made Sulzer responsible for attempting to "Lutheranize" Basel through the third quarter of the sixteenth century, but this characterization is misleading.[87] During this period the precise definition of "Lutheran" was fiercely contested within the Empire, and those Lutherans whose views were closest to Sulzer's were denounced as "crypto-Calvinists." Basel's church certainly moved away from Zurich during this time, but that process pre-dated Sulzer's arrival in Basel; it began under Myconius and Grynaeus during the later 1530s and 1540s as Bucer's influence grew in the city. Sulzer's Eucharistic theology was profoundly shaped by Bucer, and through the 1560s Sulzer remained committed to his mentor's goal of avoiding doctrinal formulations that would alienate either side.[88] In Zurich, however, refusal to endorse a more clearly Reformed position was interpreted not as confessional neutrality but as a positive movement towards Lutheranism. The developments in Basel through the 1550s and 1560s illustrate the difficulty of maintaining a confessionally open position as the Reformed Church took definitive shape.

Sulzer's efforts to maintain confessional neutrality in Basel initially had the support of his colleagues. Through the 1550s the pastors were more concerned

(Heidelberg: Winter, 1890), although it contains numerous errors and must be used with caution. Sulzer briefly taught logic in Basel when the university reopened in 1532, Rudolf Thommen, *Geschichte der Universität Basel, 1532–1632* (Basel: Detloff, 1889), 317–8. He spent several months in Basel in 1536, receiving his master's degree at the beginning of 1537.

86 Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans: Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), 45–70.

87 For details on what follows, see Amy Nelson Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger: Simon Sulzer und Basels konfessionelle Identität zwischen 1550 und 1570," BZGA 107 (2007), 137–72.

88 This explains Sulzer's unwillingness to endorse the Consensus Tigurinus, which expressly stated positions left ambiguous in the Wittenberg Concord and so could not possibly be accepted by the Lutherans; Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger;" Emidio Campi and Christian Moser, "'Loved and Feared': Calvin and the Swiss Confederation," in *John Calvin's Impact on Church and Society*, (eds.) Martin Ernst Hirzel and Martin Sallmann (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 14–34.

FIGURE 4.9 *Simon Sulzer (1508–1585), pastor of Basel's cathedral and professor of theology from 1553–1585. From the matriculation register of the Rectorate of the University of Basel*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BASEL

with teaching broadly Protestant beliefs and behavior to their parishioners than they were with specifically confessional matters. Either a synod or a visitation was held almost every year, which provided an opportunity for the clergy to present their concerns about church affairs to the Council. By 1560, however, there were growing tensions among the city's pastors, provoked by the sharpening of confessional conflicts outside of Basel as well as by personal animosity among the pastors themselves. Differences came into the open when a Bremen pastor wrote to the Basel church, asking about its understanding of the Lord's Supper. The pastors resolved to send a copy of the Basel Confession to Bremen, but some of the pastors wanted the university's two theologians, Martin Borrhaus and Wolfgang Wissenburg, to write an additional, more detailed statement about the sacrament. As dissension among the ministers increased, the Council intervened, and in the end all of the city's pastors were asked to endorse publicly the Basel Confession's statement on the Lord's Supper. Although unity was restored, at least on the surface, for the first time it became apparent that Basel's official confession could be interpreted in different ways—either broadly, so that, like the Wittenberg Concord, it could be accepted by both Lutherans and Reformed, or narrowly, so that it upheld only a Reformed position. Sulzer and his supporters held to the former interpretation, while the pro-Zurich faction among the pastors held to the latter.

Over the next decade, and despite growing pressure from Zurich, Sulzer did his utmost to prevent Basel's closer identification with a specifically Reformed understanding of the Lord's Supper. In 1561 he used his position as censor to prevent the publication of three books advocating a Reformed understanding of the Lord's Supper. The council finally authorized release of these works, but they were offset by the publication in Basel of two works by Bucer on the sacrament.[89] Two years later Sulzer went to Strasbourg to mediate in a dispute over predestination between Girolamo Zanchi and Johann Marbach. The document ending the conflict, which Sulzer signed, stated that the Augsburg Confession and its Apology would be the basis for teaching about the Lord's Supper in Strasbourg. Bullinger used this signature to argue that Sulzer had accepted both the Confession and Apology, and he tried to force either Sulzer's dismissal or his public acceptance of a more clearly Reformed position. His efforts backfired: the Basel Council reaffirmed its support for Sulzer and the

89 Martin Steinmann, *Johannes Oporinus, ein Basler Buchdrucker um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1967), 100–2; Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger," 158–60.

Basel Confession was reprinted, again without the marginal glosses.[90] In 1566 the Zurich church tried once more to make Basel adopt an unambiguously Reformed position, this time by asking it to endorse the Second Helvetic Confession. Although several of Basel's pastors supported such an endorsement, Sulzer was able to prevent any official action by the city.[91]

Sulzer did not act alone in upholding a policy of confessional neutrality, nor could he simply impose his will on the majority of his colleagues, because leadership of the city's church was still shared by its four parish pastors. He was supported, however, by the pastors of St. Peter, St. Leonhard, and St. Alban. Sulzer's policy of confessional neutrality also had the backing of an influential faction of the council, including the *Stadtschreiber* and all three *Deputaten*.[92] Over the course of the 1560s, however, the pro-Zurich party grew from a small but vocal minority to comprise the majority of Basel's pastors in both the city and the rural territory.

Just as disagreements among the urban clergy had weakened the effectiveness of the synods at the end of the 1530s, so the factionalism of the 1560s led to their suspension; only three synods were held during the next two decades.[93] Without regular oversight by church leaders in the city, the rural clergy developed their own, more collegial system of supervision. In 1535 the rural church had been divided into three district chapters that corresponded roughly to the territory's administrative districts (*Vogteien*), and the pastors of each chapter were given the right to elect a dean, subject to confirmation by the Council. In 1562 this arrangement was given more formal structure. The pastors of each district were to meet semi-annually to discuss church business and deal with problems among the clergy, and a general chapter was to be held every two years, under the presidency of an archdean responsible for overseeing the rural church.[94] The man elected as archdean, Leonhard Strübin, was an older

90 Amy Nelson Burnett, "Simon Sulzer and the Consequences of the 1563 Strasbourg Consensus in Switzerland," ARG 83 (1992), 154–79.

91 Hans Berner, "Basel und das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis," *Zwingliana* 15 (1979), 8–39. Basel did not adopt the Second Helvetic Confession until 1642.

92 Ulrich Koch, pastor of St. Peter, was also Sulzer's brother-in-law; Jacob Meyer, pastor of St. Alban, had studied in Strasbourg and was married to the daughter of Wolfgang Capito. A number of Sulzer's supporters in the council were from Kleinbasel and were related by marriage, Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger," 163–7.

93 Synods were held in 1564, 1571 and 1579; a visitation was held in 1572.

94 This basic structure was confirmed and refined by a revision drafted in 1578 and adopted in 1582; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Controlling the Clergy: The Oversight of Basel's Rural Pastors in the Sixteenth Century," *Zwingliana* 25 (1998), 129–42; Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 208–14.

contemporary of Sulzer who supported his policies of confessional neutrality until his death in 1582.

Basel's confessional openness in the 1550s and 1560s made it easier for dissidents to find a home in the city. The most prominent of these were members of the humanist circle that was critical of Calvin and the Geneva church, whether for the burning of Michael Servetus and the persecution of heretics more generally, or for its teaching of predestination. Most of these individuals were religious refugees from France and Italy, such as the physician Jean Bauhin and the printer Pietro Perna, and two of them, Sebastian Castellio and Celio Secondo Curione, were professors in the university's arts faculty.[95] Perhaps the most notorious of Basel's religious refugees, however, was the wealthy Flemish merchant Johann van Brugge. Three years after his death in 1556 it was revealed that van Brugge was actually the Dutch Anabaptist leader David Joris. This discovery caused a public scandal in Basel. Joris's body was disinterred and burned, and the members of his household were publicly reconciled with the church.[96]

The existence of this group of dissidents would damage Basel's relations not only with Calvin but even more with his successor Theodore Beza. As a consequence of its differences with both Zurich and Geneva, Basel would gradually be excluded from the loose alliance that was developing between Geneva and the Swiss Reformed churches.[97]

4.5.2 *The Establishment of a Reformed Identity, 1570–1600*

Ultimately, Sulzer's policy of confessional neutrality would prove unworkable for both theological and political reasons. Although the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper was disputed and so relatively open through the 1560s, the Reformed position was laid out in the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549 and repeated in the regional and national confessions and catechisms written through the 1550s and 1560s.[98] In the early 1570s the movement towards

95 This group is examined in detail by Uwe Plath, *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552–1556* (Zurich: TVZ, 1974); see also Hans R. Guggisberg, *Sebastian Castellio, 1515–1563. Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Markus Kutter, *Celio Secondo Curione. Sein Leben und sein Werk* (*1503–1569*) (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1955); Delio Cantimori, *Italienische Häretiker der Spätrenaissance* (Basel: Schwabe, 1949).

96 Paul Burckhardt, "David Joris und seine Gemeinde in Basel," BZGA 48 (1949), 5–106.

97 Amy Nelson Burnett, "Basel, Beza and the Development of Calvinist Orthodoxy in the Swiss Confederation," in *Calvin und Calvinismus—Europäische Perspektiven*, (eds.) Irene Dingel and Herman J. Selderhuis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 67–83.

98 RBS 1/3, 2/1, and 2/1.

concord among German Lutherans turned against its Philippist wing, and the 1577 Formula of Concord virtually ended the possibility of confessional neutrality.[99] At the same time, as the older generation of pastors was succeeded by a younger cohort born and educated in Basel, a new mindset developed that was more consciously Swiss and more aware of confessional distinctives. This younger generation regarded links with Zurich and the other Swiss Reformed churches as more important than the city's older connections within the Empire. The changed situation became apparent at the end of 1571, when a new conflict over the Lord's Supper arose between German and Swiss students at the university and spread to the city's pastors. The conflict ended only after the Council decreed that all pastors must sign the Wittenberg Concord as interpreted by Bucer, but there was considerable resistance to the requirement, especially from the younger ministers.[100]

Sulzer's efforts at confessional non-alignment had become anachronistic. Vilified by Bullinger and even more by Bullinger's successor Rudolf Gwalther, Sulzer strengthened his ties to Lutherans in the Empire, especially Johann Marbach in Strasbourg.[101] With the appointment of Johann Jacob Grynaeus as professor of Old Testament in 1575, however, the younger generation of Basel's pastors gained a leader who could effectively oppose Sulzer. Grynaeus was educated in Basel and then became pastor in the margraviate of Baden.[102] He was given a stipend to study at Tübingen, where he received his doctorate under the direction of Jacob Andreae, and on his return to Baden he became superintendent of the district of Roetteln. By the mid-1570s, though, Grynaeus had

99 Irene Dingel, "The Culture of Conflict in the Controversies Leading to the Formula of Concord (1548–1580)," in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, (ed.) Robert Kolb (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 15–64, esp. 55–64.

100 Amy Nelson Burnett, "Generational Conflict in the Late Reformation: The Basel Paroxysm," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2001), 219–244.

101 From the early 1570s Sulzer was regularly referred to as "Vulpecula" or "Sinon" (after the man who persuaded the Trojans to accept the wooden horse); later in the decade he was called Diotrephes (from 3 Jn. 9) in the correspondence of the Zurich churchmen. Although Sulzer's correspondence with Marbach began in the 1550s, it became particularly important after 1570; Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger," 146, 169; see also the correspondence in Gottlieb Linder, (ed.), *Sulcerana Badensia* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1886).

102 Johann Jacob's father, Thomas Grynaeus, was a nephew of Simon Grynaeus. Thomas was schoolmaster and an ally of Sulzer in Bern until deposed in 1546 as a "Lutheran." He moved to Basel and eventually became church superintendent of the district of Roetteln in the margraviate of Baden in Germany; Johann Jacob would succeed his father in this position. The only biography of Grynaeus tends towards the hagiographic; Fritz Weiss, "Johann Jakob Grynaeus," *Basler Biographien* 1 (1900), 159–99.

rejected Andreae's Christology and the Eucharistic theology that it supported.[103] He led the unsuccessful effort to prevent the adoption of the Formula of Concord in Roetteln at the end of 1577, and the following year he encouraged one of his students to publish a private confession of faith to which was appended the Basel Confession with its original marginal glosses. Grynaeus's own confession concerning the Lord's Supper was printed in Zurich that same year.[104]

Grynaeus' growing influence in Basel was aided by Sulzer's physical decline and the deaths of those pastors and council members who had been Sulzer's strongest supporters. Grynaeus was also encouraged by Gwalther in Zurich and, to a lesser extent, by Beza in Geneva. Nevertheless his position in Basel was not an easy one, and in 1584 he accepted the invitation of Pfalzgraf Johann Casimir to help restore the teaching of Reformed theology at the University of Heidelberg. Sulzer's death the following year removed the last hindrance to the full adoption of Reformed Orthodoxy in Basel, and Grynaeus was called back to the city in the spring of 1586 to become cathedral pastor and professor of New Testament.

Over the next few years Grynaeus brought Basel into line with the other Swiss Reformed churches. Grynaeus's first concern upon his return to Basel in 1586 was to establish his authority over the church.[105] At his request, the Council appointed him as "supreme shepherd" of the church, with the authority to convoke meetings of the clergy, oversee his colleagues, and discipline those who were negligent. The next year the post of archdean was combined with that of Antistes, giving Grynaeus ultimate authority over the pastors in the rural parishes as well. During the early 1570s there had been complaints that the parish pastors were excluding their assistants from the regular meetings of the clergy, turning what was intended as a collegial institution into a hierarchical one. Grynaeus took advantage of this evolution, and with occasional assistance from the *Deputaten* and the second university theologian, the *Kirchenrat* became the chief organ responsible for directing church affairs. Grynaeus also used his authority to call synods, hold visitations, and to require the district

103 Instrumental to Grynaeus's theological development was Thomas Erastus, who was both brother-in-law and foster father to Grynaeus's wife, Lavinia de Canonicis; Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 256–9.

104 Frank Hieronymus, "Gewissen und Staatskirchentum. Basler Theologie und Zensur um 1578," ARG 82 (1991), 209–38.

105 On the following, Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 214–9, Burnett, "Controlling the Clergy," 138–42; Max Geiger, *Die Basler Kirche und Theologie im Zeitalter der Hochorthodoxie* (Zollikon-Zürich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1952), 40–8.

FIGURE 4.10 *Johann Jacob Grynaeus (1540–1617), the leader of Basel's church from 1585 to 1617*
PHOTO COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

chapters to meet more regularly. In 1590, he reissued the Basel Confession with its original glosses restored, along with the Oecolampadian/Myconian catechism and the Basel liturgical agenda.[106] At the end of 1597 the Council issued a new ordinance governing the teaching and conduct of its pastors, and at the synod of rural pastors held the following spring all participants were asked to endorse the Basel Confession in accordance with the Reformed interpretation given it by the leaders of the church.[107]

The ease and rapidity with which Grynaeus established Basel's identity as a Reformed city reflects not only his own considerable abilities but also the pressure towards confessionalization that had been held in check by Sulzer and his supporters. Contributing to that pressure were the efforts of the bishop of Basel, Jacob Christoph Blarer von Wartensee, to strengthen his position both politically and religiously. In 1579 Blarer had entered into an alliance with the Catholic *Orte*, and in the early 1580s he introduced measures against Protestantism in those villages that had come under Basel's protection in 1525. The ensuing jurisdictional conflict led in 1585 to the Treaty of Baden, in which the bishop was given full control over those villages and received a significant sum from the city; in return he renounced any claims of authority over the city or the rest of its rural territory. Over the next few years Catholicism was reintroduced in the seven villages that had been returned to the bishop.[108]

By the end of the 16th century, Basel was fully integrated into the larger Reformed world. Grynaeus developed close ties with both Zurich and Geneva, and he took a leading role in organizing coordinated action with the other Swiss Reformed churches.[109] Matriculations at the city's university reached record levels towards the end of the century, attracting students from other parts of Europe. Many of these matriculated in the faculties of law and medicine, but some came to study theology under Grynaeus and his colleague Amandus Polanus von Polansdorf.[110] The university also continued its close ties with the

106 *Das Geistliche vnd herrliche Kleinot der Kirchen Gottes in Statt vnd Landtschafft Basel* (Basel: Henricpetri, 1590).

107 BSKO, 134–41, no. 28.

108 Berner, *"gute correspondenz,"* 153–85; Karl Gauss, "Die Gegenreformation im baslerisch-bischöflichen Laufen," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1918), 31–76, (1919), 91–155; Karl Gauss, "Therwil und Ettingen in der Zeit der Reformation und Gegenreformation," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1925), 107–63.

109 Burnett, "Basel, Beza, and the Development of Calvinist Orthodoxy."

110 Polanus, who held the chair in Old Testament, was also Grynaeus' son-in-law. On his significance see Byung Soo Han, *Symphonia Catholica. The Merger of Patristic and Contemporary Sources in the Theological Method of Amandus Polanus (1561–1610)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015); Marc Sieber, "Die Universität Basel nach Einführung

city's printing houses, providing authors, editors, and correctors. Basel's printing industry had begun to decline in the 1580s, but in specialty markets such as the printing of Hebrew books the small city on the Rhine ranked with major centers of book production such as Paris, Antwerp, and Venice.[111]

4.6 The Long Reformation

For Basel's rural subjects, the long-term development of supervisory structures and the professionalization of the clergy would be far more important than the confessional conflicts in the city or Basel's relations with other Reformed areas. With the support of ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the city, the rural pastors gradually changed the practice of Christianity over the course of the 16th century.

The official adoption of the Reformation did not immediately lead to a significant change in Basel's pastoral corps. Many of the parish pastors may have adopted reformed beliefs already during the 1520s, and none of them were dismissed from their posts after the examinations held at the earliest synods, although a few were threatened with deposition if they did not spend more time studying. Pastors in parishes close to the city could attend the theology lectures, but those farther away were left to their own resources. To judge by reports of preaching in the decade following the official adoption of the Reformation, the pastors were most concerned with rejecting specifically Catholic beliefs and practices.[112] In this, they may have succeeded too well. Their attacks on the priesthood, their rejection of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the mass, and the simplification of the baptismal ceremony may have gone too far, causing the pastors to complain that their parishioners scorned the ministry, the sacraments, and God's Word itself. It was difficult to move beyond rejection of traditional beliefs to instilling new ones, and few of the pastors in office in the 1530s and 1540s had the training to do so.

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der Reformation," in *Die Universität in Alteuropa*, (eds.) Alexander Patschovsky and Horst Rabe (Constance: IUVK Universitätsverlag, 1994), 69–83; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Local Boys and Peripatetic Scholars: Theology Students in Basel, 1542–1642," in *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung: Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (eds.) Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 109–39.

111 Stephen G. Burnett, "Christian Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth Century: Printers, Humanism and the Impact of the Reformation," *Helmantica* 51 (2000), 13–42.

112 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 27–9, 55–65.

This would change in the 1550s and 1560s, as young men specifically prepared for the pastorate would enter the parish ministry. Since they, like their younger parishioners, had grown up as Protestants, they were less concerned with attacking the Catholic Church. Their surviving sermons concentrate instead on explaining the contents of the Bible and showing its relevance to the daily lives of their hearers. At the synods of the later 1550s, the pastors requested that catechism instruction be held more frequently. They were unsuccessful in their efforts, but Grynaeus would make this one of his top priorities, and by the 1590s monthly—and even bi-weekly—catechism instruction was the norm. Preaching in both urban and rural parishes became more explicitly Reformed as well. Grynaeus's published sermons combined devotional, pastoral and confessional concerns, and pastors at the end of the century reported using the biblical commentaries of several Reformed theologians to prepare their own sermons.[113]

The pastors also regularly pressed for stricter enforcement of the city's morals code. In 1540 the Council issued an ordinance for the rural territories that mandated regular attendance at worship and catechism instruction, specified the duties of the ban brothers in the rural parishes, and forbade parish festivals, gambling, and ostentatious wedding celebrations. Many of these edicts would be re-issued in the 1590s, and through the second half of the 16th century, the ban brothers had to be urged to carry out their responsibilities of moral oversight. By the second decade of the seventeenth century, though, most pastors were satisfied with the performance of the ban brothers and with church attendance overall, even if they continued to complain about dancing, gambling, and other moral offenses.[114]

Specifically Catholic beliefs and practices were largely eliminated in Basel by the end of the century, but other activities tolerated by the medieval church began to come came under attack by the pastors at this time. Conjuring, seeking the aid of soothsayers or healers, or practices such as tying straw ropes on fruit trees on Christmas Eve to make them fruitful were condemned as superstitions incompatible with Reformed Christianity.[115] Despite frequent

113 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 172–84, 224.

114 BSKO 104–24, 126–33, nos. 21–4, 26–7; Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 249–54.

115 In 1595 the council told householders to prevent "their wives, daughters, and servants" from consulting soothsayers, BSKO 125, no. 25. Although these "superstitions" might include pilgrimages or the invocation of the saints, they were not exclusively associated with Catholicism, since some of those sought out as healers and soothsayers were Anabaptists; Karl Gauss, *Geschichte der Landschaft Basel und des Kantons Basellandschaft,* vol. 1: *Von der Urzeit bis zum Bauernkrieg des Jahres 1653* (Basel: Lüdin & Co., 1932), 671–81.

prohibition by pastors and magistracy, Basel's rural subjects also continued to attend parish festivals in neighboring Catholic villages and to celebrate *Fastnacht*, although these actions had more to do with popular sociability than with the church, whether Catholic or Reformed.[116] In attacking these practices, Basel's pastors, like their Lutheran and Catholic counterparts, attempted to bring a broad range of popular beliefs and practices into conformity with official doctrine.

The failure of the Reformed clergy to uproot elements of popular religion among the peasants shows the limits of the official church, but it should not obscure the tremendous changes that had taken place in the decades after the city's official adoption of Protestantism. At the end of the 16th century Basel's religious landscape looked quite different from what it had been in 1517. There were fewer religious institutions and far fewer clergy. The churches that remained had been cleared of images and their walls whitewashed, and the multiple masses in each church were replaced by a monthly celebration of the Lord's Supper. Bells still rang to call people to worship, but the services consisted of German sermons rather than Latin chant, and the clergy wore black university robes rather than elaborate colored vestments.

Most of these outward changes had been introduced in 1529, and they visibly marked Basel's separation from the Roman church. Just as important, however, were the changes in devotional life and religious culture instilled among Basel's subjects after 1529. Chief among these was the importance of knowing and being able to apply Reformed doctrine. Synod and visitation records from the 1590s show that the decades-long campaign of preaching and catechization had paid off: pastors could boast that children knew the catechism and that the sick and dying knew how to "console themselves" even in the absence of a minister. Parents no longer demanded that midwives baptize newborn babies in danger of death but were content to wait until the baby could be baptized in church, and in times of plague they received the sacrament publicly in church rather than relying on deathbed communion. Externally, the city's church was linked to those of Zurich, Bern, and Schaffhausen, as well as with Geneva and with the international Reformed world. Though it followed its own course, Basel's Reformation led ultimately to the establishment of an unambiguously Swiss Reformed city-republic.

116 BSKO 142–5, nos. 29–30.

CHAPTER 5

The Reformation in Schaffhausen

Erich Bryner

5.1 Introduction

Although Schaffhausen lies less than fifty kilometers north of Zurich, its Reformation followed its own distinctive path.[1] By the early Middle Ages Schaffhausen—the name probably derives from the Old High German *scafa*, meaning ship—was already an important transportation node on the river Rhine, for it was here that goods being ferried by water were transferred onto land to avoid the Rhine Falls. The first church was erected in Schaffhausen around 1000 and the right to mint coins granted in 1045. The Benedictine monastery of All Saints, founded in 1049, was followed by a female Benedictine foundation, St. Agnes, in 1080; the first reference to a Franciscan friary in the town is from 1253. The population of Schaffhausen included a small wealthy elite but was composed largely of merchants and artisans, who formally adopted a guild ordinance in 1411.

The territory of Schaffhausen, both town and rural areas, became the twelfth member of the Swiss Confederation in 1501, only two decades before the Reformation. Earlier formal alliances with the Confederation, in 1454 and 1479, had established Schaffhausen's status as an associate (*zugewandter Ort*) of the Confederation, but the agreement of 1501 was to be an "eternal union." The population of Schaffhausen is reckoned to have been around 3,500 in 1520, increasing to around 5,300 by 1550 and around 6,350 by 1582.[2]

Schaffhausen's geographical position left the town politically exposed. Situated north of the Rhine, Schaffhausen shared a short border along that river with the territory of Zurich, but on more than three sides it was surrounded by Habsburg lands, where the Reformation was not adopted but whose inhabitants had lively trade connections and many personal ties with their neighbor. The rural lands of Schaffhausen had been acquired by purchase rather than war and often lacked natural borders, which led not infrequently to border disputes. Schaffhausen acquired the episcopal territory of Neunkirch-Hallau only in 1525. For these reasons, the authorities in Schaffhausen were fundamentally

1 "Schaffhausen," HLS 10: 847–78.

2 Kurt Bänteli, "Schaffhausen (Gemeinde)," HLS 10: 847.

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FIGURE 5.1 *Bird's-eye view of the city of Schaffhausen, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

FIGURE 5.2 *Oath of the new confederates of Schaffhausen, 1501. From Schilling's* Luzerner Chronik, property of the Korporation Luzern.
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB; REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION OF THE KORPORATION LUZERN

conservative when it came to the Reformation.[3] One important condition of Schaffhausen's union with the Swiss Confederation required Schaffhausen's neutrality in the case of disputes among members of the Confederation. Ecclesiastically, Schaffhausen belonged to the bishopric of Constance.

5.2 Early Reformation

Luther's works were being read in Schaffhausen by 1520. Among their readers was Michael Eggenstorfer (c. 1473–1552), abbot of the Benedictine monastery of All Saints from 1501. Humanistically educated and a mystic, Eggenstorfer was particularly well acquainted with the writings of Johannes Tauler, who had urged repentance in his preaching.[4] Alongside reading Luther, Eggenstorfer exchanged letters with Vadian, Luther, and Melanchthon.[5] A circle of proponents of Luther's ideas also gathered around Johannes Adelphi, who from 1514 to 1523 was the town doctor in Schaffhausen. Adelphi maintained links with Basel humanists and wrote and published medical, historical, pedagogical, and religious works. His publications included a German translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, and he adopted Erasmus's critical stance on the church and the sacraments. Evidence of his enthusiasm for Luther's teachings can be found in a letter to Vadian in which he recorded that in his opinion all educated men were Lutherans and therefore good Christians. His stance is relayed by a telling two-liner: "Luther has the right idea / gladly should you follow him closely."[6] Another member of this circle was Ludwig Oechslin (c. 1500–1563), who studied in Krakow and Wittenberg in 1519/20 and received

3 See the map, "Die Entwicklung des Stadtstaates Schaffhausen," which illustrates the territorial situation, including gains, in the period up to 1530, in Hektor Ammann and Karl Schib, *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz*, 2nd ed. (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1958) 47.

4 Handwritten marginalia in Eggenstorfer's copy of *Ioannis Tauleri des heiligen lerers Predig / fast fruchtbar zu eim recht christlichen leben* (Basel: Petri, 1521), (Stadtbibliothek Schaffhausen Z 271) enables the identification of the abbot of the monastery of All Saints as a late medieval mystic and critic of the church, but not as a forerunner of the Reformation; Beat von Scarpatetti, "Michael Eggenstorfer, ca. 1475–1552," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte* 58 (1981), 49–61; Magdalena Bless-Grabher, "Eggenstorfer, Michael," HLS 4: 76.

5 The letter from Vadian to Eggenstorfer from June 1520 can be found in Jakob Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Schaffhausen* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1929), 71–2; Melanchthon's letter to Eggenstorfer from late April 1521 is in ibid., 87–8; Heinz Scheible, (ed.), *Melanchthons Briefwechsel Band T 1* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1991), 276–7.

6 "… quod docti omnes *passim* Lutherani sunt, hoc est boni Christiani," Johannes Adelphi to Vadian, 15 August 1522; Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte* 70, 78–85, here at 81.

a master's degree in 1521. Oechslin became a schoolteacher and then rector of the Latin school in Schaffhausen; later he would be active in the town administration.[7] The first reformatory teachings to find an audience in Schaffhausen were therefore those of Luther and Melanchthon.

The earliest links with Zurich and Zwingli were the work of Erasmus Schmid (Fabricius, d. 1545). Schmid was first a Benedictine monk and then parish priest (*Leutpriester*) in Stein am Rhein. He got to know Zwingli in 1518, and this acquaintanceship grew into a friendship. Another of "Luther's friends" in Schaffhausen was Martin Steinlin, parish priest at the church of St. John. Steinlin appears, however, not to have grasped the full implications of the new teachings: at the second Zurich disputation in 1523 he voiced the view that the mass was a sacrifice and as a result was banned from entering the pulpit by Zwingli. Steinlin did not leave the Roman Catholic Church and shortly after these events he resigned his office in Schaffhausen.

Until mid-1522 reformation in Schaffhausen remained an intellectual endeavor, for reformatory ideas were the province of a number of Benedictine monks and other educated men. Only with the arrival of the Franciscan friar Sebastian Hofmeister[8] and his sermons directed towards a broader audience did the Reformation become a popular movement. Hofmeister, who was born in Schaffhausen in 1496 (not 1476, as previously thought),[9] had been a friar in Schaffhausen and Frankfurt am Main before studying in Paris, where he was a student of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis). An outstanding biblical humanist, Hofmeister quickly moved beyond the limits of Catholic exegesis. In 1516 he had become a doctor of theology. In 1520 persecution of *Lutheriens* forced Lefèvre d'Étaples to flee Paris, and Hofmeister, too, left the city. He became lector (*Lesemeister*) in the Franciscan convent in Zurich but soon moved to take up the same position in the Franciscan convent in Constance. His early connections with Zwingli were established during his time in Constance. In a letter to Zwingli of 17 September 1520, he expressed his high esteem for the recipient and acknowledged that he had heard Zwingli spoken of as an "outstanding preacher of the truth." He continued, "I praise your resolution and your spirit, which is not easily changed by whatever comes your way. I am impressed by your Christian courage. I would like to fight at your side, preferably in Zurich, in order that after the capital city of our happy fatherland is

7 Eric De Pizzol, "Oechslin, Ludwig," HLS 9: 378.

8 H. Wayne Pipkin, "Hofmeister, Sebastian," *The Oxford Encyclopedia for the Reformation*, 2: 243; Arpad Stephan Andreánsky, "Hofmeister, Sebastian," HLS 6: 422.

9 Hans Lieb, "Sebastian Hofmeisters Geburtsjahr und Todestag," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte* 57 (1980), 144–51.

freed of a sickness, the other limbs too will become healthy."[10] Hofmeister then asked for the understanding of his fellow religious and proposed that Zwingli be more cautious and less harsh in his judgment on monks, for under the influence of Martin Luther, himself an Augustinian friar, they would themselves come to see reason.

Hofmeister also wrote to Luther from Constance. In a letter of 3 November 1520 he offered Luther his friendship, according to humanist convention, and encouraged him to continue with his work of reformation. "Do continue, friend of Christian freedom! Nothing must hold you back!" Luther, he wrote, would find support "among us Swiss. It is wonderful to see how greatly these men love you, how they deem you worthy of their protection because of your learning."[11] Hofmeister wrote later of his great joy at being honored with a reply from Luther, but unfortunately Luther's response is no longer extant.

At the beginning of 1522 Hofmeister was again transferred and took up the position of lector at the Franciscan convent in Lucerne. On 29 January 1523, at the first Zurich disputation, he recounted that in Lucerne he had preached the gospel to the best of his ability and with all possible effort. He had proclaimed "nothing other than the Word of God, holy scripture."[12] His effort, he noted, had brought him not just friends, but also many enemies, who deemed him to be "a defiant, arrogant little monk."[13] But in 1520 pointed polemic against Luther was already to be heard in Lucerne. When Hofmeister preached against the veneration of Mary and the saints and against a variety of church traditions, he was accused of heresy. Unfortunately the work in which he justified himself, *Sebastiani Apologia*, has not survived. He had to flee Lucerne and after a short stay in Zurich, he returned to Schaffhausen at the end of May or beginning of June 1522 in order to preach the gospel in his hometown.

Hofmeister worked in the parish church of St. John and in the monastery of St. Agnes, churches long served by Franciscans. Adopting the principle of *sola scriptura*, he preached the message that the godless would be justified by faith alone. In this stance he was a true pupil of Zwingli, who also strongly influenced Hofmeister's teaching on the Lord's Supper: the body and blood of

10 "Audivi te perseverantem veritatis ecclesiasten," Sebastian Hofmeister to Huldrych Zwingli, 17 September 1520, Z 7: 351. The letter came from Constance, not from Schaffhausen as is erroneously recorded on 350.

11 WA Br 2: 208–10.

12 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 117.

13 Z 7: 350, n. 1.

Jesus Christ are "enjoyed and received in a spiritual way and through faith."[14] Well-educated and a powerful preacher for the masses, Hofmeister brought about the reform of worship in Schaffhausen in line with the Reformation. "All pomp and ceremony disappeared," it was recorded: a new spirit was blowing in Schaffhausen.[15] Hofmeister quickly found many followers among the city's inhabitants, but at the end of 1522 he also faced significant opposition, for, whether on religious or political grounds, conservatively minded adherents of the old faith rejected all innovation.

Hofmeister maintained his ties with Zwingli, and he took part in the first Zurich disputation. In a letter written on the first Saturday after Easter 1523 he reported to Zwingli that the gospel had taken root in Schaffhausen. "Here Christ is accepted with the greatest longing, God be praised," he noted, continuing that many people in Schaffhausen who had once been the sharpest of enemies of the true faith "are seeing reason. I myself preach with good signs for the future. Our council has promised me protection against the pope. I am to preach only what is pure, which is entirely in accordance with my own convictions."[16]

In February 1523 Adam Petri, a printer in Basel, produced a short work by Hofmeister, *A True Exhortation to the Strong, Noble, Steadfast, Pious and Wise Confederates, that They not be Led by False Prophets to Stand in the Way of the Teaching of Christ*. Hofmeister addressed all his compatriots, just as Zwingli would also do the following year with his *Friendly and Serious Exhortation to the Confederates*. Hofmeister laid out his case for an end to the internal divisions within the Swiss Confederation over the issue of faith. He insisted

14 In his work *Reformation löblicher Statt Schaffhausen: samt kurtzer, jedoch grundtlicher Erzellung dess Ursprungs der Statt Clostern, auch die übrigen Kirchen und Capellen* (Schaffhausen: Sutern, 1656), Leonhardt Meyer (1627–after 1684), pastor in Schaffhausen, wrote that he had found in a library handwritten notes in which Hofmeister had recorded his essential thoughts on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper; cited in Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 127. In his book, Meyer intended to give an account of "the surpassing benefits of God" that he identified in the reestablishment of "the true and only justifying religion" which, he wrote, could be termed "the reformed religion" on account of the withdrawal from the papacy (preface, 6). Meyer described what had happened at that time as "a work of God, the noble Reformation and the cleansing of religion" and saw in the events a manifestation of the power and grace of God (ibid., 11). Intended as highly edifying theologically and with an apologetic and polemical character, Meyer's text seems more sermon than historical account, but it was the first work to look back on the events of the Reformation in Schaffhausen more than a century after they had taken place.

15 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 127.

16 Sebastian Hofmeister to Zwingli, Schaffhausen, 11 April 1523, Z 8: 63.

that all hold to the pure Word of God. He defended the teachings of Luther and attacked the pope and the papacy very sharply, and he called for everyone to follow the example of those who had always protected Christian freedom: "I ask that in future you do the same, for otherwise you will be disloyal Confederates." In order to recognize the true word of God one must open one's ears to reason and one's eyes to wisdom. The "brave Confederates of Zurich" had opened themselves up to the Word of God: "You, noble Zurich, you should indeed rejoice that God has blessed you with such preachers." Praise for Bern followed, but a reproach for Lucerne: "oh Lucerne, oh Lucerne, how your light has been extinguished … Oh Lucerne, how you have become obdurate and have submitted yourself to scandalous shepherds." Now was the time to accept the word of God and follow the teachings of Christ, for one must obey God rather than men (Acts 5:29).[17]

From 26 to 28 October 1523, Hofmeister took part in the second Zurich disputation. Schaffhausen was the only member of the Confederation to send an official delegation and thereby went out on a limb politically. Hofmeister presided during the first day of the disputation. In his closing remarks he implored the Zurich authorities not to shy away from the removal of "idols and images" and also asked them to release from prison iconoclasts who had been arrested for acting on their own initiative, since theologically their actions were entirely justified.[18] The reformation in Schaffhausen continued over the following months, spreading also into neighboring villages. In the period after Easter 1524 a new ordinance for poor relief through almsgiving was created, images were removed from several churches, the words of the mass were reworked, and the mass itself said in German.[19] In late autumn 1524 Hofmeister gained the support of his fellow Franciscan Sebastian Meyer (ca. 1467–ca. 1545). Meyer was also a doctor of theology and lector in a Franciscan convent—in his case in Bern—and he too was an enthusiastic advocate of Luther's theology. With Berchtold Haller he had preached the gospel in the light of reformatory ideas. Banished from Bern for political reasons, he made his way to Schaffhausen, where he joined Hofmeister.[20]

17 Sebastian Hofmeister, *Eine treuwe ermanung an die Strengen / Edlen / Festen / Frommen und Weyssen Eidgnossen / das sy nit durch ire falschen propheten verfürt / sich wider die lere Christi setzend* ([Basel]: [Adam Petri], 1523), fol. A iij, B, Biij, and Ciij.

18 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 140.

19 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 145, 154–5.

20 Sebastian Meyer was active in Schaffhausen from late autumn 1524 until he was banished, along with Sebastian Hofmeister, in August 1525; he was subsequently active in the cause of the Reformation in Basel, Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Bern; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 375, n. 85.

In the meantime the tensions within the Swiss Confederation over religion had become so great that the need for agreement was overwhelming. In 1524 Dr. Johannes Eck of Ingolstadt, well known as an adversary of Luther, offered to debate with Zwingli. The disputation was to take place in Baden, where meetings of the Swiss Confederation were held, but the location was contested. The terms of the disputation also proved contentious. Hofmeister contributed to this controversy with a 36-page published work in which he asserted that the Bible alone, both Old and New Testaments, must be the sole guiding principle for decisions in matters of faith and that it was infallible. If Eck concurred, Hofmeister scoffed, "then he can gladly come, if he wants," for Zwingli did not fear him, not his fire, not his fiery breath. "So do come, dear Eck," Hofmeister wrote, "and render an account of your faith."[21]

No official resolution in favor of the Reformation was issued in Schaffhausen in these early years. The political authorities did not keep pace with the reformers. Both small and large council remained undecided, not least as a result of the territory's exposed position both politically and geographically. The small council, composed primarily of members of the upper layer of society and the merchant class, in effect governed the city, and it followed a conservative policy designed to appease as many as possible. It was prepared to give some ground to the reformers, but at the same time sought to avoid aggravating those who defended the old faith. To use a Swiss expression, the council "carried water on both shoulders." The function of the large council, which included representatives of the artisans, vintners, and fisherman, was largely consultative. Although its members tended to side with the reformers, their political power was significantly less than that of the small council.

In August 1525 Hofmeister and Meyer were banished from Schaffhausen. Earlier that year, in January 1525, they had had discussions with the Anabaptists who had arrived in the rural territory of Schaffhausen after their expulsion from Zurich, including Konrad Grebel, Wilhelm Reublin, and Johannes Brötli. The attitude of the Schaffhausen reformers towards the Anabaptists had initially appeared favorable, or at least ambiguous.[22] For several months Brötli and Reublin were principally active in Hallau in the Klettgau, where their calls for a refusal to pay the tithe and insistence on adult baptism met with some

21 *Antwurt uff die ableinung doctor Eckens von Ingoldstatt / gethon uff die widergeschrifft Huldrychs Zuinglis / uff sin Missiuen an ein lobliche Eydgnosschafft durch Sebastianum Hoffmeyster Predicanten zu Schaaffhusen* ([Zürich]: [Chr. Froschauer], 1524).

22 In March 1525 Johann Brötli wrote to Fridli Schuhmacher in Zollikon that he and Reublin had dined in Schaffhausen together with Hofmeister und Meyer and that Hofmeister "was of one mind with us on baptism;" cited from Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 189.

success. Hofmeister and Meyer followed a moderate course. They rejected overly hasty implementation of reformed ideals and defended infant baptism. This stance did not prevent them from being deemed responsible by the government for the social unrest that erupted with the rebellion of the vintners and fishermen in the summer of 1525. Anabaptism and social unrest appeared to go hand in hand,[23] although today we cannot reconstruct the details of events and it is possible that various other machinations were also in play. Hofmeister was sent to Basel, where his teachings were to be examined by the university. When the university refused to cooperate, Hofmeister and Meyer were banished from Schaffhausen. Hofmeister went to the Fraumünster in Zurich and Meyer to Basel. The reformation in Schaffhausen had lost its leadership, leaving a theological vacuum. To outsiders Schaffhausen's relationship to the Reformation appeared unclear.

As a result of these events Hofmeister and Meyer, both doctors of theology and both active in the early Reformation in Schaffhausen, were unable to represent the town with which they had been associated at the Baden Disputation of May 1526. Instead the council of Schaffhausen sent to Baden Heinrich Linggi, a schoolteacher who although young was well versed theologically, Ludwig Oechslin, who had a master's degree, and an elderly chaplain who was both infirm and undecided. Linggi and Oechslin gave wholehearted support to the reformed party at the disputation, which was led by the Basel theologian Johannes Oecolampadius. In particular, Linggi campaigned against images, for the worship of God in Spirit alone, and against the doctrine of purgatory. Linggi and Oechslin were among the twenty-four men who put their names to the final reformed theses. But they were up against the eighty-four votes in favor of Eck's theses, which condemned Zwingli and his teachings. Along with Zurich, Basel, and Bern, Schaffhausen refused to be forced into a corner by the Catholic majority.[24]

The council of Schaffhausen did not send an official delegation to the disputation in Bern in January 1528, which would prove so important for the history of Protestantism in the Swiss Confederation. Heinrich Linggi, who had represented Schaffhausen in Baden, did attend, but on his own initiative. Because the issues surrounding the church remained unresolved, Linggi left his hometown and became a pastor in Brugg bei Aarau; Oechslin gave up his ecclesiastical appointment and entered government service.

23 Karl Schib, *Geschichte der Stadt Schaffhausen* (Thayngen: Augustin-Verlag, 1945), 188–90.

24 See *Baden Disp*.

5.3 Reformation without a Reformer

In January 1529, keen to know once and for all where Schaffhausen stood on the introduction of religious reforms, Zurich sent a delegation to the town. A border dispute between Zurich and Schaffhausen provided the ostensible grounds for the meeting, but more significant was Schaffhausen's divided attitude towards the Reformation. The response received by the delegation to Schaffhausen was very cautious and vague: Schaffhausen was suspicious of "anything that smacked of Zurich" and preferred to follow the example of Bern and Basel.[25] In June 1529, after the First Kappel War, Schaffhausen's position remained uncertain: it was reported that three churches in the town had been cleared of images, but in two other churches mass was still celebrated daily.[26] Another delegation arrived in Schaffhausen on 27 September, sent this time by the reformed towns of Zurich, Bern, Basel, St. Gallen, and Mülhausen. The members of this delegation were able to convince the relevant political authorities that since the First Kappel War the position of the reformed within the Swiss Confederation had improved markedly. In light of this new political constellation, the small council changed its attitude in favor of Zurich and the other reformed members of the Confederation. Now the council stated, "We want to do what is pleasing to God and Zurich." At Michaelmas, on 29 September 1529, both the small and large councils of Schaffhausen officially adopted the Reformation.[27]

Their decision was entirely politically motivated. Lacking capable leadership, the church played hardly any role in these events. As we have seen, both Sebastian Hofmeister and Sebastian Meyer, who would have had the necessary theological training and experience in the church politics, had been banished from the town. The two most important parish appointments were held instead by Benedikt Burgauer and Erasmus Ritter, neither of whom rose above mediocrity. Neither was native to Schaffhausen: Burgauer was from St. Gallen, Ritter from Bavaria. Ritter had been called to the Minster in Schaffhausen by the small council in 1522, where he was to provide a Catholic counterweight to

25 "Est tamen nostris suspectum, quidquid Tigurum sapit," Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 275.

26 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 280.

27 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 282–7; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 377; Ernst Gerhard Rüsch, "Die Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung von 1529," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte* 56 (1979), 5–28; Roland E. Hofer: "Zwischen Wahrheit und Legende. Beobachtungen zur Einführung der Reformation in Schaffhausen 1525–1528," in *Mit der Geschichte leben. Festschrift für Peter Stadler,* (ed.) Otto Sigg (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2003), 135–51.

Hofmeister; he had, however, quickly become a supporter of Zwingli's reformation. Burgauer, who had been pastor at the church of St. Johann since 1528, largely stood by reformatory theology but fought tooth and nail in favor of the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper. Both men were petty, stubborn, ambitious, easily peeved, and disagreeable. They took every opportunity for a fight, and among the issues they disputed were the article of the Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, baptism, and, above all, the Lord's Supper.[28] In 1529, a year that would prove so decisive, the constant quarrelling between these two men left a leadership vacuum at a vital moment. With the decision in favor of the Reformation made, it would have made sense to end the banishment of Sebastian Hofmeister and Sebastian Meyer, now active in Zofingen and Bern respectively, and call them back to Schaffhausen, a suggestion that came from both Bern and Zurich. But the Schaffhausen councilors were not to be convinced. Hofmeister, it was said, "was responsible for the disturbances and great noise with the vintners." Chronicler Hans Stockar insisted that the rebellion of the vintners and fishermen "had been caused by the preaching of the two doctors, which had been the reason why they had to be banished from the town."[29] And that was the end of the matter.

Although the political authorities preferred to take decisions into their own hands, they remained singularly cautious and hesitant when it came to the reconfiguration of the church. Only a few days after the decision in favor of the Reformation, the council created a commission that would, it was stated, "regulate" (*ordnen*) the church and the word of God. This commission was comprised of the mayor and four further political figures, but not a single theologian. The Word of God in scripture was to be preached freely. The Roman mass, images, and the "perverse" (*verkehrt*) services were abolished. Schaffhausen joined Zurich, Bern, Basel, Biel, and Mülhausen in the alliance known as the *Christliches Burgrecht*.

The end of 1529 and beginning of 1530 saw the composition and ratification of the first church ordinance, the *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*.[30] The document was based on a draft drawn up by the town pastors at the behest of the council. A number of pointed formulations in the original version were removed by the council, and the result was a more conservative statement in keeping with the careful and hesitant approach of the civil authorities. A model for the Schaffhausen church ordinance was provided by the Basel Reformation

28 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 253–9; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 376–7.

29 Karl Schib, (ed.), *Hans Stockars Jerusalemfahrt 1519 und Chronik 1520–1529* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1949), 120.

30 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 11–27.

ordinance issued on 1 April 1529. Schaffhausen had a good relationship with Basel, which had been admitted as the eleventh member of the Confederation in 1501, the same year Schaffhausen was admitted as the twelfth member. Schaffhausen was, by contrast, often at odds with Zurich in a relationship that, as we have seen, could be very tense. The biggest variation between the church ordinances for Basel and those for Schaffhausen was that the latter left out the sometimes tedious exegetical and dogmatic argumentation of the former, concentrating instead on practical ecclesiastical issues and questions concerning personal moral conduct.[31]

The document begins with a fundamental assertion: "First, the Word of God must be preached in our town and rural territory purely, alone, and clearly, in accordance with the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments and without any intermingling of human invention."[32] The location and timing of worship was laid down: Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays in the parish church of St. Johann; Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the Minster, and on Sundays in both the main churches of the town. In the countryside, services were to be held on three days during the working week, and on days of bad weather and every Sunday. The pastors and preachers, whose work and conduct were to follow the instructions of the pastoral letters of the New Testament, were responsible for worship, but they were also to dedicate themselves to the education of young people. At least twice a year they were to come together in a pastors' assembly.[33] Instructions for "helpers and deacons," sacristans, and former priests and members of religious orders followed. All small children were as a matter of course to be baptized, "as has been the practice;" the sacrament would be "accompanied by proper German prayer and thanksgiving," but without the many additional ceremonies of the medieval church. The regulations included a pointed dig at Anabaptist practice: "All who have been baptized … should not have themselves baptized a second time, but adhere to the first baptism."[34]

The article on the Lord's Supper stated that "masses, images, and other ceremonies" were to be examined and halted, although only temporarily, until the matter was settled once and for all at a council. Although the laity were allowed to receive both bread and wine, the administration of communion did not otherwise differ much from the traditional celebration of the Eucharist, another indication that the fundamental character of the document was markedly

31 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 8–9, and the notes on 16 and 22.

32 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 11.

33 1 Tim 3:1–6; Tit 1:7–9; Rüsch, *Reformationsordnung,* 11–2.

34 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 15.

conservative.[35] Such conservatism is also evident in the listing of festivals of the church calendar, which still included Corpus Christi and a number of feast days associated with Mary and the saints.[36]

The decision for the Reformation had made the authority of the bishop of Constance and of Roman church law redundant. The new church ordinance therefore also had to tackle a range of issues that concerned not just internal ecclesiastical affairs but also circumstances that today we might term "civil" matters, such as the regulation of marriage and its status in law.[37] Around one third of the document addresses issues of marriage ("On married life," "What can dissolve and bind together marriage," "On the marriage court," "Punishment of adultery"). These matters fell under the jurisdiction of a marriage court that was established by the council.[38] The section entitled "On vices" required the punishment of teachers of error who denied the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, in particular the doctrines that Jesus Christ was the son of God and that he had two natures, or who mocked the "pure virgin Mary and the beloved saints who abide with God."[39] Renewed condemnation of the Anabaptists followed: "Anyone who vilifies infant baptism and claims that it is the work of the devil" (as the Anabaptists often did) and anyone who gives shelter to Anabaptists or hides Anabaptists and persists in such error "we will imprison them and have them punished with fire, burning, or water, or corporally." Further articles addressed issues of daily life and moral behavior, regulating swearing, drinking, and gambling. Foreign military service was prohibited unless a dispensation was granted by the council. Everyone was to dress in a seemly manner, and what was deemed "unseemly" was listed in detail.[40] The practical aspects of life were the primary concern of the Reformation ordinance; deeper theological deliberation, even as the basis for its pronouncements, is lacking. The ordinance is principally political and legal in character; where theology does shape the argumentation, the Reformation appears to have stalled only half-formed.

The Reformation ordinance was not printed but rather circulated in manuscript and read out publicly on various occasions. The pastors were also responsible for announcing government mandates from the pulpit. Initially

35 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 15–6 and notes 39 and 40 on 16.

36 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 22.

37 Roland E. Hofer, *"Üppiges, unzüchtiges Lebwesen." Schaffhauser Ehegerichtsbarkeit von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime (1529–1798)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993), 53.

38 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 17–22.

39 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 22–3.

40 Rüsch, *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung*, 23–7.

these measures seemed to have no impact, and as a result the majority of the pastors from both the town and the rural territory of Schaffhausen grasped the initiative. In 1532, they came together to compose a memorandum in which they exhorted the council to meet more completely than previously the duty to exercise guardianship over the church (which the reformers believed fell to the political authorities according to Ezek. 3:16–18), to be less tolerant of the old faith, and to promote the Reformation more energetically.[41] The first of these so-called *Synodalmemoralia* (memoralia of the synod) was concerned with highly practical issues, namely the creation of order in the churches themselves. The pastors reported that rural churches looked like animal stables as the remnants left by the destruction of the images had not been cleared out, that the moral behavior of the population required attention, that the population should be encouraged to attend church services regularly, and that the young people should receive instruction in the catechism. The council took up these requests, and among other responses they approved the introduction of a "*latozissung* in town and countryside" (*Latozissung* is a corrupt version of the misheard *katechismus* [catechism] or *Katechisierung* [catechizing]).[42] But the complaints of the Schaffhausen pastors continued: in 1536/37 they wrote that nothing had changed or been renewed in Beringen, that there was still an altar in Hemmental and a tabernacle for the sacrament in Thayngen, that Anabaptists were able to live openly and unchallenged in Merishausen, that the priest in Buch continued to read the mass frequently, that in Büsingen farmers continued to drink and gamble, and so their complaints continued. And in the town of Schaffhausen, they wrote, the failings were so numerous "that in order to avoid causing trouble with our brothers in the countryside, we have not wanted to name them."[43]

The struggle against Anabaptism reappeared in the next *Synodalmemoralia*, which recorded that Anabaptism had not been eradicated, for Anabaptists continued to live in secret everywhere, and that in the whole of the Confederation there was no greater hiding place for Anabaptists than the town and rural territories of Schaffhausen.[44]

41 Hans Lieb and Karl Schib, "Beschwerden und Sorgen der Schaffhauser Geistlichkeit um 1540," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte* 48 (1971), 135–70, here at 143–50.

42 Lieb and Schib, "Beschwerden," 159.

43 Lieb and Schib, "Beschwerden," 162–3.

44 *Synodalmemoralia* 1537/1542, Lieb and Schib, "Beschwerden," 168. Today place names still recall the sites of secret Anabaptist gatherings, such as the *Täuferstieg* (Anabaptist ascent) between Hemmental and Schleitheim (*Landeskarte der Schweiz* 1:25,000 der

After eight years of petty theological bickering between Ritter and Burgauer in the two principal churches in Schaffhausen, the members of the town council had had enough. In 1536 both parish pastors were retired early and replacements sought.[45] Heinrich Linggi was called back to the Minster from Brugg; Simprecht Vogt was called from Biel to the church of St. Johann. From 1536 the pastor at the Spital church, previously the monastery of St. Agnes, was Sebastian Grübel, a native of St. Gallen. These three theologians formed a triumvirate that was responsible for the leadership of the church. Simprecht Vogt was selected by the council as *Antistes* (superintendant); the other two pastors acted as Vogt's deputies. Linggi and Vogt remained in Schaffhausen until their deaths, in 1551 and 1561 respectively; Grübel remained until 1569, when he was pensioned on account of his age. As those who continued to adhere to the old faith left Schaffhausen for Solothurn, Lucerne, Austria, Alsace, and south Germany, the town became an unmistakable bastion of reform. The possessions of the monasteries were taken over by the civil authorities; indeed, as early as 1524 Abbot Michael Eggenstorfer had already transferred the monastery of All Saints to the town.

5.4 External Cooperation and Internal Autonomy

From the early 1530s Schaffhausen worked closely with the other Reformed cities of the Swiss Confederation. The four Reformed members of the thirteen-member Confederation—Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen—often formed a combined front and are mentioned together in many documents, often also together with St. Gallen and other associated territories. The pastors in Schaffhausen readily turned to their colleagues in Zurich, and in particular to Bullinger, when they were uncertain how to proceed in matters that included theological questions, appointments, and disputes. Telling evidence of the support they received can be found in Bullinger's correspondence. After the defeat of Zurich in the Second Kappel War in 1531, the Schaffhausen pastors wrote to their colleagues in Zurich encouraging them to stand firm in their efforts for the evangelical cause.[46] Zurich was also asked to intervene in a vexing dispute between Ritter and Burgauer. Ritter had earlier written to Bullinger complaining about his colleague Burgauer's Lutheran understanding of the

Schweizerischen Landestopographie Blatt Schaffhausen und Umgebung), where in 2005 a memorial stone was erected.

45 Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte*, 309–11.

46 Erasmus Ritter to Heinrich Bullinger, 1 January 1532, HBBW 2: 27–8.

Lord's Supper; he wished, Ritter wrote, to have nothing more to do with such a person who preached according to the law, not Christ, and yet was still held to be a servant of the gospel.[47] On occasion Schaffhausen adopted a critical stance on theological matters—for example, at the negotiations over the First Helvetic Confession in Basel in 1536[48]—but the town largely worked closely and well with Zurich, Bern, and Basel, as can be seen, for example, in their response to the Wittenberg Concord in 1536.[49] Schaffhausen also asked for Zurich's advice on sensitive ethical questions, such as whether Christians were permitted to flee from the plague, noting that they found Luther's position on this issue unsatisfactory.[50] Schaffhausen quickly agreed to the Consensus Tigurinus in 1549.[51] Their close cooperation with Zurich is also evident in the response to the accusations made against Servetus in Geneva. When Calvin approached the Reformed members of the Confederation for their advice on how he should proceed in the dispute with Servetus, the Schaffhausen pastors responded that they took the same line as Zurich. "Our judgment can only be that what diverges from healthy teaching cannot be tolerated … We therefore all subscribe to the judgment of the servants of the church in Zurich, our highly prized brothers in Christ."[52] Schaffhausen also quickly subscribed to the Second Helvetic Confession. Bullinger noted in his diary for 1566 that after Bern and Geneva had given their approval to the confession, Rudolf Gwalter had been sent to Schaffhausen, Basel, and Mülhausen to fetch their endorsement. "They agreed," Bullinger recorded.[53]

After the banishment of Hofmeister and Meyer in 1525, the Schaffhausen clergy had proved weak and lacking in resolution when it came to theology and church politics. Under the triumvirate of Vogt, Linggi, and Grübel a certain stagnation set in. This situation was reversed with the appointment of Johann Conrad Ulmer (1519–1600).[54] A native of Schaffhausen, Ulmer was one

47 Erasmus Ritter to Heinrich Bullinger, mid-April 1536, HBBW 6: 225–6; see also 297–300.

48 Heinrich Bullinger to Oswald Myconius, 4 April 1536, HBBW 6: 209.

49 Simprecht Vogt to Heinrich Bullinger, 7 November 1536, HBBW 6: 463–5.

50 Simprecht Vogt to Theodor Bibliander, Leo Jud, Heinrich Bullinger, and Kaspar Megander, 10 September 1541, HBBW 11: 304–6.

51 *Cons Tig*, 35–6. In a letter of 9 September 1549 the Schaffhausen pastor Jakob Rüeger signaled his agreement and enthusiasm. He recorded that he thanked the most high God beyond all measure for the "mutuum consensum" and that he hoped that the ministers of other lands would also come to agree with them. ZZB, Ms. F 40, 231.

52 CO 36: 810.

53 HBD, 84; Büsser, *Bullinger*, 2: 165–6.

54 Endre Zsindely, "Johann Conrad Ulmer," in *Schaffhauser Biographien* Teil IV, (ed.) Historischen Verein des Kantons Schaffhausen (Thayngen: Augustin, 1981), 358–69; Roland.

of the few theologians who had studied with both Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg and Calvin in Strasbourg. After concluding his studies in 1542, this well-educated theologian became preacher at the court of Count Phillip III of Rieneck, in Franconia, and was active in Lohr am Main, the site of the count's residence, not far from Wurzburg. In 1566 Ulmer was called back to his hometown. Knowledgeable, energetic, and skilled, Ulmer was able to turn Reformation theory into practice, and he introduced into the Schaffhausen church pioneering innovations in preaching, catechism, liturgy, pastoral care, apologetics, and schooling. His preaching gained a reputation as demanding, lively, and exciting, and his sermons were adroitly delivered. In his biography of his father, Johann Conrad Ulmer the younger recorded that over the course of his thirty-year career in Schaffhausen, Ulmer preached through the whole of the New Testament; he tackled the four Gospels and the letter to the Galatians twice. At an advanced age, in the years 1589 to 1592, his son wrote, Ulmer had garnered a large audience for his preaching on all of Genesis.[55] Five sermons by Ulmer on the Reformed theology of the Lord's Supper were published in 1598 and served as his theological legacy.[56] These sermons provide a very useful window on his preaching style. Ulmer's concern was not simply to provide an explanation of the theoretical construct behind the Reformed doctrine of the Supper or to erect a polemical barrier against Roman Catholic and Lutheran doctrines; his primary goal was to strengthen the community, to provide pastoral care for its members. His discussion of the purpose, application, and fruits of the Lord's Supper is especially impressive. Ulmer spoke of consolation, of a refreshing and strengthening of faith through the Supper, and that participation at the Table should lead humankind to true brotherly and sisterly love, to faithfulness and unity.[57]

When Ulmer took up his appointment in Schaffhausen, catechizing was in a sorry state. He reorganized the teaching of the catechism and drew up a more simple but easily grasped version. A dispute over catechizing that erupted among the Schaffhausen pastors was resolved with the intervention

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E. Hofer, "Johann Conrad Ulmer (1519–1600). Der zweite Reformator von Schaffhausen," *Schaffhauser Mappe* 68 (2000), 25–6.

55 Johann Conrad Ulmer (Jun.): *Exegesis. Hoc est brevis atque simplex narratio de vita et obitu viri clarissimi, praestantissimique theologi, domini Joannis Conradi Ulmeri, Ecclesiae Scaphusianae pastoris fidelissimi, ejusdem Decani vigilantissimi,* Staatsarchiv Schaffhausen, Msc. Scaph. 47, fol. 10v–11r; on Ulmer's preaching method, ibid., fol. 11v.

56 *Fünff Predigten von den heiligen Sacramenten / Alts unnd News Testaments … gehalten durch Ioh. Conradum Ulmerum, Predigern zu Schaffhausen am Reyn* (Zurich: Wolff, 1598); Latin translation: *De sacramento Coenae Dominicae Homiliae V …* (Zurich: Wolff, 1601).

57 See the account of the six fruits of the Holy Supper, ibid., 24–33.

FIGURE 5.3 *Johann Conrad Ulmer, head of the Schaffhausen church from 1566 until his death in 1600*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM ZU ALLERHEILIGEN, SCHAFFHAUSEN

of Bullinger, as a new version of the catechism, combining the text by Leo Jud previously used, with the new text by Ulmer, proved acceptable.[58] Use of this catechism of 1569 became compulsory in the Schaffhausen church, and the text was reprinted several times until replaced by the Heidelberg Catechism in 1642.

Ulmer also created a Schaffhausen hymnal that included songs from both the Lutheran tradition and the Constance hymnal of 1540. When he was unable to find a song that he deemed suitable, he would write one himself, a process that produced a number of instructive catechetical songs that addressed, for example, the Ten Commandments, baptism, and the Lord's Supper. The songs adopted or composed by Ulmer made their first appearance as a supplement to the catechism of 1569. This volume included fourteen songs, five of which were by Ulmer. He arranged for the publication of self-contained and more substantial hymnals in 1579 and 1596.[59] At the end of the 16th century, when the Zurich church introduced singing in church, the Schaffhausen hymnal was one of the models that it consulted,[60] and the first Zurich hymnal, which was published in 1599, contained five songs by Ulmer. His communion hymn, "Now hear the Lord's testament, which he established at his end," continued to appear in later editions of the Schaffhausen and Zurich hymnals until it was retired in the 19th century, when the revival movement deemed it too didactic.

The new order of service for Schaffhausen published in 1592 was nominally the work of a liturgical commission but contained the clear imprint of Ulmer.[61]

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58 *Catechismus oder Kinderbricht / für die Kirchen in der Statt und Landtschafft Schaffhusen,* o.J. On the dispute over the catechism in Schaffhausen, see Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 353–7; Eduard Scherrer, "Der erste Schaffhauser Katechismus von Johann Konrad Ulmer und der Kampf um denselben (1567–1569)," *Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte* 16 (1939), 179–98.

59 *Psalmen Dauids. Und Geistliche gesäng / welche in den Kirchen unnd Schulen der Statt Schaffhusen gesungen werden*, MDXCVI (Zurich: Froschauer, 1579). This edition contains seven songs by Ulmer himself: two were based on Psalms 1 und 111, four addressed the Ten Commandments, baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the office of preacher, and one was a "children's song for preaching the catechism."

60 Hannes Reimann, *Die Einführung des Kirchengesangs in der Zürcher Kirche nach der Reformation* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), 79–80.

61 *Christliche Ordnung und breuch der Kirchen zu Schaffhausen in der Eydgnoßschaft / wie sie alda / und in der Landschafft geübt und gebraucht werdend* (Schaffhausen: Conrad Waldkirch, 1592). On the Waldkirch press that printed it, Erich Bryner, "Getruckt zu Schaffhausen durch Conrad Waldkirch 1592. Die ältesten kirchlichen Beziehungen zwischen Schaffhausen und Ungarn," in *Festschrift für István Tőkés zum 90. Geburtstag*, (ed.) Protestantisch-theologisches Institut in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár / Klausenburg: PTI–EREK–KRE, 2006), 477–85.

This volume, the first book to be published in Schaffhausen itself, contained instructions and regulations for the correct form of the preaching service, baptism, marriage, the Lord's Supper, and other official church events, as well as the biblical texts for each festival day throughout the year. The work detailed how each sermon was to be started and concluded. The structure of the worship service was streamlined and simple: first an intercession, then the Lord's Prayer, reading of scripture by the pastor, the sermon, communal confession of sin, and, as the concluding element, further prayer. Special days of prayer were to be held at times of plague, food shortage, inflation, war, and "other circumstances," and the work contained prayers composed specifically for these services. Singing framed services at both their beginning and end. This ordering of worship services had a particular function in determining the nature of the church, for it brought to an end the liturgical chaos that had prevailed in both town and countryside. An improved and expanded version by Ulmer was published four years later, in 1596.

Ulmer was a sensitive and conscientious pastor. He was able to convey the Reformed message that the godless are justified through the mercy of God with remarkable clarity. He composed a text for his fellow pastors that although short had a profound theological message; it was entitled *A Work of Consolation for Tested and Saddened Hearts, who are Made Fearful by the Burden of their Sins and the Heavy Thoughts of their Minds, is Briefly and Simply Presented from the Pure Word of God*.[62] The book, first published by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich in 1579, went through several editions. As part of his pastoral responsibilities, Ulmer also translated *De mortalitate* by the church father Cyprian. This short work sought to comfort those who were seriously ill and fearful of death by telling of Christian hope for resurrection; it also contained prayers composed by Ulmer for the sick and dying, which provide a useful window on Reformed spirituality of his time.[63]

Ulmer also published theological works in German that were intended for use in the parishes. Among these works was a collection of early Christian confessions of faith published in 1583 as *Symbola, or the Old Faith, that is, the*

62 *Ein Trostgeschrifft für angefochtne und betrübte hertzen / welche mit dem last jrer sünden / und mit schwären gedancken jres gewissens / geengstiget werdend // Uss reinem göttlichem wort / kurtz und einfeltig gestellet.*

63 *Ein Predig des alten Bischoffs Cyprian in sterbens läuffen gethan: In Latino sermone de mortalitate gennannt; diser zeyt gantz trostlich zu läsen* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1585). Cyprian's text *De mortalitate*, written in or after 252, was a work of consolation for Christians suffering the plague. Ulmer added his own prayers to his translation, "to be said in time of death."

Most Distinguished Confessions of the Faith, Brought from Latin into Good High German by Johann Conrad Ulmer.[64] Correct and elegant High German was important to Ulmer, who used the Luther translation of the Bible, rather than the Zurich translation favored by his predecessors, a practice continued for centuries in the Schaffhausen church. Additional publications included a German translation of Bullinger's work *On the Dignity of Sacred Scripture* (1571)[65] and an anti-Jesuit polemical work.[66] His work *Chorus Orthodoxus*, a comprehensive collection of texts that brought together witnesses from throughout the history of the church on the themes of incarnation and Lord's Supper, remained unfinished at his death.[67]

With justification, Ulmer is often termed Schaffhausen's second reformer. His contribution in the last three decades of the 16th century proved decisive in laying a firm and permanent foundation for the Reformed Church in both the city and rural territory of Schaffhausen. Ulmer preserved the theology and assertions of the leading reformers and their insights and experiences, but he also interpreted this material for his own time and applied it to the specific context in which he found himself. His activities, which were well founded theologically and clearly thought through, convinced many of his contemporaries.

5.5 Conclusion

The example of Schaffhausen, less than fifty kilometers from Zurich, tells us that even a very small geographical distance from one of the major centers of the Reformation was sufficient to allow reform to take its own course. Although events in Schaffhausen after 1522 appeared to run in parallel with those in Zurich, the decisions of the Schaffhausen town council differed from those of the political authorities in Zurich. After only a few years of activity, both Sebastian Hofmeister and Sebastian Meyer were expelled. In religious matters

64 *Symbola: Oder der alte Glaub: das ist/ die fürnemester Bekanntnussen des Glaubens … aus dem Latin in guot hochteutsch gebracht, durch Joannem Conradum Ulmerum* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1583).

65 *Gottsäliger und grundtlicher bericht / Von der hochheit / wirden / fürträffenlichen ansähen und vollkommenheit / heiliger göttlicher geschrifft / und jrem rechten gebrauch* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1572).

66 *New Jesuwitspiegel* (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1586).

67 *Chorus Orthodoxus Testium Fidei vere Catholicae de Incarnatione Verbi et Sancta Domini Coena iuxta serium annorum: inde ab Ioanne apostolo usque ad haec nostra tempora deductus … per Ioannem Conradum Ulmerum Ecclesiae Scaphusianae ministrum …* Manuscript in Stadtbibliothek Schaffhausen, Ulmeriana vol. 2, Codex 126.

the town council was essentially conservative. Only in 1529, after much hesitation and external pressure, did the magistrates decide in favor of the Reformation, and even then the new church order that they approved was far more of a political and legal construct than a theological statement. In these years, Schaffhausen lacked theological leadership; the pastors, and in particular those at the two main town churches, were estranged and remained largely in the background. In 1536 the council intervened in the feuding between Ritter and Burgauer: both men were retired and replaced. Looking abroad, the church in Schaffhausen worked closely with the other Reformed members of the Swiss Confederation, in particular with Zurich. The appointment of Johann Conrad Ulmer initiated a new phase of both ecclesiastical and theological activity in the city. There is good reason for Ulmer to be identified as the second reformer of Schaffhausen, where the church would be indebted to him for both its institutional stability and its own distinct theological character. The church in Schaffhausen followed an independent course designed by Ulmer and distinguished by its own order for worship services, its own theological texts, the early introduction of singing into worship, its own catechisms and hymnals, and the enduring use of the Luther Bible.

CHAPTER 6

The Reformation in St. Gallen and Appenzell

Erich Bryner

6.1 Introduction

After Zurich, St. Gallen was the second town in the Swiss Confederation to join the Reformation.[1] The monastery of St. Gallen had its roots in the hermitage established by Gallus, an Irish-Scottish monk, in 612 CE. In the 8th century the foundation became a Benedictine monastery that in the course of the 9th and 10th centuries would develop into an important cultural center for central Europe. A community of craftsmen and servants grew up around the monastery and in time formed a town. In 1080 that town was granted imperial free status.

By the middle of the 15th century there were two political institutions in St. Gallen: the abbey of St. Gallen, which had an extensive territory that included the *Fürstenland* (the lands between the localities of Wil and Rorschach) and Toggenburg (since 1468), and the town of St. Gallen, which had become politically independent. Both prince-abbey and city-republic became associated members (*zugewandte Orte*) of the Confederation, the former in 1451 and the latter in 1454. Their geography was highly unusual in that the monastery was completely surrounded by the city, and the city by the territory of the *Fürstenland*. At times the monastery and the city were on relatively good terms, but friction and disputes were not uncommon, a reality that played out in particular at the time of the Reformation.[2]

Since the early Middle Ages the town had been renowned for its linen production. In the 15th and 16th centuries, and even later, St. Gallen linens were exported to many parts of Europe, including northern Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and Poland. Among the established trade routes were those that led via Nuremberg, Leipzig, and Poznan to Warsaw, via Nuremberg and Silesia to Krakow, and via Vienna to Moravia and Hungary.[3] By 1500 St. Gallen, a town

1 HLS 10: 692–751.

2 See the maps in Hektor Ammann and Karl Schib, *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz*, 2nd ed. (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1958), 44.

3 Hans Conrad Peyer: "Les relations commerciales entre la Suisse et la Pologne aux XIV, XV et XVI siècles," in *Échanges entre la Pologne et la Suisse du XIV au XVI siècle. Choses—Hommes—Idées* (Geneva: Droz, 1964), 11–19, here at 11–2; Ernst Ehrenzeller, *Geschichte der Stadt St. Gallen* (St. Gallen: VGS Verlagsgemeinschaft, 1988), 113–24.

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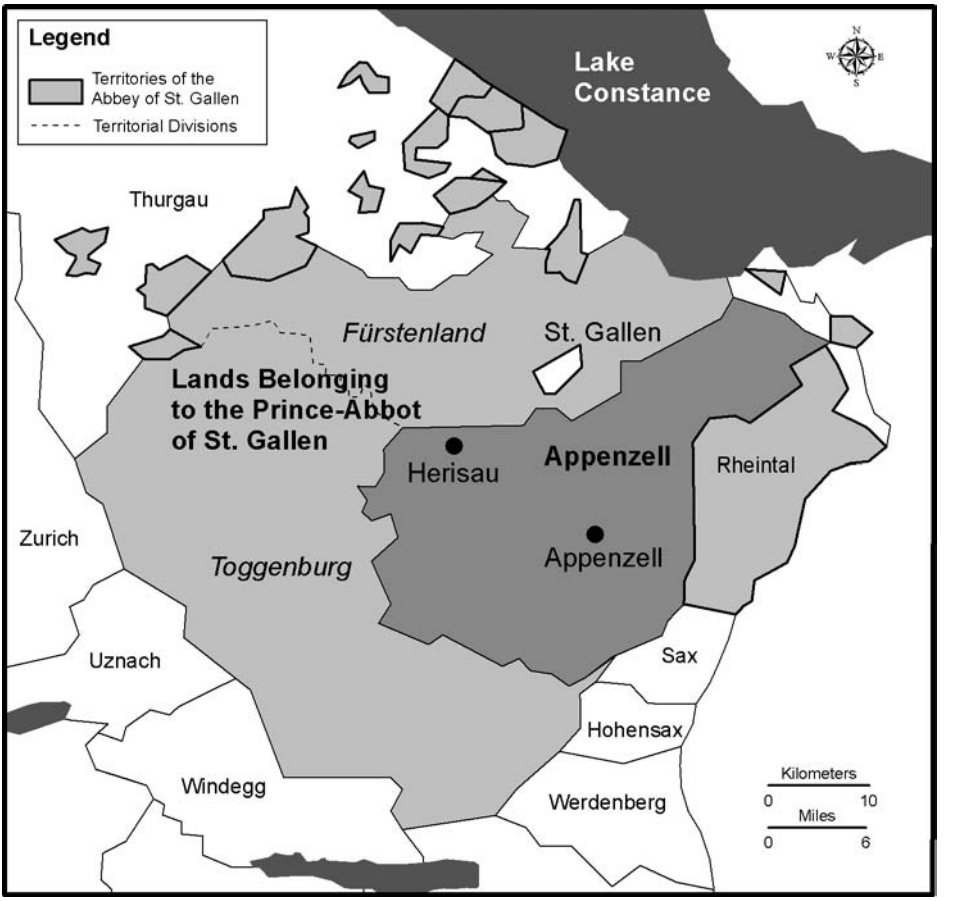

MAP 6.1 *Appenzell and the territories of the abbey of St. Gallen*

with some 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, was a well-known, prosperous city highly regarded for the unique quality of its products.

6.2 The Beginnings of the Reformation

One man above all is associated with the Reformation in St. Gallen, the humanist and physician Joachim von Watt, whose name is generally found in its Latinized version, Vadian (1484–1551). Vadian was descended from an old established merchant family in St. Gallen whose status and wealth were a product of their participation in the linen trade. On completing his studies at the University of Vienna, Vadian became a professor at the same institution and,

FIGURE 6.1 *Bird's-eye view of the city of St. Gallen, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae. *Note that the abbey of St. Gallen, on the left-hand side of the map, was a walled community within the city walls.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

in 1516/17, its rector. His interests were broad, and he devoted himself above all to history, geography, literature, and medicine. In 1514 Emperor Maximilian I crowned Vadian poet laureate. In 1519 Vadian returned to his hometown and took up office as town physician; within only two years he had been elected to the city council. Although he was not a theologian, he increasingly occupied himself with theological issues, and within a very short time acquired considerable knowledge of the field and was making his own contributions. As part of these studies he read the published works of Luther, and his personal support for the Reformation grew gradually. The first printed testimony of these newfound convictions is his work *A Short Explanation of the Creeds* of 1522. In this work he examined the creeds of the church, and in particular the Apostles' Creed, which he demonstrated to be to be fully in accord with scripture, which can be employed for both explanation and endorsement of the creed.[4] For Vadian the whole Christian truth was revealed and contained in scripture.[5]

4 Joachim Vadian, *Brevis indicatura symbolorum. Kurze Erklärung der Glaubensbekenntnisse 1522*, (ed.) Conradin Bonorand (St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, 1954).

5 Werner Näf, *Vadian und seine Stadt St. Gallen,* 2 vols. (St. Gallen: Fehr, 1944–57), 2: 142–50.

FIGURE 6.2 *Portrait of Joachim von Watt (Vadianus), from Theodore Beza,* Icones (*Geneva:* Jean *de* Laon*, 1580*). *Although a layman, Vadian was the most important figure in the Reformation of St. Gallen.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

On 10 January 1523 Vadian began to hold public lectures at which he explicated the Acts of the Apostles to a small circle of clergy and scholars. Reflecting his personal interests, his presentations included lengthy excurses on the history and geography of the ancient world and on the natural sciences. But his principal concern was a comprehension of the biblical text that came from moving "from the meaning of the words to a deeper understanding."[6] He drew in particular on Erasmus' *Annotations on the New Testament*, but his own studies in connection with the annotated edition of the classical geographer Pomponius Mela's *De cosmographia* of 43 CE also proved a useful source.

Although Vadian's explication of Acts remained within scholarly circles in 1523, ideas fundamental to the reformation had begun to make their appearance in the preaching of some of the clergy in St. Gallen who were sympathetic to the Reformation. Among these men were Wolfgang Wetter (d. 1536), Dominik Zili (1494–1571), and Benedikt Burgauer (1494–1576).[7] Wetter became a chaplain at the church of St. Mangen in 1507, then parish assistant at the church of St. Laurence in 1519, and was the author of a tract on the rites and institutions of the St. Gallen church (1527); after his death he would be praised for leading a life that accorded with his teachings.[8] Zili's reputation rests above all on his role in publishing the St. Gallen hymnbook of 1533, the very first hymnbook of the Swiss Reformation.[9] Burgauer was priest at the church of St. Laurence from 1515 to 1528. He wavered in his views, over the years adhering first to old beliefs and then supporting Lutheran positions, and as a result his place in the history of the Reformation in St. Gallen remains contested.[10]

For the population of St. Gallen, greater impact came from the public appearances of theologian Balthasar Hubmaier (1480/85–1528), who was active in Waldshut and preached in St. Gallen in April 1523, and soon afterward from the preaching of Christian Schappeler (1472–1551), who was a preacher in Memmingen at the time, but who came from St. Gallen and was a student of Zwingli. And very considerable influence was exerted by Johannes Kessler's

6 "A litterae sensu ad penitiorem intelligentiam," Näf, *Vadian* 2: 153.

7 Marianne and Frank Jehle, *Kleine St. Galler Reformationsgeschichte,* third ed. (Zurich: TVZ, 2006), 52.

8 Hans Martin Stückelberger, *Die evangelische Pfarrerschaft des Kantons St. Gallen* (St. Gallen: Tschudy Verlag, 1971), 26.

9 Frank Jehle, (ed.), *Dominik Zili: Zu Lob und Dank Gottes. Das St. Galler Kirchengesangbuch von 1533* (Zürich: TVZ, 2010).

10 On the conflicts between Burgauer and the large council in St. Gallen in 1524, which saw Burgauer ordered to stop his activities for some time, see Näf, *Vadian* 2: 209–220; Stückelberger, *Pfarrerschaft,* 26.

popular presentations on scripture (*Lesinen*), which Kessler launched on 3 January 1524 with his interpretation of the epistle of 1 John and continued with his exegesis of the epistle to the Romans. Kessler had first been a student in Basel and then continued his studies in Wittenberg with Luther and Melanchthon. In his Reformation chronicle, entitled *Sabbata*, he recorded that while travelling with a fellow student to Wittenberg, he had encountered Martin Luther in Jena in his disguise as "Ritter Jörg."[11]

On his return to St. Gallen, Kessler could not become an evangelical pastor as there was as yet no evangelical church in the town. He turned instead to learning a trade, completing an apprenticeship and then working as a leatherworker. His *Lesinen*, the Bible studies mentioned above, were carried out incidentally, but at the request of a number of leading citizens of St. Gallen.[12] Kessler was a master at engaging the common people, using a language that was both easily comprehended and profound. In 1537 he became a teacher of language at the Latin school and a preacher, and in 1542 he was appointed preacher at the church of St. Laurence. After Vadian's death he became head of the library Vadian had built up. In 1571 he became the first parish minister of St. Gallen and was elected head of the synod; he died three years later.[13] His principal publication was a work we have already encountered, his *Sabbata*, which was a history of the Reformation in St. Gallen from 1519 to 1539.[14]

In the years after 1523 Zwingli's Reformation spread into eastern Switzerland, drawing in Vadian. Vadian and Zwingli had been in contact by letter since 1511, and with the First Disputation in Zurich the content of their correspondence came to be dominated by theological and ecclesiastical issues. Vadian knew Zwingli's *Sixty-Seven Articles* and received Zwingli's early and key reformation text *Interpretation and Explanation of the Articles* (*Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden*) from Zurich as soon as it appeared. Vadian was one of the three scholars—the others were Sebastian Hofmeister from Schaffhausen and Christoph Schappeler from St. Gallen—who presided at the Second Zurich Disputation, which took place from 26 to 28 October 1523. Vadian

11 *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata mit kleineren Schriften und Briefen*, (eds.) Emil Egli and Rudolf Schoch (St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), 76–80 ; Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 55–8.

12 Näf, *Vadian* 2: 185.

13 Kessler recorded his chronicle in the evenings and on holidays and read it aloud within family circles, which explains the title *Sabbat*, or day of rest. Kessler, *Sabbata*, 13; Martin H. Jung, *Kessler, Johannes,* in: RGG^4 4: 940.

14 For the records of the Second Zurich Disputation, 26 to 28 October 1523, edited by Ludwig Hätzer and published on 8 December 1523, see Z 2: 664–803, with Vadian's final remarks on 800–1; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 187–8.

limited himself to chairing the formal discussion in line with the requirement that stated that the discussion was to be grounded in scripture. In his closing remarks Vadrian commented that Holy Scripture, the Word of God, remained strong and invincible, as scripture itself stated. He urged the council in Zurich to ensure that the Word of God, his own judge forever, was read and preached, and that abuses within its jurisdiction be halted and eliminated. In a letter of 11 November 1523 Zwingli expressly thanked Vadian for his excellent work at the disputation.[15]

In 1524 the council of St. Gallen made a decisive decision in favor of the Reformation. In a resolution of 5 April it decreed that in the church of St. Laurence the gospel was to be proclaimed "clearly, lucidly, and in accordance with true Christian understanding, without any human additions unsubstantiated by scripture."[16] The resolution made no mention of established authorities, teachings, and traditions, or of the pope or the bishop of Constance. Evangelical preaching was now legitimized. The council appointed a four-person commission, to which Vadian belonged, which was to be responsible for overseeing that all preaching was indeed purely scriptural.

Additionally, the council prohibited citizens from calling each other heretics or using violence against each another. Kessler was allowed to continue his *Lesinen*, which had initially been held in a private home near the church of St Laurence but on account of high attendance were soon relocated to the hall of the tailors' guild, and then to the even larger hall of the weavers' guild. Although these *Lesinen* were very popular in St Gallen, they were viewed with some skepticism in the rest of the Confederation, and on 3 September the Confederal Diet (*Tagsatzung*) held in Baden instructed the town of St. Gallen to halt the gatherings. As rumors flew, Kessler's name and profession were switched: he was called a *kesserflicker*, tinker, who was not sufficiently worthy to interpret the Bible publicly. On 16 October, the council ordered Kessler to halt his expositions of the Bible but commissioned other theologians to give additional weekly sermons. And on 14 November Kessler received permission to continue the *Lesinen*, which from February 1525 took place in the church of St Laurence.

6.3 Tensions and Disputes

In 1524 the Council proved politically astute, with an approach that was decisive but also careful. The authorities were under pressure from the more

15 Z 8: 129–31.

16 Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 60, Ehrenzeller, *Geschichte,* 143–53.

impatient among the population of St. Gallen, who demanded that Kessler's Bible studies should have greater practical results. Radical forms of reformation found a willing audience and soon also picked up dogged followers as the impact of Zurich Anabaptism was felt in St. Gallen.[17] The first citizen of St. Gallen to take a stand against infant baptism and to promote adult baptism was Laurenz Hochrütiner, a radical follower of Zwingli who had been arrested by the Zurich council for his impetuous behavior in removing images and who was then expelled from the city.[18] Of greatest influence in St. Gallen was, however, Konrad Grebel. Grebel addressed Kessler's *Lesinen* audience in a closely argued and polemical letter on the issue of baptism as he sought to enlist support for his ideas. Also influential was Wolfgang Ulimann (Uolimann), formerly a monk in Chur, who had been born in St. Gallen. Ulimann had himself undergone adult baptism in the Rhine at Schaffhausen and subsequently travelled to St. Gallen to convert others to the idea of adult baptism. And then Grebel, too, appeared in person, his presence complicated by his relationship to Vadian through marriage.

In the first months of 1525 something of a mass hysteria buoyed the Anabaptist movement. Initially Anabaptists had impressed through their thoughtful piety, their simple lifestyle, and their commitment to a peaceful way of life. Now, however, they became associated with turmoil and tumult, and also with a failure to obey the authorities. Grebel paid a visit to St. Gallen in spring 1525, and on Palm Sunday he assembled his followers and performed a mass baptism in the River Sitter. Kessler recorded in his *Sabbata* that the population of the town and surrounding area was now "split into Papists, Christians and Anabaptists;" by "Christians" he meant the moderate followers of the Reformation.[19] The authorities sprang into action. They demanded that non-local Anabaptist leaders leave town and used both theological and political arguments in talks and negotiations with the Anabaptists. Rebaptism was forbidden under threat of penalties, imprisonment, and banishment, although the authorities expressly forbore the use of violence or torture or the imposition of the death penalty.

Vadian received support from Zurich, with Zwingli dedicating his text *On Baptism, on Rebaptism and on Infant Baptism* to the mayor, councillors, and community of the town of St Gallen.[20] Yet despite everything, the turmoil surrounding the Anabaptists increased, reaching a dramatic climax in the winter

17 Näf, *Vadian* 2: 220; see Chapter 10 below.

18 Z 2: 802, n. 9; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 188.

19 Kessler, *Sabbata*, 148; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 230.

20 *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindstaufe,* Z 4: 56, 188–337; Engl.: Z&B, 129–75; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 231.

of 1525/26. The resulting excesses were many and varied, and included fanatical ideas of God's kingdom and the rejection of labor, possessions, and the social and hierarchical order. Some took literally Jesus' words, "If you do not repent and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 18:3) and began to behave, dress, and play like children. Sexual excesses also were recorded. But over the years that followed, the movement lost its vitality and attractiveness. After 1530 very little is heard of Anabaptists in St. Gallen, with their leaders having died (as in the case of Konrad Grebel) or been killed elsewhere (as in the case of Wolfgang Ulimann, who, together with a number of like-minded comrades was murdered as he travelled to tolerant Moravia).

6.4 The Consolidation of the Reformation

In 1525 St. Gallen had been preoccupied with the struggle against the Anabaptists, and the reformation of the church, worship, and the social order seemed to stagnate for a time. In May 1525 the celebration of mass had ceased, but although there was experimentation with new forms of worship, no new ordinances for that worship had yet been issued. The election of Vadian as mayor on 28 December 1525 proved to be a decisive step towards internal consolidation. Vadian's knowledge, erudition, and sagacity were especially needed in these uncertain and dangerous times, recorded Kessler in the *Sabbata*.[21] In the following years Vadian was consistently one of the three heads of state and he gave decisive shape to political and ecclesiastical developments in the city-state.

Shortly before Vadian's election, the clergy of St. Gallen had been required to swear the citizens' oath together with the citizens of the town. Some immediately declared their readiness, others demanded time for reflection and then took the oath, and two refused to comply. The administration of that oath on 26 December brought to an end the jurisdiction of the bishop and the abbot of the monastery. With the secular authorities of the city-state now responsible for the oversight of the clergy, a very significant step had been taken towards the creation of the future territorial church.

During 1526 ecclesiastical life was regulated by a number of ordinances. A considerable stir was caused when the authorities initiated and organized the removal of images from the church of St Laurence. The disappearance of smaller and less conspicuous images and statues (the so-called *göttli*) had already been organized by representatives of the city authorities over the course

21 Kessler, *Sabbata*, 208.

of the year, and then, on 5 December, the council ordered the removal of the large images and altars as well. Although this step met with opposition, above all from the original benefactors, the clearing of the church was carried out as planned, with an iconoclastic fury to be avoided at all costs. Verses from the Bible were painted on the now-bare walls.[22] Further resolutions of the council in December 1526 established a new ecclesiastical calendar, although it still contained a number of saints' days and days dedicated to the Virgin Mary. A new marriage ordinance was also urgently required. Having rejected the authority of the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of Constance, the city found itself in a judicial vacuum, and on 19 December five officers for a morals tribunal were therefore appointed to deal with the many disputes "that occur daily in marital matters."[23]

In the first six months of 1527 the St. Gallen council issued a run of systematic ordinances that consolidated the Reformation by regulating the life of the church, by giving proper form to worship, moral behavior, and the religious education of the young, and by establishing a secure place for the church in the political and social spheres. In the spring an evangelical order for the Lord's Supper was created and declared binding. In the process theological divisions came to the fore. The parish priest (*Leutpriester*) Benedikt Burgauer, whose theological indecision and lack of consistency had attracted attention over recent years—he had been temporarily suspended by the council—had great difficulty abandoning the traditional Eucharist and came to advocate an interpretation of the Lord's Supper that had a strong Lutheran flavor, with the words of institution, "This is my body," understood literally. Eventually, after Vadian intervened, the new order for the Lord's Supper was issued[24] and on Easter Sunday, 21 April, in the church of St Laurence and with the mayor and councillors present, the first evangelical Lord's Supper was celebrated in St. Gallen.

In summer 1527 the council issued three more mandates to secure and extend what had already been achieved. The first concerned the keeping of baptism and marriage registers. Although the turmoil associated with Anabaptism seemed to have been largely brought to an end, it was feared that disorder might flare up again. Consequently, it was now decreed that after a child was baptized, the child's name, date of birth, and date of baptism, as well as

22 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 231–233; on the clearing of the church of St. Mangen in 1528, Kessler, *Sabbata,* 281–2.

23 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 225.

24 "Actio oder bruch des Herrn abendmals, wie es hie zu Sant Gallen fürhin solle gehalten," Kessler, *Sabbata,* 244; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 239–40; Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 81–2.

information concerning the parents and godparents, were to be recorded, so that this data for the city's population was always available to the authorities. A similar procedure was introduced for marriages. The baptismal register begun in 1527 has been preserved and is now kept in the archives of St. Gallen.[25] The second council mandate, which came into force on 7 August 1527, obliged parents to have their children instructed in the faith and regulated teaching and church services for the young. A catechism was drawn up.[26] Singing was to be part of the religious education of children, a requirement realized for the first time on 8 September 1527 with the song, "Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee" (*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*).[27] The third mandate, which concerned the laws governing marriage, extended the mandate of 15 December 1526 that had regulated appointments to the morals tribunal, and established what would happen in instances that involved, for example, adultery, cohabitation, or fornication.[28]

6.5 The Reformation in St. Gallen and the Confederation

The establishment of a new faith and a new church organization independent of Rome was a cause of much concern within the Swiss Confederation and increasingly triggered great unrest. The adherents of the old faith wanted to address the problems that had erupted in a disputation and to re-establish the unity of the church in the Confederation. To that end, the members of the Confederation were invited to Baden. As is well known, the Zurich council was not willing to allow Zwingli to take the risk of going to Baden; for similar reasons Vadian, too, did not attend the disputation. As an associated member of the Confederation, St. Gallen first sent two delegates to Baden and later assigned four preachers, including Burgauer, Wetter, and Zili, to accompany them. The preachers were expressly instructed not to vote for any resolutions that were not in accord with the Word of God as attested in scripture. The disputation ended with the condemnation of those places that had adopted the new faith, and Zurich, Basel, Bern, and Schaffhausen refused to put their names to this

25 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 248; Näf, *Vadian* 2: 240 and n. 263.

26 *Ein Christliche unterwisung der Jugend im glouben, gegründt in der heiligen geschrifft, fragens wyss* ([Zurich]: [s.n.],1528); Näf, *Vadian* 2: 240–1; for a copy of the title page see Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 83. The biblical texts on the title page were Luke 18:16 and Eph. 6:4.

27 Martin Luther's setting of Ps. 130.

28 Näf, *Vadian* 2: 241.

statement.[29] These four members of the Confederation as well as associated St. Gallen subsequently came under very considerable political pressure, for in the Confederation they were understood as both theologically and legally in the wrong.[30]

At the disputation of Bern, held from 6 to 26 January 1528, St. Gallen was represented by a delegation that included Vadian, Zili, Schappeler, and Burgauer. Vadian, who was highly respected, was one of the presiding officers: he gave an introductory talk and a short closing speech and intervened only on a few occasions, when the disputation deviated from the given topic.[31] Burgauer vehemently advocated for his Lutheran-influenced understanding of the Lord's Supper, but his arguments were decisively rejected by Zwingli, and the quarrelsome Burgauer was forced to back down, though he remained unconvinced.[32] Zwingli held his ground throughout the disputation. The evangelical camp was considerably strengthened by the very successful disputation in Bern, by the official acceptance of the Reformation in Bern (Reformation mandate of 7 February 1528), Basel (Reformation mandate of 1 April 1529), and Schaffhausen (Reformation resolution of 29 September 1529), and by the rapprochement of south German towns with the reformed members of the Confederation.[33] St. Gallen profited too. On 8 November 1528 it joined the *Christliches Burgrecht*, an association of reformed towns to which Zurich, Constance, and Bern also belonged.[34]

There were internal repercussions for St. Gallen. The large council, headed by Vadian, now decided to extend the Reformation to the abbey. Over the course of the previous years a good number of monks had left the monastery, and in 1527 Abbot Franz Gaisberg and some of the remaining monks had sought refuge first in Wil and then in Rorschach, larger localities in the *Fürstenland*. On 23 February 1529 the council resolved that the mass was no longer to be said in the abbey church and that the "idols" would be removed. Although Vadian set great store by an orderly process, the mood among the population was such that scarcely had he issued his instructions when an iconoclastic storm broke out. Kessler reported in his *Sabbata*, "they ripped the images from the altars,

29 See the proceedings of the disputation in *Baden Disp*.

30 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 276. Burgauer left St. Gallen in March 1528 and became a pastor at the town church of St. Johann in Schaffhausen: for weak sheep an even weaker shepherd, according to those he left behind in St. Gallen, see Näf, *Vadian* 2: 278.

31 Näf, *Vadian* 2: 255–6.

32 Oskar Farner, *Huldrych Zwingli,* 4 vols. (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag 1943–60), 4: 280–282.

33 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 454–99.

34 The other members to join the *Christlichen Burgrecht* in 1529 were Basel, Schaffhausen, Biel, and Mülhausen. The equivalent for the old faith was the *Christliche Vereinigung*, whose members were the Five Inner Confederates and Austria; see Chapter 2 above.

walls and pillars. The altars were smashed to pieces, the 'idols' hacked to bits with axes and shattered with hammers. You would have thought a battle was taking place. What a tumult … An hour later nothing remained whole and undamaged in its place. Much ornate and fine art and workmanship had been turned into firewood."[35]

On 8 June 1529, Zurich declared war on the Five Inner Confederates and the First Kappel War broke out. In accordance with its obligations as a member of the *Christliches Burgrecht*, St. Gallen sent 200 men. Skillful negotiations meant that the First Peace of Kappel was agreed upon without any blood having been shed. St. Gallen profited from the agreement that within the mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*) each community would decide for itself whether to accept or reject the new faith. And in addition a synod for eastern Switzerland was instituted. Altogether the position of the Reformation in St. Gallen was further consolidated.

The Second Kappel War broke out when Zurich declared war on the members of the Confederation loyal to the old faith on 9 October 1531. St. Gallen again had to provide 200 men and did so somewhat unwillingly. On 11 October this auxiliary contingent left St. Gallen, and it arrived late, not reaching Kappel until 13 October. Two days earlier Zurich had suffered a crushing defeat. All that remained for the captain of the St. Gallen contingent, Christian Fridbolt, was to write to Vadian that everything had gone very badly, Zurich had suffered great losses, and Zwingli, together with other leading figures in the evangelical party, had met his death. A further military confrontation followed, the battle of Gubel, which likewise ended with the defeat of Zurich and its allies.

The Second Peace of Kappel brought bitter losses for those who had adopted the new faith. Certainly, the towns of the *Christliches Burgrecht*, hence also St. Gallen, were allowed to abide by their adoption of the new faith, but their position in the Confederation had been considerably weakened. For reformed St. Gallen the new situation meant, *inter alia*, that the monastery and abbey church had to be returned to the abbot (Diethelm Blarer since 1530) and compensation paid. The abbot and monks returned on 1 March 1532, the mass was reintroduced, the Bible verses were removed from the walls, new altars and images were erected and displayed, and the wall between the monastery and the town was rebuilt. Now town and abbey were again two distinct political and religious powers that had to exist side by side in a peculiar dialectic of tension and co-operation.

35 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 311, Ehrenzeller, *Geschichte,* 169–72.

6.6 The Reformation in Rural St. Gallen

6.6.1 *Toggenburg*

In 1436, after the last count of Toggenburg had died without issue, the rural community of Toggenburg decided, given the uncertain political situation, to affiliate with Schwyz and Glarus, members of the Swiss Confederation.[36] As a result of a complicated inheritance, Toggenburg came into the possession of the lords of Raron and was purchased by the prince-abbot of St. Gallen in 1468. While the latter ruled over the region like a monarch, the ties to Schwyz and Glarus were maintained. In Upper Toggenburg in the foothills of the Alps (the area of the Thur valley from Wildhaus, Zwingli's home town, to Lichtensteig) the people lived in fairly small villages and settlements and were for the most part dairy farmers and cattle breeders. Lower Toggenburg (the area from Lichtensteig to the area south of Wil) had extensive arable land and fertile soil, and the people lived from arable farming.[37] Since the abbots of St. Gallen treated the newly gained territory considerately and appointed capable bailiffs (*Landvögte*), the social and economic situation in the late Middle Ages was, on the whole, stable and peaceful.[38] The social demands of the unfree peasantry focused above all on the abolition of various forms of taxation and on the tithe.

From 1523/24 these demands became combined with a great animosity towards the Catholic Church and with the reformatory preaching of several clergymen, beginning in the parishes of Hemberg, Kirchberg, Wattwil, Stein, and Wildhaus. A strongly worded letter from Johannes Döring, since December 1522 priest in Hemberg, was typical of the rebellious mood. In this letter to the financial officials of the bishop of Constance he described the latter as a "hellish wolf" and refused him further obedience.[39] In summer 1524 Zwingli intervened personally. Throughout his life he felt close ties with his hometown, and stated that it was his dearest wish to teach the gospel of Christ there. Zwingli wrote a lengthy letter, dated 18 July 1524, to the people of Toggenburg, in which he admonished them to treat the Word of God with care, to preach scripture without any additions, to act in accordance with the Word of God, to trust in

36 On the political upheavals in the Confederation following the death of the last count of Toggenburg (the so-called Old Zurich War), see Hanno Helbling, et al., *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte,* 2 vols. (Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972–7), 1: 293–305.

37 See the map in Ammann and Schib, *Historischer Atlas der Schweiz,* 44.

38 Gottfried Egli, *Die Reformation im Toggenburg* (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 1955), 82–3; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 405–408; Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 120–23.

39 "You won't have the old Döring any longer. I won't spare your offensive behavior. May God's Spirit instruct you in what is better;" Egli, *Reformation,* 92.

the protection of the Almighty, and when in doubt to listen to God rather than to men (Acts 5:29).[40] Also in July 1524 the council of Toggenburg resolved to require the clergy to abide solely by scripture, without any intermingling of human additions.[41] Subsequently the mass was abolished in various parishes and replaced with a reformed worship service, the election of the clergy by the parish was introduced, and numerous peasants refused to pay dues to the abbey of St. Gallen. Highly accessible sermons and pamphlets had an immediate effect on the population.

With the strengthening of the reformatory camp in the wake of the Bern Disputation of 1528, the situation in Toggenburg continued to develop. Lichtensteig, the principal locality, was reformed by an extraordinary communal meeting on 23 August.[42] The Benedictine monastery of St. Johann was stormed.[43] On 13 February 1529 the Toggenburg synod met for the first time and agreed to a new church order that required all preachers in the county of Toggenburg to teach, preach, and proclaim the Word of God alone. The Lord's Supper was to be celebrated in accordance with the New Testament model, and preachers were to baptize children according to the instructions found in scripture and in German. The last point was of particular importance, since Anabaptism had numerous followers in Toggenburg; although Anabaptists were largely a silent presence, some were executed. Further regulations concerned weddings, the election of clergy, and visits to the sick.[44] In addition, the people of Toggenburg established their own morals court, for it was deemed no longer either possible or desirable to accept the jurisdiction of the bishop of Constance.[45]

By spring 1529 at the latest, all communities in Toggenburg had accepted the Reformation and had abolished Catholic practices.[46] But the people of Toggenburg did not rest there, for they strove for and gained complete political

40 Huldrych Zwingli to the Toggenburger, 18 July 1524, Z 8: 206–12. Earlier Zwingli had dedicated his sermon on the feast day of the Virgin Mary 1522 to his blood brothers Heini, Klaus, Hans, Wolfgang, and Bartholomäus, who were peasants in Toggenburg; Campi, *Maria*, 101–9.

41 Although this requirement for purely scriptural foundations was introduced in summer 1524, we do not know if it preceded or was a result of Zwingli's letter, see Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 406, n. 335.

42 Egli, *Reformation*, 115–118. Heinrich Steiger reported to Huldrych Zwingli on 27 August 1528 on events, including the iconoclasm. Z 9: 534–36, no. 753.

43 Kessler, *Sabbata*, 289; Egli, *Reformation*, 118–22.

44 Ibid., 101–105. See Zwingli's dedication of his work on the sermon to the Toggenburgers, Z 4: 382–89.

45 Egli, *Reformation,* 122–28.

46 Egli, *Reformation,* 148.

independence for their region. At a large Toggenburg assembly held at Wattwil in June 1530, the Toggenburgers feely elected their own authorities. A chief magistrate (*Landammann*) was appointed, various high offices were filled, and a thirty-six member council was elected. Thus the territorial assembly had granted itself legislative, executive, and judicial powers and had separated de facto from the abbot of St. Gallen. The newly elected authorities entered into negotiations with the Confederate areas of Zurich and Glarus and succeeded in releasing their territory from the abbey. Toggenburg increasingly developed into a free state, though it still faced significant opposition from members of the Confederation and also from some members of its own population.[47] In the end the politics of the Confederation hindered further progress. When Zurich imposed an embargo on supplies to the Five Inner Confederates, a step that led to the Second Kappel War, Toggenburg played its part, sending a 600-man contingent of troops. In the Battle of Gubel, which followed the defeat at Kappel, Toggenburg lost seventy-three men. Subsequently Toggenburg agreed to the cessation of hostilities, but it was excluded from the peace negotiations. In a separate peace with Schwyz and Glarus, Toggenburg was granted religious freedom for both confessions, though with restrictions: while the reformed could at any point become Catholic, the reverse was not guaranteed by the treaty. Although the redemption from the abbey of St. Gallen was temporarily recognized,[48] subsequently the abbot was reinstated in his former rights and an official, the *Schirmhauptmann*, appointed by the abbey.[49] All Toggenburg's efforts at independence had come to a sudden end. The Counter-Reformation was only partially successful. Upper Toggenburg remained for the most part reformed, while Lower Toggenburg became for the most part Catholic. Compromise was common in many locations. In some parishes the churches were used by both confessions, with such so-called *Simultankirchen* found in Wattwil, Hemberg, Kappel, Krummenau, Wildhaus, and a number of additional locations.

6.6.2 *The Fürstenland*

This region, also known as the *Alte Landschaft*, belonged to the abbot of St. Gallen and through the treaties of 1479 also had ties to Zurich, Glarus, Lucerne, and Schwyz, all members of the Swiss Confederation. Every two years one of these Confederates appointed a *Schirmhauptmann*, who resided in Wil. For the most part the population was unfree, lived from agriculture, and was

47 Egli, *Reformation,* 150–58.

48 Egli, *Reformation,* 170.

49 Egli, *Reformation,* 171–73.

required to make substantial payments and perform significant labor for their feudal overlords. As also in many other parts of Europe, the social situation in the *Fürstenland* led to significant unrest among the peasantry in the second half of the 15th century. The monastery of Rorschach, for example, was destroyed in response to the punishing burdens it placed on its subjects. Conflict centered above all on the small tithe, which required payments in vegetables, fruit, butter, and honey to be made to the abbot, on the death dues that required that on the death of a member of a family, that family surrender the best part of its possessions (clothing, animals), and on the ban on hunting.[50] As early as 1523 the abbot complained about the inroads of the new faith and about "Lutheran activities" and that enraged peasants were employing arguments supposedly based on scripture to demand the abolition of the tithe.[51]

Supported by certain officials, a number of influential clergymen preached the gospel with a distinct social bent. And the impact of the Reformation in St. Gallen and Zurich and of Zwingli himself was also felt. The Reformation was promoted by the Zurich *Schirmhauptmann*, Jakob Frei, a highly committed follower of Zwingli who resided from 1528 to 1530 in Wil, where the abbot also often held court. Glarus did nothing to impede what was happening; although Lucerne and Schwyz were against any innovations, initially their opposition had no real practical impact. Images were removed and iconoclasm took place, as for example, in Rorschach. After long communal discussions in Bischofszell, in February 1529 the mass was abolished, images were removed and, as recorded by Kessler, through sheer persistence the community obtained from the bishop "a preacher whom they desired to have," and so was "reformed and improved."[52] In the course of 1529 the large majority of the parishes in the *Fürstenland* went over to the Reformation.[53] While the abbot of St. Gallen fought for the restitution of the old faith, Zurich, as protector (*Schirmort*), forbade his subjects to pay homage to their former lord and finally intervened with a contingent of troops. In 1530 the rural community in Wil granted itself its own constitution, headed by a *Schirmherr* appointed by the Confederation and with a twelve-man council. Feudal ties were abolished, the community was granted the right to elect its own preacher, and tithing was retained. The new constitution did not remain in force for very long, however, for it was repealed immediately after the Second Peace of Kappel of 1531. The *Fürstenland* was again placed under the authority of the abbot of St. Gallen and was soon

50 Egli, *Reformation,* 82–3; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 401–5.

51 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 196.

52 Kessler, *Sabbata,* 305.

53 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 403; Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 122.

brought back into the Catholic fold. Many of those who wished to remain reformed left the *Fürstenland*.

6.6.3 *The Rheintal*

The abbey of St. Gallen had extensive territory in the Rheintal, the valley through which the Rhine flows north from the Alps into Lake Constance. Additionally, since 1500 the Rheintal had been a mandated territory of eight members of the Confederation, and it was of great military significance, above all for Zurich but also for central Switzerland. With an often somewhat ruthless bailiff (*Landvogt*), feudal ties and dues were heavy burdens for the population. The pressure exerted by the abbot in the Rheintal was considerably greater than, for instance, in Toggenburg. Consequently, in the mid-1520s it was the social-revolutionary aspects of the reform movement that found greatest favor, and as Locher noted, the Reformation in Rheintal was more directly associated with economic problems than in scarcely any other locality.[54] The rejection of the tithe dominated, with other complaints about the church remaining largely secondary.

In 1528 the Reformation was introduced in a number of communities, including Altstätten and Balgach.[55] The uncompromising sermons preached by Valentin Furtmüller (1497/98–1566), parish priest of Altstätten, who had been sent from Zurich to Altstätten where he was active from 1528 to 1532, were very well received. Hans Vogler (1498–1567), the *Ammann* of Altstätten, a local official, was also an energetic proponent of the Reformation. On 21 December 1528 the evangelically minded in the Rheintal introduced a Reformation mandate that stated that all preaching should be based on scripture alone without human additions, introduced the right of the community to elect its priest, and abolished certain feudal obligations, such as those that followed a death.[56] The Rheintal did not gain any political independence, for it was placed under Zurich, whose authority was imposed with military force. After the First Peace of Kappel, the reformed population of the Rheintal joined the synod of St. Gallen, and there were even thoughts of calling Karlstadt, the radical and controversial theologian, to the Rheintal. But matters did not go that far. After the Second Peace of Kappel, the overlordship of the monastery of St. Gallen was reinstated and attempts were made to undo the Reformation. That process

54 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 398.

55 Theodor Frey, *Das Rheintal zur Zeit der Glaubensspaltung* (Altstätten: Rheintalische Volkszeitung, 1946); Ursula Kägi, *Die Aufnahme der Reformation in den ostschweizerischen Untertanengebieten* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1972); Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 397–401.

56 Hans Vogler to Huldrych Zwingli, Z 10: 32–4.

was only partially successful, with more than half of the population remaining reformed, while just less than half became Catholic again. In the following decades means of coexistence had to be found. In several communities, including Altstätten, Marbach, Balgach and St. Margrethen, the churches, as in Toggenburg, were allotted on an equal basis to both confessions, a situation that continued in some localities even into the 20th century.[57]

6.7 The Reformed Church in St. Gallen after the Second Peace of Kappel

The defeats at Kappel and Gubel in 1531 and the Second Peace of Kappel were bitter setbacks for the reformed camp in the Swiss Confederation, and also for St. Gallen. The monastery had to be returned to the abbot and, as we have seen, in the rural areas the effects of the Reformation were largely undone. Criticism of Zurich was rife, as it was felt that St. Gallen had been betrayed by what was understood as the rash and high-handed actions of that city. Towards the end of 1532, however, Vadian made contact with Heinrich Bullinger by letter and proposed that they join forces. Vadian had known Bullinger since a memorable meeting in the monastery school in Kappel in 1524.[58] Their close co-operation and friendship, despite an age difference of twenty years, lasted until Vadian's death. It was built on their fundamental agreement on reformatory theology and the ecclesiastical policy of the Confederation and on scholarly and historic issues; the two men were also very similar in character. On 20 November 1532 Vadian wrote to Bullinger, "With a steadfast disposition and with the love with which, in accordance with the responsibility that we understand we bear to the truth, we must endeavour to further as much as possible in unity and with yearning the faith that we accept, acknowledge, and comprehend." In so doing, he hoped, they would win over the people of Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen to cooperation in their common cause.[59] The close friendship between

57 A survey of the results of the Second Peace of Kappel for the various parts of what is today the canton of St. Gallen can be found in Jehle, *Reformationsgeschichte,* 126–31, with a helpful sketch map on 109.

58 HBD, 9.

59 HBBW 2: 262–3; Ernst Gerhard Rüsch, (ed.) *Vadian. Ausgewählte Briefe* (St. Gallen: V.G.S., 1983)*,* 41–2. On the correspondence between Vadian and Bullinger, see Traugott Schiess, "Bullingers Briefwechsel mit Vadian," *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* 31 (1906), 25–68; Büsser, *Bullinger* 2: 94–103.

Vadian and Bullinger was of very great importance for the continuation of the Reformation in St. Gallen. The esteem in which Bullinger was held in St. Gallen can also be read from Kessler's *Sabbata*.[60]

The unity of the Reformation both within the Confederation and beyond the Swiss lands was a frequent topic in Vadian and Bullinger's correspondence. They were especially concerned about the highly contentious issues surrounding the Lord's Supper. Vadian's 250-page *Aphorisms on the Eucharist* was published in 1536, and proved to be a skilled and sensitive theological work.[61] Bullinger was enthusiastic, commenting that up to then he had read nothing about the doctrine of the sacrament that had pleased him better.[62] Shortly afterwards Vadian expanded on his position in a long letter, in which he regretted that the Wittenberg Concord had not been recognized by Zurich.[63]

The correspondence of the 1540s was particularly concerned with the politics of the Swiss Confederation, on which Vadian and Bullinger held very similar views. Both men benefitted greatly from this exchange of opinions. Since St. Gallen was merely an associate of the Confederation, it was only rarely invited to participate at Confederal Diets. Vadian used his correspondence with Bullinger as a means of conveying not only his own thoughts and advice to the Zurich Antistes, but also the concerns of St. Gallen, and Bullinger could then channel these ideas into the politics of the Confederation. In return Vadian received from Bullinger information about the various negotiations that took place at these Diets. Furthermore Vadian was a news source for Zurich on events within much of Europe more broadly, for such information flowed into St. Gallen through its intensive trading network, which in turn also supported the spread of the Zurich Reformation beyond its political boundaries: for example, Hans Liner, a merchant from St. Gallen, smuggled reformatory literature to Poland in bales of linen.[64]

Vadian and Bullinger's close scholarly cooperation can be identified in their published works on the Acts of the Apostles. The lectures on Acts given by

60 "God willing, we can expect much fruit and usefulness from him," Kessler, *Sabbata,* 382–3; under the year 1531.

61 *Ioachimi Vadiani Cons. Sangallensis Aphorismorum libri sex de consideratione Eucharistiae* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1536); Näf, *Vadian* 2: 432–40.

62 Bullinger to Vadian, 21 May 1536, HBBW 6: 294–5.

63 Vadian to Bullinger, 2 November 1536, HBBW 6: 448–58.

64 W. Ehrenzeller, "Hans Liner, ein St. Gallischer Kaufmann in der Reformationszeit," *St. Galler Blätter* 1914, Nr. 10: 79–80, Nr. 11: 84–86, Nr. 12: 95–6, Nr. 13: 100–102, Nr. 14: 111–2, Nr 16: 126.

Vadian to a small circle of clergymen in St. Gallen in 1523 appeared in edited form in 1534, in a work entitled *Epitome trium terrae partium*, which included a dedicatory preface to Bullinger in Zurich.[65] Bullinger had frequently urged Vadian to finish this book, and he himself wrote a commentary on Acts. The two works complemented each other particularly well.[66]

St. Gallen and Zurich worked together closely as they made their most important decisions on both theological matters and ecclesiastical politics. Vadian repeatedly pressed for unity in the Reformed camp and in the Confederation in general. The Consensus Tigurinus, which Bullinger and Calvin had negotiated in 1549 to document their agreement on the theology of the Lord's Supper, was quickly accepted and signed in St. Gallen.[67] After Vadian's death, in 1551, close co-operation with Zurich continued. In 1566 St. Gallen signed the Second Helvetic Confession immediately and without reservation.[68]

6.8 Appenzell

In 1513, a decade before the decision to adopt the Reformation was made, Appenzell, a hilly and mountainous region in eastern Switzerland that belongs in part to the midlands and part to the pre-Alps, became the 13th member of the Swiss Confederation. The region was primarily agricultural, and the population was largely involved in farming, manual trades (in particular linen production in neighboring St. Gallen), and in mercenary service. The roughly twenty villages were divided into eight parishes: Herisau, Appenzell, Hundwil, Gais, Urnäsch, Trogen, Grub, and Teufen, which were part of the diocese of Constance.[69]

In the early 1520s, works by Luther and Zwingli trickled into Appenzell, where they were certainly being read. In 1523, Vadian's exegesis of the Book of Acts in St. Gallen was well received by the clergy of Appenzell. Among the first supporters of the evangelical faith was Johannes Dörig (Döring, died 1526)

65 Vadian, *Epitome trium terrae partium, Asiae, Africae et Europae compendiarium locorum descriptionem continens, praecipue autem quorum in Actis Lucas, passim autem Evangelistae et Apostoli meminere* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534). On Vadian's learning, see also his letter to Heinrich Bullinger of 26 July 1534, HBBW 4: 256–69; on his understanding of history, see his letter to Bullinger of 3 February 1543, HBBW 13: 69; on their joint historical work, see his letter to Bullinger of 8 February 1541, HBBW 11: 40–63.

66 HBBW 3: 133–135, 143–4, 187–89.

67 *Cons Tig*, 35–37.

68 HBD, 84; Büsser, *Bullinger* 2: 166.

69 Achilles Weishaupt, *Appenzell* (*Kanton*), HLS 1:385–93, the map is on 189.

of Herisau, who corresponded with Vadian but remained undecided for some time. After moving to Toggenburg, however, Dörig renounced his obedience to the bishop of Constance in no uncertain terms.[70] Other early adherents of the Reformation were Jakob Schurtanner in Teufen, who was evangelical by 1522 at the latest and proved an energetic advocate of the new faith, Walter Klarer (1499–1567) in Hundwil,[71] Matthias Kessler in Gais (died 1545), Pelagius Amstein in Trogen, and Johannes Hess, who was a pastor first in Appenzell and subsequently in Teufen. The council of Appenzell addressed the religious question as early as October 1523, when it resolved in favor of the principle that all preaching should be based on scripture.

Zwingli was actively involved in events in Appenzell. At the urging of Vadian, who proved a good source of information, Zwingli published *The Shepherd*, his sermon on the role of the evangelical pastor preached at the second Zurich Disputation, and he dedicated this small work to Jakob Schurtanner, preacher in Teufen. "For God is my witness," wrote Zwingli in the introduction, "as to how wonderfully great the joy was when the report came as to how the godly people of Appenzell had received the word of God." He also noted that he hoped Schurtanner would valiantly continue his work and complete what he had begun.[72]

On 24 April 1524, the territorial assembly (*Landesgemeinde*) of Appenzell issued a decisive resolution in favor of the principle of *sola scriptura*. Anyone who preached other than the teachings found in the Old and New Testaments, "is to be denied porridge (*mus*) and bread and all sustenance and protection and must be banished from the land."[73] Not all parishes implemented this resolution, for it was rejected by the Inner Rhoden and Herisau. Those who had adopted the new faith called, however, for vigorous action, and the first acts of iconoclasm took place in Gais and Teufen.

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70 See above, n. 39.

71 Klarer wrote the first chronicle of the Reformation in Appenzell: "Historischer Bericht, was sich zur Zeit der sel. Reformation im Land Appenzell zugetragen habe: beschrieben durch Herrn Walther Klaarer, gewesenen Pfarrer zu Hundweil, einem gebohrnen Landmann A. 1565. Mit Beylagen, " in Johann Jakob Simler, *Sammlung Alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen-Geschichte vornemlich des Schweizer-Landes*, 1, part 3 (Zurich: Ziegler, 1759), 803–40.

72 *Der Hirt,* Z 3: 1–68; Huldrych Zwingli, *Schriften,* (eds.) Thomas Brunnschweiler et al., 4 vols. (Zurich: TVZ, 1995), 1: 243–312, citation at 253. Engl: HZW 2: 81–125, citation at 84.

73 Johannes Willi, *Die Reformation im Lande Appenzell. Auf das vierhundertjährige Jubiläum bearbeitet* (Bern: Bircher, 1924), 40.

6.9 The Parish Principle

On 30 April 1525, in order to defuse the conflict between the supporters of the old and new faiths, a majority decision of the territorial assembly determined that each parish (*Kirchhöri*) should decide how to respond to the new teachings. "The majority of each parish should decide which faith they will adopt. The minority should respect the decision of the majority, for faith is free. No party may force the other to faith, but rather each one should follow his conscience."[74] Urnäsch, Hundwil, Teufen, Gais, Trogen, and Grub resolved in favor of the new teachings; Appenzell and Herisau remained by the old. Josef Forrer, priest in Appenzell, and Diepold Huter, priest in Herisau, became the articulate and uncompromising leaders of those who remained by the old faith.

That same year, 1525, Anabaptism became a burning issue in Appenzell. "In that same time, as the gospel was flowering prettily and growing well," wrote Walter Klarer in his Reformation chronicle, "the great, angry, and harmful storm that was the Anabaptists fell upon us and caused much disturbance and decline."[75] Initially the piety and earnestness of the first Anabaptists was well received, but their rejection of civil authority resulted in their persecution. The significant scale of the movement can be read from the Appenzell financial records, for from summer 1525 until 1531 the state's income from arrests was distinctly higher than either before or after.[76] Zwingli strongly warned the people of Appenzell about the Anabaptists, who, he cautioned, would do much that was not fitting for true Christians.[77] A disputation held in Teufen on 11 and 12 October 1525 debated and rejected six theses advocated by Anabaptists, including the claim that infant baptism had not been initiated by God.[78] Some Anabaptists returned to the evangelical camp and some to the old faith, but others remained by their new beliefs. In the 1530s Anabaptist influence in Appenzell was reduced, but relatively strong communities still existed at the

74 Franz Stark, "Die Reformation," *Appenzeller Geschichte. Zur 450-Jahresfeier des Appenzellerbundes 1513–1963*, vol. 1: *Das ungeteilte Land,* (ed.) Regierungen der beiden Halbkantone Appenzell, 2nd ed. ([Herisau]: Kantonskanzlei, 1976), 338.

75 Klarer, "Historischer Bericht," 824.

76 Stark, *Reformation,* 342–3.

77 Zwingli to the Appenzeller, 12 February 1526, Z 8: 523–4. Earlier Zwingli had asked Vadian what he should make of the rumors about the Anabaptists and their excesses in St. Gallen and Appenzell; see Zwingli to Vadian, 17 January 1526, Z 8: 505–7.

78 Willi, *Reformation*, 84; Stark, *Reformation*, 348.

beginning of the 1540s, distinguished among Anabaptist communities more generally by the stringency of their laws.[79]

6.10 Religious Debates and Confessional Toleration

The Baden Disputation of 1526 and the Bern Disputation of 1528 were milestones in the history of the Reformation in the territory of Appenzell. Appenzell was represented at Baden by three reformed preachers, three Catholic priests, and two secular officials. At the final vote, the reformed representatives supported Oecolampadius, while the secular officials and the Catholic delegates sided with the opposition. Following the Baden Disputation, Appenzell was a confessionally mixed member of the Swiss Confederation. The Appenzell territorial assembly held on 15 July 1526 resolved that no one could be forced to attend mass and no one could be prevented from attending mass, and that no one could be forced to join the opposing party or have their beliefs violated. Everyone was to be allowed to continue to hold the convictions that they believed correct.[80] This remarkable resolution in favor of toleration came very early in the history of the Reformation as a whole.

Appenzell also sent a mixed delegation to the disputation at Bern: three evangelical preachers, two Catholic priests—Diepold Huter of Appenzell and Joseph Furrer of Herisau—and two secular officials. Huter proved to be one of the sharpest opponents of Zwingli at the disputation. He vigorously defended Catholic teachings on the ability of the church to bind and to loose on the basis of Matthew 16:19, on the full empowerment of the church to teach and rule, on good works, and—on this subject he spoke with particular vehemence and in great detail—on the Eucharist. Huter also voiced an opinion on almost all the other issues raised. The discussion of the justification of the godless by faith alone and the salvific purpose of good works led to a sharp exchange between Huter, supported by his colleague Furrer, and Pelagius Amstein, an evangelical delegate to the disputation. This intensity was repeated in the debate over the Eucharist between Huter and Klarer, the preacher from Hundwil. The outcome of the disputation at Bern strengthened the evangelical cause in Appenzell.

79 Heinold Fast, "Die Sonderstellung der Täufer in St. Gallen und Appenzell," *Zwingliana* 11/4 (1960), 223–240, here at 235–40.

80 Letter of Hans Gebentinger, schoolmaster in St. Gallen, to Zwingli, 16 July 1526, Z 8: 660; Willi, *Reformation*, 89; Stark, *Reformation,* 367. This resolution in favor of toleration is all the more remarkable because, as Gebentinger notes, the Catholic party from the Inner Rhoden was in the majority.

On their return to their communities, both Catholic priests continued their struggle against the evangelicals. In 1529, however, the supporters of the new faith gained the upper hand in Herisau, where they removed images from the church and introduced an evangelical worship service. Joseph Furrer fled the community and moved to Altdorf in central Switzerland. The population of Herisau joined the evangelical camp and called Ambrosius Blarer, reformer in Constance, to be their preacher.[81]

Also in 1529, the evangelical parishes in Appenzell adopted the church ordinance of St. Gallen. Baptism was to be carried out with a short formula according to apostolic teaching and the Lord's Supper celebrated according to the instructions given in the New Testament. Each parish could make its own decisions about festival days. Issues concerning marriages were to be brought before a marriage court. Pastors were to preach the Word of God diligently (how often was left up to the individual parish), instruct the children, care for the poor and needy, and combat the traditions of the Catholic Church.[82]

6.11 Confessional Identities and Territorial Division

After the defeat of the reformed Confederates in the Battle of Kappel of 1531, Appenzell remained a territory with two confessions equal in status and with equal rights. Despite all the religious differences between the two parties, they largely tolerated each other, for they felt bound together by their common history, their political commissions, their military interests, and their economy, in particular the production of textiles. As each confession developed its individual identity, however, tensions grew. In 1566 the Reformed accepted the Second Helvetic Confession, binding themselves more closely not just to the Reformed members of the Swiss Confederation, but also to the Reformed party Europe-wide,[83] and in so doing they carved out more distinctly their own theological and ecclesiastical character. The influences of Catholic reform and the Counter-reformation were particularly evident in Inner Rhoden, with, for example, the introduction of the Gregorian calendar and the arrival of the Capuchins in Appenzell. By the end of the century the tensions were so great that in 1597 the territory chose to divide into two parts: the evangelical Outer

81 Willi, *Reformation*, 117; Stark, *Reformation*, 384.

82 Willi, *Reformation,* 113–4; Stark, *Reformation,* 383.

83 Appenzell is not listed on the title page of the Second Helvetic Confession, but as Appenzell, like Glarus, was so closely tied to Zurich, it did not need to be named specifically. Büsser, *Bullinger*, 2: 168.

Rhoden and the Catholic Inner Rhoden. The resolution of the territorial diet states that the Outer Rhoden of Urnäsch, Herisau, Hundwil, Teufen, Trogen, and Gais would establish "their own civil authority with council, legal court, and laws … in the same form as the Inner Rhoden have. But the two together form only one place and member within the Confederation."[84]

84 P. Rainald Fischer, "Von der Reformation zur Landteilung," *Appenzeller Geschichte*, 1: 534.

CHAPTER 7

Failed Reformations

Sundar Henny[1]

7.1 Introduction

It may come as a surprise to readers of this volume to find a chapter dedicated to failed Reformations. After all, history is generally supposed to deal with events rather than non-events. And is not the mere title a contradiction in terms? Either the Reformation did affect a certain place at a certain time or it did not. But how is one supposed to conceive failure? It is this last question which brings us to the heart of the matter: In historiography, Reformation with a capital R does not normally suggest defeat, which may to a certain degree explain why Reformation studies were for a long time nearly exclusively concerned with success.[2] There was of course no denial of setbacks and persecutions but even these could be presented as hidden successes in the vein of a theology of resistance reaching from Protestant identification with Old Israel under oppression to Reformed emblematic self-representations as the withstanding anvil, as the risen phoenix, or as the burning yet never consumed bush seen by Moses.[3] Therefore, up to the middle of the 20th century, the history of the Reformation largely meant, to adapt Abraham Lincoln's famous phrase, the history of Protestants by Protestants for Protestants. In this vein, steadfast old believers or turncoats were easily marginalized, if they were not ignored altogether.

It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that in the Swiss context Oskar Vasella, a Roman Catholic scholar of the history of the Reformation and a son of the confessionally divided town of Poschiavo, detected this rather self-assuring approach and opted for a paradigm shift fifty years ago. An explanation was required not only for the fact that some communities changed their faith, but also for the fact that some communities continued to adhere to the old faith.[4]

1 I wish to thank Richard Oosterhoff for his rigorous proofreading of this chapter.

2 Eike Wolgast, "Reform, Reformation," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, (eds.) Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1972–97), 5: 313–60.

3 See Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Droz, 2003), esp. 129–32.

4 Oskar Vasella, *Reform und Reformation in der Schweiz: Zur Würdigung der Anfänge der Glaubenskrise* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958).

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Indeed, in a time of change everyone is subject to the "heretical imperative," and continuity demands a decision just as conscious as transformation does.[5] One way to avoid the pitfalls of a teleological or triumphant account of the Reformation is to focus not so much on movements or (often charismatic and leading) individuals but to observe a segment of places over a certain period of time. Such a heuristic *stabilitas loci* prevents the historian from escaping with failed historical actors to more successful places. Guillaume Farel, for example, is often endowed with the title "reformer of Neuchâtel" but never as "failed reformer of Le Landeron." Hans R. Guggisberg opted for such an approach when he discussed the "Problem of 'Failure' in the Swiss Reformation" in a 1987 article in which he built on the work of Martin Brecht, Robert Scribner, and Hans-Christoph Rublack, who treated failed Reformations in Rottweil, Cologne, and cities in southern Germany respectively.[6] Guggisberg devoted himself to the religious developments in the cities of Lucerne, Zug, Fribourg, and Solothurn, all traditionally seen as strongholds of Catholicism. In more recent times this picture was further qualified as well as widened to contain also rural areas and bailiwicks.[7] Furthermore, we have seen substantial studies appear on Graubünden (Grisons) and the Valais (Wallis), two confederations closely allied with the Swiss Confederation, both of which saw—from a European perspective—quite exceptional political and confessional developments during the 16th century. Even though the picture is by no means complete (and maybe by nature never can be), the works mentioned above allow us to encounter a variety of failed or half successful Reformations all over what is today referred to as Switzerland.

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5 The term "heretical imperative" was coined by the sociologist Peter L. Berger in his eponymous book (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1979). Therein, Berger analyses the modern (rather than the early modern) predicament, that in the absence of overarching social certitude one is forced to choose (in Greek *hairein*), i.e. to take a particular stance on religion.

6 Hans R. Guggisberg, "The Problem of 'Failure' in the Swiss Reformation: Some Preliminary Reflections," in idem, *Zusammenhänge in historischer Vielfalt: Humanismus, Spanien, Nordamerika: Eine Aufsatzsammlung,* (ed.) Christian Windler (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1994), 115–33, first printed in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, (eds.) E.I. Kouri and Tom Scott (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987), 188–209; Martin Brecht, "Die gescheiterte Reformation in Rottweil," *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1975), 5–22; Robert Scribner, "Why was there no Reformation in Cologne?," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 49 (1976), 217–41; Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Gescheiterte Reformation: Frühreformatorische und protestantische Bewegungen in süd- und westdeutschen geistlichen Residenzen* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978).

7 André Zünd, *Gescheiterte Stadt- und Landreformationen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Basel: Schwabe, 1999).

Talk about Switzerland in the early modern era, especially in the context of failed Reformations, needs some clarification or rather, alas, a note of caution. The only general remark on Switzerland during the *ancien régime* one can safely make is that hardly any general remark will do. Even though this may sound like a truism, it is important to keep in mind how wide the variety in political interests, communal arrangements, geographical and climatic circumstances, intellectual influences, linguistic differences, and legal allegiances was. If the modern historian is confused by this plethora of (often overlapping) forces and (not so stable) parameters, it may well be that she is just beginning to understand the early modern situation. In order to catch a glimpse of the entanglement and the plurality of allegiances one need look only at some villages on the east shore of Lake Zurich. Though belonging to the canton of Zurich proper, and despite the fact that the Reformation had been implemented there, the prince-abbot of nearby Einsiedeln retained the right to nominate the local pastors.[8] For nearly three centuries, therefore, the respective pastors had to take the oath of office at the monastery of Einsiedeln while having to confess doctrinal loyalty to the Reformed synod of Zurich. Thus, the prince-abbot at one of Europe's most prestigious pilgrimage centres had to accept "heretics" as his subordinates while one of Protestantism's powerhouses in Europe had to seek the support of an official of "the Antichrist" in order to see some of its clergy installed.

Furthermore, recent work on early modern Switzerland has shown that neat distinctions—as *de iure* versus *de facto*—are not adequate to describe the complexities of an often situational policy that prevailed in many cantons of the Confederation and its allies. Such a distinction downplays the possibility

FIGURE 7.1
Portrait of Zwingli from a manuscript by the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Wettingen, Christoph Silbereisen. The banner says, "Ulrich Zwingli is my name; all false teaching is my fame; 1570."
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE AARGAUER KANTONSBIBLIOTHEK

8 Ernst Wälti, *Das Kloster Einsiedeln und die protestantische Pfarrei Meilen von 1526–1826* (Einsiedeln: [Buchdruckerei Neue Einsiedler Zeitung], 1952).

that facts may transform themselves into law (and *vice versa*) through means of visual, rhetorical, or performative representation, be it in visual arts, rhetoric, or rituals.[9] In short: while it is of utmost importance to distinguish one place or one case of a failed Reformation from another place or case, it is also important not to fall prey to all too neat distinctions in any given case. Religious, political, social, economic, and other factors are *in concreto* often indiscernible.

In the following I shall present different episodes of failed Reformations. I qualify a process as a failed Reformation when it engages at the communal level with ideas of reform, yet does not end with Protestantism as the exclusive, officially approved form of Christian religion in a given place. Likewise, a process during which the Protestant faith was not fully institutionally implemented is considered as a failed Reformation. In discussing occurrences of failed Reformations, I follow the order established by Guggisberg, beginning with city-states and then moving on to rural states and territories that often had a more complex form of government.

7.2 City-States

7.2.1 *Lucerne*

The government of Lucerne, a city on the lakeshore in the heartland of Switzerland with about 4,000 inhabitants in the early modern period, was of an aristocratic nature.[10] As in other cities in Switzerland, the old leadership of noble families had given way to a new elite that gained its strength not from dynastic inheritance but from economic success. Unlike in most other aristocratic cities, however, these newly produced patricians consisted not so much of merchants as pensioners, that is, local leading figures paid by foreign

9 Thomas Maissen has demonstrated this extensively for the term and concept of sovereignty in *Die Geburt der Republic: Staatsverständnis und Repräsentation in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

10 Most relevant for the account of the events in Lucerne is Guggisberg, "Problem of 'Failure,'" 119–21. Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 37–49 and Markus Ries, "Oswald Myconius in Luzern," in Campi FS, 1–20 are more detailed; much more detailed but dated is Willy Brändly, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Stadt und Land Luzern* (Lucerne: Diebold Schilling Verlag, 1956). Peter Blickle, "Warum blieb die Innerschweiz katholisch?" *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz* 86 (1994), 29–38 is focused on central Switzerland and important for Lucerne and Zug.

FIGURE 7.2 *Bird's-eye view of the city of Lucerne, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

governments in order to ensure a smooth recruiting of Swiss mercenaries for foreign armies. Mercenary services were a vital source of income in most parts of Switzerland from the Late Middle Ages, even though the cantons had ruled them out in a diet in 1503.[11] However, without a central government the implementation of the resolution was short-lived. Lucerne's interest in foreign subsidies is therefore *per se* not remarkable. What is remarkable, however, is the importance of this arrangement to the local economy. Fame and money gained in military service under foreign flags, as well as pensions received for broker services, were the power base of the urban elite.

As in many other places, sympathy for the Reformation took hold first among the local humanists engaged with teaching and preaching in the service of the church. A case in point is the schoolmaster Oswald Myconius, who had worked for some time in Zurich and was a personal friend of Zwingli. The decisive year for Lucerne's confessional future was 1522, when Sebastian Hofmeister, who had been exiled by the Bishop of Constance because of his evangelical leanings, became lecturer at the local friary. However, this appointment turned out to be only a short intermezzo:

11 See Chapter 1 above.

the provocative preacher was fired in the same year. This mixed attitude towards the Reformation manifested itself also in the traditional *Musegg-Umzug*, a parade held annually the day before the Feast of the Annunciation. For some reason, Konrad Schmid from Küsnacht near Zurich, likewise a friend of Zwingli, was chosen as speaker at this event. Much to the arrangement of Myconius, Schmid preached in German rather than Latin and presented the agenda of the Reformation to a public audience, both of which were novelties in central Switzerland. What may look like the dawn of a Reformation became, however, the beginning of its end. Schmid's sermon triggered the formation of solid opposition, especially against the attacks on ecclesiastical authority and hierarchy. The leading figure in this counter-movement was the priest Johann Bodler, who was himself a humanist. In the long run, Myconius succumbed to the rhetorical fire power of Bodler and left Lucerne for good.

In later years, Lucerne's stillborn Reformation showed, as it were, some convulsions. Between 1525 and 1527 there were several trials against Anabaptists. Unlike the sympathizers of a magisterial Reformation, the Anabaptists—who in addition to religious dissent refused military service, paying taxes, and swearing oaths—faced not mere discharge and exile but were often executed and their possessions confiscated. While Zwingli agitated against Anabaptists, the Lucerne authorities chose to look at them as representatives of Zwingli, Zurich, and the Reformation in general.

The fail of the Reformation in Lucerne can be attributed to different causes. The seed of the Reformation sprouted mainly among humanists who were only weakly integrated into the power structures of the city and could not produce a charismatic leading figure. The city itself was governed by a tight elite of pensioners, while the guilds, which were seedbeds and promoters of Reformation in many cities, had only very limited competence. Furthermore, the government and the general population of Lucerne shared a suspicion of Zurich as aspiring to local hegemony. This stance matched awkwardly with the Zurich-inspired agenda cherished by most of the reform-oriented humanists in Lucerne. Paradoxically, Zurich was not only frowned upon because of its power; it was also frowned upon because of its pacifist rhetoric. Due to Zwingli's agitation against mercenary service, Zurich was identified by many as a danger to lucrative alliances of the Confederation with foreign powers. Naturally, Lucerne's leading families had no interest in opposing a trade which was the very foundation of their wealth and power. All this led to an early and definite rejection of the Reformation, or rather to an early and definite decision to uphold what was conceived of as the status quo.

7.2.2 *Zug*

In some ways Zug was similar to Lucerne: a city in central Switzerland, heavily dependent on revenues from mercenary services.[12] In contrast to Lucerne, however, the local church was already by and large controlled by the secular authorities. Zug also differed from Lucerne in its constitution as a hybrid confederation composed of a monocentric city-state and a polycentric rural state. In this heterogenous system the rural and the urban parties were in continual competition for influence and power. While the communities in the countryside were drawn to papal and Milanese influence (and mercenary contracts), the city was inclined towards France. In the early 16th century this conflict seems to have been more important than religious questions. As the conflict escalated and brought Zug to the brink of civil war in 1523, the city priest managed to prevent bloodshed by intervening physically with the monstrance in his hand. As a result, the conflict de-escalated. For a community newly saved from civil war by the holy sacrament, the appeal of the Reformation message was limited. Indeed, during the 1520s the Paris-educated former chaplain, Jerusalem pilgrim, and scholar Werner Steiner seems to have been the only prominent person in Zug with sympathies for the Reformation, and even he did not commit himself openly to this cause before 1529.

By then things had already run their course. When the four parishes were consulted on their stance toward the new faith, all of them opted for the old one, declaring that they wanted to remain loyal to their forefathers as well as to the Forest Cantons, that is, the nucleus of the Confederation in central Switzerland. In the aftermath of this census, the Protestant cause was effectively lost despite the efforts of Zurich, and especially of Heinrich Bullinger, to turn the tide. In 1529 the appearance of Anabaptists and the harsh measures against them further mitigated the chances of a magisterial Reformation. It was in this year also that Werner Steiner fled to Zurich, and we lose track of Protestant activities for two decades. In the 1550s when some diffuse interest in the Bible emerged among Zug's inhabitants, the reaction of the authorities was unmistakable. In January 1556 Bibles were publicly burned and an allegedly Zwinglian priest was uncovered and dismissed. The political subtext of this supposedly religious affair becomes evident when one takes into account that Zug stood under pressure from the Forest Cantons and that the charges against the city priest consisted of decrying good works as well as mercenary services. So the Reformation was never very attractive for Zug from the outset,

12 For the case of Zug see Guggisberg, "Problem of 'Failure,'" 121–23, and Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 49–60; also Blickle, "Innerschweiz," esp. 33.

and that which flowered nonetheless met with opposition from the authorities who were led more by political considerations than by dogmatic conviction.

7.2.3 *Fribourg*

For the city of Fribourg, mercenary service was not as vital as it was for Lucerne and Zug.[13] In the Late Middle Ages the city had come into riches thanks to its thriving artisanry. In the 16th century, however, the city was past its economic heyday and government was by now in the hands of a highly structured oligarchy that had, needless to say, no inclination to change. When the patron Peter Falck died in 1519 on his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the local *studia humanitatis* lost its sponsor and leading figure, so there was hardly a seedbed for the Reformation. It comes, therefore, as no surprise to learn that Fribourg remained with the old faith. What is rather remarkable, however, is the way this "failure" came to pass, namely not on account of passive or conservative conduct by the authorities or lethargic nostalgia but rather by way of early and decisive intervention. In 1522 the authorities uttered threats against the "Lutheran sect." In 1523 supposedly heretical books were publicly burned. From

FIGURE 7.3 *Bird's-eye view of the city of Fribourg, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

13 This account is based on Guggisberg, "Problem of 'Failure,'" 123–24 and Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 60–71. Currently, there is an ongoing research project on Fribourg and the Reformation under the direction of Kathrin Utz Tremp.

as early as 1527, all male inhabitants above the age of fourteen were forced to confess their (old) faith communally and annually by oath. So rather than reacting to a new heresy exclusively with oppression, Fribourg declared its faith in a new form nearly ten years before Geneva's population would solemnly declare its affiliation to the new faith. One might claim therefore that the first covenanters were actually Catholic.

7.2.4 *Solothurn*

Contrary to the development in the three cities discussed above, the Reformation really did gain momentum in the city of Solothurn.[14] In addition to its membership in the Swiss Confederation, Solothurn was a bilateral ally of Bern. What is more, the French ambassador, an indispensable go-between for mercenary contracts with the crown of France, resided in the city. This situation influenced the city's policy in an antipapal and an anti-Habsburg direction, even if it kept its distance from the Protestant cause. After Bern became Reformed in 1528, Solothurn became the mediator between its ally and the Confederates of the old faith. The city itself became more and more hospitable to ideas of reform, as freedom of confession was declared in the same year, a policy which was confirmed the following year after the First (so called) War of Kappel. By this time, Solothurn was surrounded by Protestant city-states, namely Bern and Basel. In the early 1530s there was a steady increase of sympathizers of the Reformation in parishes in the countryside. In the city, sympathy for religious change was not unanimous; about half of the population wanted to stay with the old faith. Pressure from the other Catholic cantons, as well as the French ambassador's threat to leave should the city turn Protestant, was grist to the mill of the opponents of the Reformation.

The Second Kappel War in 1531 tipped the balance in favor of the old faith, since the Protestant cantons left the battlefield beaten. The ensuing peace treaty was therefore in large measure favorable to Catholicism. Though Solothurn had not participated actively in this war, it appeared in a bad light to the Catholic cantons, as it had supported its ally Bern with some 600 troops. The victorious cantons therefore fined Solothurn with 800 crowns while offering the city the cancellation of the debt if it would expel the Protestant preacher. The city's authorities had no inclination to gain a crown of monetary martyrdom in a Protestant heaven by paying 800 earthly crowns and banished the

14 Besides Guggisberg, "Problem of 'Failure,'" 124–26 and Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 72–87, the Reformation in Solothurn is treated in the dissertation of Hans Haefliger, *Solothurn in der Reformation* (Solothurn: Gassmann, 1945).

FIGURE 7.4 *Bird's-eye view of the city of Solothurn, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae. PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

preacher. The following years showed a steady decline of Protestant activity and a successful recatholizing of society. A Protestant uprising in 1533, which nearly turned into civil war but for the swift and thoughtful reaction of the mayor, proved to be futile in the end. The lack of humanist circles and printing presses prevented enduring intellectual and spiritual dissent on a larger scale. So even if Solothurn stood on the verge of Reformation before the Second Kappel War, the recatholization afterwards went by and large unchallenged.

7.3 Rural States and Territories

7.3.1 *The Prince-Abbey of St. Gallen*

Dealing with urban Reformations, successful or not, is relatively easy compared to the difficulties one meets in approaching rural Reformations. Regardless of whether one looks at an autonomous rural canton or at a lordship, the powers that be are often hard to identify. Many lordships did not in fact belong to one state alone but were administered collectively by several cantons. The area of what is today the canton of St. Gallen may illustrate the point: While the city itself had been emancipated gradually from the dominion

of the prince-abbot, the latter nonetheless continued to reside in the city, ruling over different territories with their different legal statuses. Things got even more complicated when the city became Reformed in the 16th century. Even though the abbot had now lost all secular power and spiritual authority in the city, he continued to govern his territories from the local monastery. Two of these dominions turned out to be confessional battlefields. The lordship of Toggenburg, which had already been the bone of contention in a Swiss civil war in the 15th century, continued to be a trouble spot in the early 16th century.[15] Although in principle it was at that time subject to the prince-abbot, it had managed to retain some of its liberties. The inhabitants of the Toggenburg, which was also the birthplace of Huldrych Zwingli, harbored sympathies for the Reformation early on. This manifested itself in iconoclasm and a communal resolution in favor of the Reformation. The resolution was adopted against the will and in the face of threats from the prince-abbot and the Catholic cantons. Provocations would not stop there and in 1530 Zurich-backed Toggenburg declared its independence from the prince-abbot and joined its protector state in the Second Kappel War the following year. In the aftermath of the Protestant defeat of 1531, the lordship lost both its old and newly won liberties to the prince-abbot. Even though the Catholic victors formally acknowledged Toggenburg's biconfessionality, there ensued a religious tug-of-war that was to last for almost two centuries until Toggenburg affairs provided the *casus belli* for a confessional war among the Swiss cantons in 1712. Meanwhile, the counter-reformation measures orchestrated by the abbey were hardly successful and Protestantism remained attractive to many Toggenburgers, not least because it represented opposition to religious and political heteronomy, an attitude that could resonate with the area's newborn self-perception as an autonomous community.

7.3.2 *Mandated Territories*

In the nearby lordship of the Rheintal a similar policy was only partly successful.[16] While the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Zug, Glarus, and Schwyz exercised high justice, low justice was dispensed by the prince-abbey of St. Gallen. After the Second Kappel War the Rheintal, in contrast to the Toggenburg, fell under the provisions of the Peace of 1531 (*Landfriede*), which brought

15 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 143–152; see Chapter 6 above.

16 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 143–52. For a first hand account of the failed Reformation in the Rheintal by the exile Hans Vogler junior, see *Das Familienbuch Hans Voglers des Älteren und des Jüngeren aus dem St. Galler Rheintal: Ein Zeugnis häuslichen Schriftgebrauchs am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, (ed.) Alexa Renggli (Basel: Schwabe, 2010).

some protection to Protestant majorities although not to minorities. Because the Catholic cantons outnumbered Protestant ones among the rulers of the mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*), the government usually was Catholic-friendly. Nevertheless a large number of Rheintalers proved sufficiently stubborn to keep the area religiously mixed.

The nearby bailiwick of Thurgau, too, was a mandated territory. It was administered by the cantons of Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus. Adjacent Zurich was interested in influencing the area from the 15th century but even more so after it implemented the Reformation in the early 1520s. The Thurgau became the battleground for a kind of proxy war between Protestant and Catholic cantons, mainly Zurich and Schwyz. Following Zurich's example, all parishes had adopted the new faith when the Second Kappel War broke out. Not surprisingly, therefore, Thurgau forces bolstered the Protestant array. In the aftermath of the defeat and the *Landfriede* favoring the cause of Catholicism, enthusiasm for the new faith cooled and the nobility reversed their conversions. Likewise several parishes reconsidered their antebellum commitment to the Reformation. As a result, next to entirely Protestant and entirely Catholic parishes, confessionally mixed parishes came into being. An uneasy balance reigned in those parishes, and churches had to be shared by both confessions. It is not hard to imagine that innumerable conflicts arose out of these compromises (such as Protestants sitting on the altar while hearing the sermon) and the confessional boundaries were busily guarded and contested. Nevertheless the precarious, but by and large non-violent, coexistence of the *Simultaneum* lasted in many churches up to the 20th century.[17]

With Catholic cantons outnumbering Protestant ones, the Reformation did not survive in all mandated territories. In the case of Baden, the Catholic leanings of the administration were amplified by the fact that the city was a spa town and its elite therefore were not willing to offend guests by an unambiguously proclaimed new faith. Besides its balneological significance the city hosted the Swiss diets, that is, the general meetings of all Swiss Confederates. If a neutral stand in confessional matters was impossible in those days, a somewhat tepid Catholicism seemed to come closer to it than a commitment to Protestantism. And indeed politicians and spa guests—who were often identical—continued to flock to Baden, enjoying there the crossing of confessional and moral

17 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 162–71; Frauke Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis: Reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005) offers a study with a microhistorical approach to the delicate daily life in a confessionally mixed provincial town in Thurgau.

boundaries. Though magistrates and clergy of nearby Zurich would not tire of exhorting and prohibiting all sorts of alleged excesses related to the bathing there, Baden remained for many of them a favored resort where one would be immersed in a kind of carnivalesque potlatch, characterised by the transgression of morals and the transfer of sumptuous gifts.[18]

In the nearby Cistercian monastery, the Reformation failed for other reasons. A majority of monks sympathized with the new faith, and by 1529 the Abbey of Wettingen became what has to be termed—with recourse to an oxymoron—a Reformed convent. After the Second Kappel War in 1531, with Catholics dominating Swiss affairs, the patrons of the monastery tried to recatholicize the abbey. Since progress was slow, however, they changed to buying out all remaining Protestants, including the abbot, with lifelong pensions. In the following decades the abbot was appointed by the patrons in order to ensure that as a staunch Catholic he would not lead this community into Protestant temptation.[19]

Still another case of failed Reformation in a mandated territory can be observed in the lordship of Sargans.[20] For this bailiwick also the years 1529 and 1531, the First and Second Peace of Kappel, respectively, turned out to be decisive: The Protestant tendencies prevailing from 1529 onwards came to a sudden end after all legal protection of non-established Protestant communities broke away. By chance, in the immediate aftermath of the Second Kappel War the dominion was administered by the state of Glarus represented by the highly able and charismatic self-taught humanist Aegidius Tschudi.[21] Though a layman and secular politician Tschudi, who had once been close to Zwingli, can be seen as an early exponent of the counter-reformation.

This (incomplete) survey of failed Reformations in the mandated territories demonstrates the multitude of motives both for or against the Reformation. It is safe to say, however, that the Kappel Peace of 1531 considerably enhanced the constraint to position oneself on the confessional map—the hitherto still malleable religious clay had become hard. Because the Protestants experienced defeat on the battlefield of Kappel, communities that had not taken a

18 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 154–61; on Baden and its tradition of formal and informal diplomacy across confessional and moral boundaries see Thomas Lau, *"Stiefbrüder": Nation und Konfession in der Schweiz und in Europa (1656–1712)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 71–74.

19 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 156–58.

20 Zünd, *Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 171–81.

21 On him see Katharina Koller-Weiss, et al., (eds.), *Aegidius Tschudi und seine Zeit* (Basel: Krebs, 2002).

stand by then generally yielded without further ado to the Catholic confession and the claim to exclusivity that came with it.

7.3.3 *Appenzell and Glarus*

The year 1531 was a watershed, too, for the sovereign rural cantons of Appenzell and Glarus, although the outcome differed somewhat. Whereas Appenzell would break in two, Glarus managed to present itself outwardly as one body politic when *de facto* it had split along confessional boundaries.[22] Appenzell had liberated itself gradually from the dominion of the prince-abbey of St. Gallen by means of revolts in the 15th century and by money and diplomacy in the 16th century; in 1513 it was accepted as a full member of the Swiss Confederation. In the 1520s Protestant teaching coming from already affected cities like St. Gallen and Zurich began to reach Appenzell. It took roots, especially, in one part of the canton, the so called Outer Rhoden. In 1525 the *Landsgemeinde* (a public diet) ruled that every parish should decide for either the old or the new faith, the third option—Anabaptism—being fought vehemently from early on. Minorities should in future be free to leave for a parish of their desired confession. While the Inner Rhoden largely chose to remain with the old faith, there remained a strong Reformed minority that tried to align the Inner Rhoden's religious policy with that of the Protestant Outer Rhoden. When they nearly succeeded in abolishing the mass in the town of Appenzell by 1531, an angry mob from a neighbouring village prevented such change.

The outcome of the Second Kappel War—as in many cases already mentioned above—made Protestantism less appealing also in Appenzell and, at the same time, the survival of an entirely Catholic canton unlikely. During the ensuing decades, the Inner Rhoden strengthened connections to the Catholic cantons in central Switzerland and—via the papal nuncio—with Rome and thereby consolidated the counter-reformation. With the mission of the Capuchins during the 1580s the tenuous confessional peace was endangered. Politically, Catholics in Appenzell often profited from the reluctance of remote villages to send their representatives to the distant "capital." Things became intolerable when it was decided—without consulting the mainly Reformed Outer Rhoden—to join the alliance that the Catholic cantons had forged with Spain. Separation seemed now to be inevitable; with the mediating Confederates serving as midwives, two entirely independent "half-states" were born in

22 In absence of recent studies on the Reformation in Appenzell und Glarus the following account is based on the extensive articles concerning these two cantons in HLS; digital version is fully accessible on-line *via* www.hls.ch. See also Chapter 6 above.

1597 whereby the old geographical and organizational division of the Rhoden was reshaped in order to fit the confessional map.

In the canton of Glarus things could have turned out the same way, but they did not. In this particular case, the year 1531 was not a watershed. This can probably be explained by the comparatively slow but steady growth of the Reformation combined with cautious political mediation by other Swiss Confederates. Some years after Zwingli's preaching (he was pastor in Glarus from 1506 to 1516), the cantonal diet (*Landsgemeinde*) banned pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, the most popular and prestigious of all saintly destinations in Switzerland. In the following year (1526) the eagerly watching Catholic neighbors were pacified by a declaration to remain with the "old cult" though it had "to be purged from abuses." Whatever was meant by that statement, some iconoclasm occurred shortly thereafter, and in 1529 the Reformation was formally accepted. Nevertheless, Glarus would not let itself be dragged into religious partisanship, and it acted as an intermediary in the two hostile encounters of the Confederates at Kappel. In late 1531, the *Landsgemeinde* agreed to reintroduce the mass in several parishes primarily as a measure to appease the Catholic cantons. In 1532, the same diet granted the Catholic minority legal protection. However, due to a gradual growth of the Reformed community Catholic services did not continue in some places, a fact that provoked the anger of some Catholic cantons. Fearing a steady decrease of adherents to the old faith, these cantons and the aforementioned Aegidius Tschudi—who was Glarus' chief magistrate from 1558 to 1560—prepared for war. This was unsuccessful partly because Pope Pius IV, as well as Spain and France, would deny the war-mongering Swiss their support. As a result, a compromise mediated by the other Confederate states was reached and a minority of parishes were declared exclusively Catholic, the main church in central Glarus serving as a *Simultaneum* for both confessions. In the 17th century a quite elaborate system of confessional checks and balances was implemented, thus institutionalizing the failed or—if you prefer—the partly successful Reformation.

7.3.4 *The Prince-Bishopric of Basel*

Basel was an important center of humanism from the 15th century onwards.[23] A flourishing printing industry and the presence of Erasmus enhanced this im-

23 Zünd, *Gescheiterte Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 211–222; for an extended account on Porrentruy see Karl Gauss, *Reformationsversuche in der Basler Bischofsstadt Pruntrut* (Leipzig: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1913); for an appraisal of Blarer von Wartensee as politician and cleric see André Chèvre, *Jacques Christophe Blarer de Wartensee. Prince-évêque de Bâle* (Delémont: Bibliothèque jurasienne, 1963); on the problem of

age. It was in this context that Bishop Christoph von Utenheim (1502–1527) was quite receptive to reform. He was a friend of the future Zurich reformer Konrad Pellikan and appointed the future Strasbourg reformer Wolfgang Capito and future Basel reformer Johannes Oecolampadius to clerical offices in Basel. When it became clear, however, that the Reformation would end up in detachment rather than in reform, which was around 1521, the bishop's friendship with members of those circles broke off. In that same year, the bishop lost all (secular) power over the city of Basel. The official declaration of the Reformation in 1529 was therefore in no way a *sudden conversion.* The bishop and his administration had already moved by then to different locations in the hinterland of Basel. Not before the rule of Jacob Christoph Blarer von Wartensee (1575–1608) could the prince-bishopric regain its strength—and then only through a mutual agreement with the city of Basel in 1585, which brought order to the messy confessional situation within the diocese and established a *cuius regio eius religio*-policy. In the course of this agreement, the city on the bend of the Rhine had to dissolve the alliance with nearby villages (collectively called the Birseck) which lay in the bishop's principality. The bishop in turn launched a campaign of recatholization there, which was completed by 1627.

Porrentruy (Pruntrut), a city in the Jura under the spiritual rule of the archbishop of Besançon but temporally subject to the Bishop of Basel, had flirted with the Reformation during the period of weak leadership within the bishopric and while aspiring for political autonomy (1555–1580). Fiery Guillaume Farel tried on several visits to ignite ecclesiastical upheaval, without definitive success. Later, under the iron rod of Bishop Blarer, such adventures halted, the Jesuits were invited to the town, confessional printing and schooling were established, and Reformed congregations systematically inhibited. Such measures were even increased in the 17th century so that Porrentruy became entirely Catholic. This outcome was not shared, however, by Biel, which had been thoroughly Reformed since 1528. The city had achieved some autonomy during the Late Middle Ages and was allied with Bern. It managed to prosper as a Protestant city under the secular dominion of the prince-bishop until the end of the *ancien régime*.

7.3.4 *Le Landeron*

A case similar to Biel—though with the confessional tables turned—is that of the castellany of Le Landeron, which has lately attracted some scholarly

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Reformed subjects in the prince-bishopric see the more recent collection of essays in *Pro Deo: Das Bistum Basel vom 4. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, (ed.) Jean-Claude Rebetez (Porrentruy: Stiftung Archiv des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Basel, 2006), 258–313.

interest.[24] In Le Landeron as in Biel, a notoriously weak sovereign was the catalyst for the empowerment of local elites. Though Le Landeron was part of the principality of Neuchâtel, it enjoyed privileges that included its own jurisdiction. Le Landeron was not alone in profiting from weak government: the comparatively large city of Neuchâtel had gained even more freedom and therefore began to take an interest in the local power play. Things were not made clearer by the fact that Bern, the most powerful city state north of the Alps, was pressing westward and all too keen to fill an eventual power vacuum. In the end it was Bern's unwillingness to sacrifice its political for its religious interests that inhibited an implementation of the Reformation by force in Le Landeron.

After the city of Neuchâtel had become Reformed in 1530 in a ballot following a sermon by Guillaume Farel, the Reformation began to spread gradually, leaving finally all of the principality Protestant, the only exception being the castellany of Le Landeron. While the Reformation was originally introduced within the principality against the will of the weak sovereign, the situation for Le Landeron became definitively awkward when the ruling countess herself converted to Protestantism and turned into a fervent supporter of its cause around 1557. By then Le Landeron already had a record of withstanding stubbornly for decades and seemed to be immune even to the sermons of Farel, who preached there several times. When the countess herself together with her son and future successor visited the town in 1561 and called for a one-time, exclusively Protestant service for the whole community, the party met stiff resistance. The preacher was threatened with lynching should he dare to ascend the pulpit. The rebellion marked the end of a long series of attempts to convert the inhabitants of Le Landeron, leaving it a sole pocket of Catholicism in the otherwise Reformed principality. That such a precarious state of affairs could endure was possible not only because of the weakness of the sovereign and the determination of the population, but also because of the alliance the castellany had forged with Catholic Solothurn, a treaty that transformed the fate of a small Catholic community into a matter of Swiss politics. Bern, on the other hand, which usually had no qualms about imposing Protestant worship in its new territories, acted cautiously. It did so in order to present itself as an unbiased referee with other cantons if it should come to open conflict. The mighty protector of Calvinism in Geneva and the Vaud was not willing to surrender its political ambitions for a religious mission.

24 Pierre-Olivier Léchot, *De l'intolérance au compromis: La gestion d'une coexistence confessionnelle: Le Landeron XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Sierre: Editions à la Carte, 2003); Lionel Bartolini, *Une résistance à la réforme dans le pays de Neuchâtel: Le Landeron et sa région (1530–1562)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2006).

7.3.5 *Locarno and Arth*

While we have so far observed the events in several places in perspective allowing for failure *and* success, we shall now look at two instances of exiled Reformations with considerable resonance throughout Switzerland which defy a clear characterisation as "successful" or "failed." The city of Locarno, situated in what is today the canton of Ticino, belonged to the so called ultramontane territories, that is, the mandated territories of the Swiss Confederation south of the Alps.[25] Here Giovanni Beccaria, a local priest and schoolmaster, leaned toward Reformation and communicated with Zurich while still celebrating the mass. Towards the end of the 1540s the then Catholic bailiff grew anxious about the religious situation and arrested Beccaria after a public disputation. He had to release him again in due time, however, because the arrest provoked a public uproar. After his arrest Beccaria chose to leave Locarno in order to preach in the Val Mesolcina, an Italian-speaking valley of Graubünden, where he would equally attempt to establish the Reformation, and where he would equally fail (see below). This loss notwithstanding, the Reformation still gained ground in Locarno, a development that was expected to accelerate when it was Protestant Basel's turn to administer this southern dominion in 1550. Nevertheless an official from Uri named Walter Roll, at once an uncompromising Catholic and a gifted plotter, managed to persuade several representatives of Locarno to secretly proclaim their adherence to the old faith.[26] Once a majority of these leaders had confessed their Catholic faith, Protestantism became automatically illegal. The Peace of Kappel of 1531 forbade any change of religion in those mandated territories that had declared themselves to be Catholic.

The fate of the Reformed community of Locarno attracted much attention from the Swiss Confederates and caused general mischief. In order to refute slander and allegations of Anabaptism, the Locarnese Reformed issued a Latin statement of faith in 1551 that confirmed their orthodox Reformed orientation.[27] With this they won the backing of some of the Protestant cantons, but the Catholic Confederates were hardly soothed, and as passions were high a compromise was badly needed. At the Swiss diet of 1554 the Reformed and Catholic cantons agreed—against the boycott of Zurich—that Locarno should remain Catholic while granting the Reformed inhabitants the right to

25 Zünd, *Gescheiterte Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 191–200; Simona Canevascini and Piero Bianconi, *L'esilio dei protestanti Locarnesi* (Locarno: Dadò, 2005).

26 For an extensive if dated treatment of Roll see Ernst Walder, *Der Condottiere Walter Roll von Uri und die Beziehungen zwischen der Innerschweiz und Italien in der Wende zur Gegenreformation 1551–1561* (Bern: H. Lang, 1948).

27 Text in RBS 1/3, 329–38.

FIGURE 7.5 *Oil painting of the Locarno religious refugees crossing the Alps in 1555 to reach Zurich, commissioned by the descendants on the occasion of the first centenary.*
FROM THE PRIVATE COLLECTION OF FRÉDÉRICH VON ORELLI

emigrate. In due course, about one hundred adults—roughly half of the Reformed community—left Locarno for good, heading to Zurich. Just as the Huguenot refugees, however, they were liked best in absentia: Once settled on the shores of the Limmat the "Italians," though economically prosperous, had a difficult time until they were deemed suitable for full citizenship and government posts.[28]

Roughly one hundred years later another even smaller failed Reformation had an even bigger impact on Swiss politics, for it served as *casus belli* for a "holy" though rather dilettante war.[29] In Arth, a village under the dominion of Schwyz, there had been a certain tradition of diffuse religious non-conformity. When the clergy of Zurich in 1653 learned about a circle of "Nicodemites," in fact secret Protestants, they made contact and approved their faith as orthodox. Meanwhile the officials of Schwyz became alarmed and called for the Capuchins, whose preaching was considered to be a healthy antidote against

28 See Mark Taplin, *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c. 1540–1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

29 Zünd, *Gescheiterte Stadt- und Landreformationen*, 201–09. For an extensive treatment of the Villmergen War and the confessional gridlock that triggered it, see also Lau, *"Stiefbrüder,"* 80–121.

heresy. This time, however, the countermeasures only hardened the resistance, and the crypto-Protestants now openly boycotted Catholic teaching and rituals. When the local clergy called for the secular arm to intervene, a handful of Nicodemites fled to Zurich. Schwyz promptly arrested the remaining Protestant sympathizers and beheaded a few of them. While Schwyz complained about Zurich's support for the Nicodemites as an interference in its internal affairs, the Zurich clergy now favored a war against Schwyz as if ordered by God himself. They received active support from Zurich's mayor, Johann Heinrich Waser, a fierce, if cultivated, Protestant who in his youth had served as the amanuensis of Zurich's deputy to the Synod of Dordrecht, the Antistes Johann Jakob Breitinger.[30] Finally, the desired war broke out, but having been planned and executed in an amateurish way by Zurich and its Reformed allies, sudden defeat was inevitable. In the aftermath, Waser, who was related either by blood or by marriage to all of the defunct luminaries of the Zurich Reformation (Huldrych Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and Rudolf Gwalther), wisely chose to present himself as a conciliatory Swiss politician high above petty confessional factionalism, in striking contrast to his antebellum holy warrior self. Wasere fabricated his irenic persona so convincingly that he managed to delude historians well into the 20th century.

7.4 Affiliated States

7.4.1 *Valais/Wallis*

In *The Spirit of the Laws* Montesquieu remarks that fertile soil leads to monarchy while poor countries are more prone to enjoy freedom. The easternmost and the westernmost parts of today's Switzerland seem to confirm this point, albeit dialectically. The Valais in the west as well as Graubünden in the east were confederations of smaller conglomerates consisting of villages in remote mountain valleys and a few small towns. Even though their economic poverty and their geographical situation suggest a marginal position for these areas, they played a major though often passive role in the power play in the heartland of Europe. This was because all central and western European powers were interested in the indirect control of the mountain passes that connected Italy with the rest of Europe.

30 On Waser, see Norbert Domeisen, *Bürgermeister Johann Heinrich Waser (1600–1669) als Politiker: Ein Beitrag zur Schweizer Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: H. Lang, 1975); Sundar Henny, *Vom Leib geschrieben: Der Mikrokosmos Zürich und seine Selbstzeugnisse im 17. Jahrhundert* (Köln: Böhlau, 2016, forthcoming), Chapter 3.

The early modern Valais consisted of seven *Zenden*, that is, larger communities of villages that enjoyed some degree of autonomy.[31] During the late Middle Ages the bishop of Sion had supported further consolidation of their privileges in order to weaken the nobility, who contested his claim to temporal rights. This plan was successful, and the nobility dwindled to insignificance. In the end, however, the forces the bishop had nursed so far turned against their erstwhile provider, and by the beginning of the 17th century the bishop had lost his factual temporal rights. The Protestant party was a vital agent in the process, even if it could not realize its religious agenda.

While in many places preaching was pivotal for the growth of the Protestant movement, the Reformation in the Valais was ignited instead through reading. It is not surprising therefore that the supporters of the Reformation were found almost exclusively in the ranks of the lower *Zenden*, which had a comparatively more urban character, while the higher ones never could warm to it. The confessional conflict was therefore partly congruent with the local, cultural, economic, and educational rift.

As early as 1524, a majority of the assembled messengers of the communities banned the new "Lutheran faith." Nonetheless the religious orientation of the inhabitants remained ambiguous. At any rate, Thomas Platter, the Valais born humanist and printer of the first edition of Jean Calvin's *Institutio* (1536) in Basel, was rather optimistic about the future of the Protestant cause in his place of origin.[32] This was due to a general longing for reform among the *Zenden,* which wanted to organize ecclesiastical matters without interference by the bishop. In 1579, the *Zenden* even managed to see the papal nuncio sent away. Although this was interpreted in Rome as the product of "sectarian" agitation, it was in fact a political act of the body politic intent on safeguarding its newborn autonomy in the face of foreign interests. The repeated effort of the Reformed families in the towns of Sion and Leuk to install a pastor sent by Geneva was in the long run never successful. The bishop's opposition to these efforts stirred the desire of the *Zenden* to fully assert their claims, which led to a further dwindling of the bishop's power.

One could think of these conditions as ideal ones for the growth of the Protestant movement. However, the political pressure exerted by the seven

31 The following account is focused on the failure of the Valais Reformation and therefore largely based on Schnyder, *Reformation*; for the early 16th century however the authoritative text is still Mario Possa, "Die Reformation im Wallis bis zum Tode Bischof Johann Jordans 1565," *Blätter aus der Walliser Geschichte* 9 (1940), 1–216.

32 On this preeminent self-made man of the Swiss Reformation, see Paul Wirth, (ed.), *Thomas Platter: Geisshirt, Seiler, Professor, Buchdrucker, Rektor: Ein Lebensbild aus dem Jahrhundert der Reformation: Zum 500. Geburtstag* (St. Gallen: Ottmar-Verlag, 1999).

cantons of the old faith and by France, as well as rumors of an invasion by Savoyard and Milanese forces, turned the tide against the Reformation, culminating in staunch Catholic legislation in 1604. Meanwhile, the political freedom of the *Zenden* was further consolidated. As far as religion is concerned, the bishop was nonetheless successful, for he had argued that religious freedom would ultimately lead to occupation, because the adjacent powers would not tolerate control of the mountain passes by folks of uncertain faith.

In 1613, as the new bishop was consecrated, episcopal temporal rights had all but vanished and with them the chances of an institutionalized Reformed church in the Valais. Deprived of churches, pastors, and proper theologians, a distinctly confessional faith flickered here and there for some further decades. In the end, however, While the Reformed party was politically successful, it failed in regard to religion. The bishop, on the other hand, emerged from the 16th century as the uncontested spiritual authority, albeit stripped of all temporal rights.

7.4.2 *Graubünden*

Just like the Valais, Graubünden was not a part of Switzerland proper but was an ally of the Confederation.[33] Like the Valais, the state of Graubünden was neither a centralised city-state nor a homogenous Forest Canton but a confederation of three conglomerates of communities and therefore often referred to as the Three Leagues. In contrast to the somewhat similar geographic and communal conditions in the Valais, monocratic or ecclesiastical government had long lost its grip on Graubünden and political order was fairly fractured. These conditions of underdeveloped statehood produced legal procedures, which nowadays look strangely modern though they were, as one could argue, rather symptoms of a lack of modernity. With regard to the religious situation, the Articles of Ilanz, which were drafted in 1524 and confirmed and extended in 1526, are most remarkable. In these articles the Three Leagues committed their clergy to the church's central task, namely the preaching of the word of God. Furthermore ecclesiastic privileges such as clerical jurisdiction and rights of inheritance were cut back. The articles were the last straw that brought the bishop's secular dominion to an end. Most remarkably all community members in Graubünden, male and female, were declared free to choose between

33 For extensive studies in English on Graubünden see the work of Randolph C. Head, especially the monograph *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and his treatment of the heroic—and tragic—biography of the Graubünden patriot Jörg Jenatsch in *Jenatsch's Axe: Social Boundaries, Identity, and Myth in the Era of the Thirty Year's War* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008); see also Chapter 8 below.

"papal" or "evangelical" faith while every other option was ruled out. What distinguishes the Ilanz Articles of 1524/26, however, is not their content but rather their functional or institutional embeddedness. Contrary to many coeval articles with similar wording based on the same ideals, these articles were not utopian postulates proclaimed by heady peasants but in fact positive law.[34]

The application of law, alas, was another kettle of fish, not least because of the practical difficulties of implementing individual free choice while retaining mandatory public worship. What is more, since most of the smaller villages had only one church building and could not afford two ministers, there seldom existed *de facto* an alternative to the prevalent form of worship. So the limited individual religious freedom conceded by the Articles turned out to be mostly a freedom of the majority to decide what should be the mandatory form of religion in a given community.[35]

With respect to the study of failed Reformations the southern, Italian-speaking, valleys of Graubünden seem most promising: Situated between the Alps and Lombardy, Val Mesolcina, Val Bregaglia and Val Poschiavo were on the fringes of climates, cultures, and languages. As important transalpine gateways they were characterized by remoteness and a certain cosmopolitanism alike. Thus the childhood of John Florio in Val Bregaglia has been characterized as one spent "in considerable poverty yet not without educational advantages."[36] As far as religion is concerned, those valleys were probably the most hard-fought ground in all of Graubünden or even Switzerland. What renders the region all the more interesting is the fact that notwithstanding strong cultural and geographical similarities all three of them had established quite different religious constitutions by the mid-17th century. Along with the examination of the Southern Valleys, which were all part of the Three Leagues' proper territory, one is by reason of their interconnectedness also obliged to study the events in the Graubünden-dominated, adjacent bailiwicks of Valtellina and Chiavenna.

While Bregaglia and Mesolcina were part of the diocese of Chur, Poschiavo and the two bailiwicks were subject to the see of Como. Failed and successful Reformations in these places were in large measure the fruits of foreign

34 For a concise overview of the democratic process and its interdependence with the Reformation see Martin Bundi, "Der Entscheid für die Reformation und dessen Umsetzung im Freistaat der Drei Bünde," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Bistums Chur (451–2001)*, (ed.) Michael Durst (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 2002), 83–112.

35 On the many conflicts following the Articles of Ilanz see the collection of essays in Georg Jäger and Ulrich Pfister, (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung und Konfessionskonflikt in Graubünden, 16.-18. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Chronos, 2006) and Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*.

36 Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934), 16.

influences. Not surprisingly, given the topography, those influences reached the region from Italy.[37] The more the Inquisition and counter-reformation measures imposed pressure upon religious dissidents, the more the Southern Valleys and the two bailiwicks were flooded with evangelical preachers and alleged heretics of all sorts. Especially in Chiavenna—as its etymology suggests, a key city on a transalpine mountain route—there flourished an evangelical community, much to the chagrin of the bishop of Como.

The Three Leagues made it clear that the same freedom to choose one's religion should also apply in the bailiwicks. Considering the fact that the vast majority of Valtellina was Catholic, such a measure could be regarded as pro-Protestant, because it guaranteed evangelical minorities access to church buildings and revenues. Whereas Graubünden's politicians sought to distinguish between orthodox and heretical Italian refugees, Catholic propaganda decried them uniformly as heretics. Opposition to toleration was not a purely extrinsic phenomenon: The evangelical party was associated with "German" domination by the locals (the Three Leagues being simplistically identified as of German language and Protestant faith), which made the evangelical fight for hearts and minds an uphill struggle.

Outright counter-reformation activities took place as early as 1561, when the Council of Trent was still in session. On the diplomatic front the papal *nuntius* Bernardino Bianchi intervened in the Three Leagues' diet, while militants among the Catholic clergy warned against collaboration with heretics and encouraged abductions of Protestant magistrates and subjects alike. Pressures began to mount with the further consolidation of the counter-reformation, especially in nearby Milan under the rule of the highly efficient archbishop and cardinal Charles Borromeo (1564–1584). Fidelity to Rome and the uniformity demanded by the Council of Trent were not conceived of as challenging but rather as backing up local identity. However, Graubünden and the Italian bishoprics were not the only stakeholders. They were assisted by calculating allies. While Spain was opposed to the Three Leagues for religious and political reasons, Venice and France sympathized with them owing to their opposition to the Habsburgs.

The situation began to boil over when an armed horde of Protestants from Graubünden intervened in Valtellina. The authorities of the Three Leagues reacted with a highly biased trial in which militant exponents of the counter-reformation, arrested by the horde, were convicted. This trial, held in Thusis in 1618 and the following year, was oil thrown into the fire. Leading Catholics in Valtellina were now all the more receptive to the persuasion of aggressive

37 See Bundi, *Flüchtlingsschicksale.*

members of the resistance, whom the trial had provided with new martyrs. The leading figure of this resistance movement was the local landlord Giacomo Robustelli, who was plotting a scheme that came to be known as the Valtellina Murders or Sacred Slaughter.[38] In this thoroughly organised uprising—the rebels had connections with Milan, Madrid, and Paris—about 600 Protestants were killed, the authority of the Three Leagues eventually broke down, and the hopes for a permanent Protestant presence in the Valtellina were definitively squashed. When some two decades later an agreement with Spain was finally reached, the sovereignty of Graubünden over the Valtllina was restored only with the proviso that it should abide with Roman Catholicism. Only in the other, smaller bailiwick of Chiavenna, which was not subject to the treaty, did a small flock of Protestants remain.[39]

Adjacent Val Poschiavo was, though part of Graubünden proper, strongly affected by the developments in the Valtellina. As part of the diocese of Como it had bought itself entirely out of the bishop's secular dominion by 1537. When Italian refugees, among them the charismatic former bishop Pier Paolo Vergerio who had just escaped from Venice, preached there in the late 1540s the message fell unto good ground and brought forth Protestant fruit even though the Protestants of Val Poschiavo thereafter never outnumbered their Catholic neighbors. Especially the more rural and remote parts of the valley remained true to the old faith and the collegiate church had to be used at different times by both denominations.

The blossoming of Protestantism was, however, bad weed to the Italian bishops. The prolific Landolfi press with its steady output of anti-Catholic polemical literature, especially, was a major nuisance to the southern prelates and even to Rome itself. Over the years both faiths consolidated their worship. While the Reformed could count on Geneva and Swiss Protestant solidarity, Catholics were backed by the diocese of Como. In the course of the Valtellina Murders of 1620 an angry mob crossed the border and killed about two dozen Protestants, refugees as well as natives, ransacked and burned their houses, and routed the survivors. A similar expedition with roughly the same number of victims was orchestrated three years later when in a seemingly

38 Tellingly, the first expression is originally German (*Veltliner Mord*) while the second is originally Italian (*Sacro macello*).

39 Emil Camenisch, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in den italienischen Südtälern Graubündens und den ehemaligen Untertanenlanden Chiavenna, Veltlin und Bormio* (Chur: Bischofberger, 1950), 19–45; Randolph C. Head, "At the Frontiers of Theory. Confession Formation, Anti-Confessionalization and Religious Change in the Valtellina, 1520–1620," in Jäger and Pfister, *Konfessionalisierung*, 163–78.

spontaneous act papal troops then occupying the Valtellina tried to purge this remote part of "Italy." Only when French troops occupied the valley in 1624 did the Protestant community again become visible, and the border location of Brusio became the place of worship for all of the Protestants in the Valtellina.

Gradually the inhabitants segregated more and more along the religious frontier, creating two coexistent bodies politic with their respective calendars, schools, charities and so forth. Needless to say, political standoffs were frequent in such a tenuous situation. The Three Leagues had to intervene repeatedly as mediator well into the 18th century, usually at the request of the alarmed Protestant minority. The social and ideological rift was still virulent even in the 20th century, gaining for Poschiavo the (not entirely serious) sobriquet as "Switzerland's Northern Ireland." As often, financial interest proved to be the most efficient of peacemakers in 1960, when the community of Poschiavo chose to unite the hitherto denominationally separated public schools in order to reduce cost.

If we consider the partial failure of the Reformation in the Val Poschiavo, compared to its failure in the Val Mesolcina and its success in the Val Bregaglia, there are several distinctions that may explain the outcome. Contrary to the Val Bregaglia, the Reformation in the Val Poschiavo was not backed up by a local noble family. Contrary to the other two Southern Valleys, the Val Poschiavo was not part of the diocese of Chur, but of that of Como. Being part of Italy in ecclesiastical terms gave a patriotic overtone to the propaganda inspired by the counter-reformation. If we ask, on the other hand, why the Reformation succeeded here even partially, the answer seems to be that the Val Poschiavo had a more urban character than the Val Mesolcina, the latter being seen as disorganized in Protestant and Catholic accounts alike and poverty stricken to such a degree that it could barely feed its temporary Protestant preacher. As part of the diocese of Como, furnished with its Landolfi press, the Val Poschiavo was much more of a provocation to Italian prelates than the nearby Val Bregaglia and thus more attractive as a target for anti-Protestant machinations.[40]

7.5 Conclusion

At the outset of this contribution we defined "failed Reformation" as a process that did not result in Protestantism being established as the exclusive, officially

40 Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 46–59 and 158–66; Daniele Papacella, "Parallele Glaubensgemeinschaften. Die Institutionalisierung interner Religionsgrenzen im Puschlav," in Jäger and Pfister, *Konfessionalisierung*, 251–72.

approved form of the Christian religion in a given place, or as a process during which the Protestant faith was not fully implemented institutionally. Having looked at a wide array of failed Reformations, it seems obvious that there were many ways that a Reformation could fail—just as there were many ways that obstructing a Reformation could fail. There were many stakeholders who tried to tip the balance in favour of their interests.

There is one general insight that one can draw from this survey of failed Reformations. After the Second Kappel War and the ensuing Peace of 1531, Protestantism in Switzerland was in for a hard time. Even if the military debacle was negligible and the legal consequences limited, the new faith had lost in large measure its appeal with those yet undecided, so that the success or failure of Reformations was decided less by fundamental changes and epic decisions than by never-ending feuds.

Self-determination was coveted by many communities, especially by those that had already tasted of autonomy—often simply coextensive with the negligence of distant authorities—in the Late Middle Ages. This desire could coalesce either with the Protestant (e.g. the Toggenburg) or with the Catholic faith (e.g. the Valtellina), depending on the religious orientation of the power that threatened the autonomy of the respective community. Though Protestantism seems like the natural ally to this agenda, many communities feared the hegemony of Zurich and Bern and therefore had no desire to share these cities' faith. For them, and especially for the smaller cities, there was not much to gain by adopting the new faith. In such places, the humble beginnings of a Reformation were crushed decisively and definitely. The economy, of course, played a vital part too. The anti-mercenary rhetoric of the Swiss reformers—which in the long run was hardly more than rhetoric—did not go down well in the cities heavily dependent on mercenary pensions. On the other hand, lack of wealth could also prevent the establishment of a confessional infrastructure of any kind. The poverty of the countryside also makes the denominational situation look a lot messier to the historian. Finally, the numerous alliances, whether formal or informal, with other Swiss cantons or other European powers gave a fluid and contingent touch to the political process and, ultimately, to success or failure of the Reformation: Were it not for Solothurn and Zurich, respectively, neither Catholic Le Landeron nor the mostly Protestant Toggenburg could have kept their faith. All this is not to say that religious ideas and convictions played only a minor role, but rather that their chances of survival in any given place or region depended in no small measure on external factors.

CHAPTER 8

The Reformation in the Three Leagues (Grisons)

Jan-Andrea Bernhard

8.1 Introduction

The *Freistaat Gemeiner Drei Bünde*, the political unit known as the Three Leagues,[1] originated in the late Middle Ages, when three separate alliances—the League of God's House (*Gotteshausbund*), the Upper League or Gray League (*Oberer Bund* or *Grauer Bund*), and the League of the Ten Jurisdictions (*Zehngerichtebund*)—were formed within a territory bordered by the Swiss Confederation, the duchy of Milan, the county of Tyrol, and the Holy Roman Empire.[2] The three alliances came together in the years after 1450 as their common political interests grew, and they became more like the later Graubünden. Their relations with Milan, France, and the Swiss Confederation contributed to their awareness of common interests.[3] With the Three Leagues' defeat of the Schwabian League at the Battle of Calven in 1499, Austrian influence was reduced, and the Three Leagues remained largely unaffected by the new legal and political climate in the Empire.

1 An extensive treatment can be found in *Bündner Geschichte*, 1: 246–94, and 2: 85–112.

2 The *Gotteshausbund* (founded 1367) comprised the Vinschgau, Münstertal (Val Müstair), Engadin with Val Bregaglia (Bergell) and Val Poschiavo (Puschlav), Oberhalbstein (Surses), Domleschg, the Vier Dörfer, and Chur. It had been formed in an attempt to involve cathedral chapter, ministerials, and the town of Chur and communes in the episcopal exercise of authority. The *Oberer Bund* (founded 1395/1424) covered the Bündner Oberland (Surselva), Lugnez (Val Lumnezia), Valsertal, Safiental Schams (Val Schons), Val Mesolcina (Misox), and Val Calanca (Calancatal); the alliance had been formed at the initiative of the abbey of Disentis (Mustér) und the nobility of the Oberland to maintain peace through involvement of the communes. The *Zehngerichtebund* had been created after the death of the ruler of Toggenburg in 1436 as a means of preserving the privileges of its individual members when authority changed hands. Its members were the ten jurisdictions, that is, Maienfeld, the Prättigau, Davos with Belfort, and Schanfigg. See Roger Sablonier, "Politik und Staatlichkeit im spätmittelalterlichen Rätien," in *Bündner Geschichte*, 1: 276–82.

3 Sablonier, "Politik," 282–84; Martin Bundi, "Zur Dynamik der frühen Reformbewegung in Graubünden. Staats-, kirchen- und privatrechtliche Erlasse des Dreibündestaates 1523–1526," *Zwingliana* 38 (2011), 1–34, here at 1–2.

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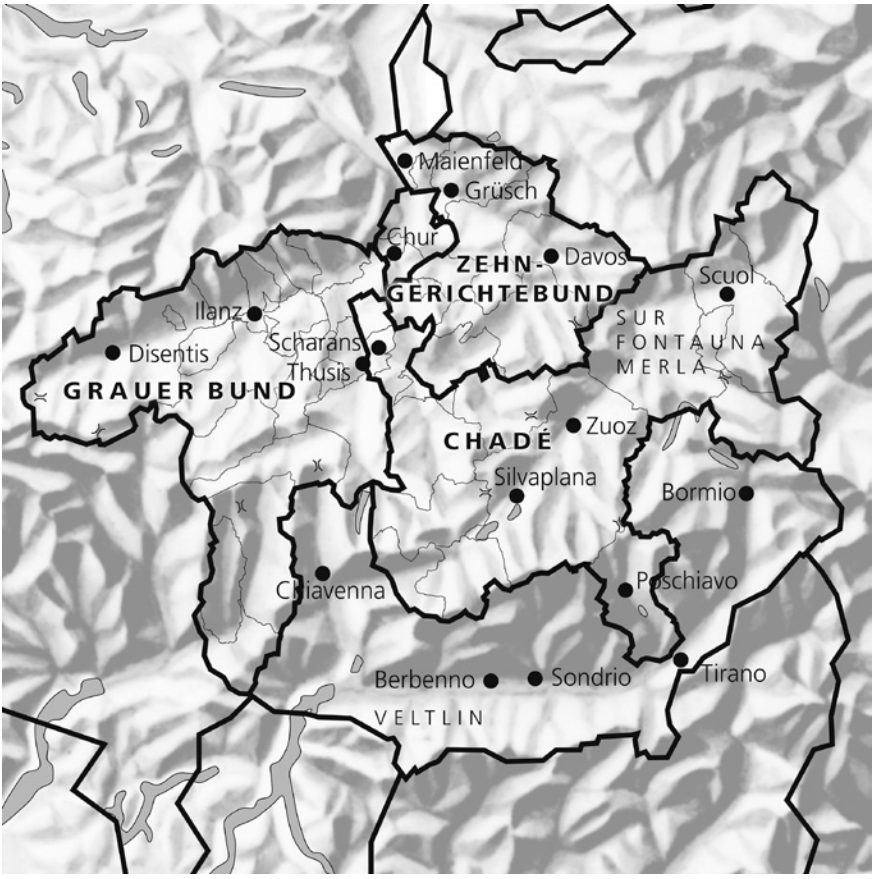

MAP 8.1 *The Three Leagues*
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From 1486/87 the Three Leagues were drawn together in particular by their attempts to acquire the Valtellina (Veltlin). After the Swiss Confederation and the Three Leagues had together, in 1512, expelled the French from the duchy of Milan, the Three Leagues quickly occupied Bormio, the Valtellina, and Chiavenna, and claimed these lands as subject lands. Their claim was officially conceded by the dukes of Milan, and from 1515 the Valtellina was governed by representatives of the Three Leagues.[4]

Internal and external developments reinforced and extended the common interests of the Three Leagues, and on 23 September 1524 they subscribed to

4 Martin Bundi, "Die Aussenbeziehungen der Drei Bünde," in *Bündner Geschichte*, 2: 177–80; Guglielmo Scaramellini, "Die Beziehungen zwischen den Drei Bünden und dem Veltlin, Chiavenna und Bormio," in *Bündner Geschichte*, 2: 148–49.

an official alliance. The *Bundesbrief*, or Letter of Alliance, would remain the legal foundation of the territory known as the Three Leagues until its dissolution at the end of the 18th century.[5] The Ilanz Articles of 1524 and 1526 both pruned the political power of the bishop and reformulated the role of commune, church, and ruler within the Three Leagues. The local feudal nobility were replaced by communes whose representatives met regularly, as the need arose, at "Puntstagen" (*Bundstage*, or diets of the Leagues), which were held in the Leagues' three principal towns, in Chur, Ilanz, and Davos. The fifty-two communes that made up the Leagues were divided, with the exception of Chur, into smaller areas (*Nachbarschaften* and *Fraktionen*) that had jurisdiction over certain local affairs, on which they could act autonomously. The existing parishes were superimposed onto this political structure; they, too, were granted extensive autonomy by the Ilanz Articles.[6]

While not glossing over the deficiencies of the system of government within the Three Leagues, we can recognize the establishment of a federal polity in the 1520s that allowed its communal members the greatest possible freedom of action.[7] Even as common political and legal interests expanded, the individual communes and the individual leagues and subject lands retained their independence in a federal sense, such that, as Liver has recognized, the constitution of the entity formed by the League of Three States, "can be characterized as pure and direct democracy." As early as 1576 renowned French political philosopher Jean Bodin designated the Three Leagues as democratic like no other state.[8]

This democratically and federally conceived construct was a product of geographical, linguistic, and historical circumstance. Geographic and linguistic borders often coincided. German was the most common language in the *Zehngerichtebund*, while in the Upper League and the *Gotteshausbund*—with the exception of Chur[9]—rhaeto-Romansch was dominant,[10] with an Italian

5 On the Letter of Alliance: Bundi, "Dynamik," 10–13.; Randolph C. Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 67–70.

6 Randolph C. Head, "Die Bündner Staatsbildung im 16. Jahrhundert: zwischen Gemeinde und Oligarchie," in *Bündner Geschichte*, 2: 88–98.

7 Peter Liver, "Verfassungsgeschichtlicher Überblick," in *Verfassung des Kantons Graubünden*, (ed.) Friedrich Pieth (Chur: Bischofberger, 1949), 19–21; Bundi, "Dynamik," 1–34.

8 Liver, *Verfassung*, 21; Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la Republique* (Paris: Jacques Du Puys, 1576), 108, 336, 797, 870, 941.

9 Chur was completely germanified after the extensive fire of 1464; Martin Bundi et al., (eds.), *Geschichte der Stadt Chur,* Vol. 2: Vom *14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Chur: Calven, 1986), 58–78.

10 Reto R. Bezzola, *Litteratura dals rumauntschs e ladins* (Chur: Lia Rumauntscha, 1979), 1–10, 190–202. Rhaeto-Romansch in Graubünden has five different forms (Vallader, Putér,

dialect spoken in the Southern Valleys of these two leagues, in Val Mesolcina, Val Calanca, Val Bregaglia, and Val Poschiavo. From the beginning, then, the Three Leagues were trilingual,[11] a feature that would prove of great significance for the intellectual changes wrought by humanism and the Reformation.[12]

8.2 From New Church Foundations to the Ilanz Articles

In the course of the 15th century, some eighty new endowments for chapels and the priests to serve them were established in the area covered by the Three Leagues. These new endowments could be found above all in neighborhoods that were subordinate to the parish church within the political commune.[13] Over time many of these new foundations would become independent of the mother church as they sought to attain the rights of a parish church.[14]

The high number of new foundations[15] not only led to an increase in the number of parishes in the Three Leagues, but also had political ramifications for both church and state. With increasing frequency, new foundations were established without episcopal approval or obtained such approval only after they had been in existence for some years.[16] Additionally the founders and benefactors of these new churches proved very ready to use their legal rights to administer the endowment and select an individual for the bishop to invest with the living. Such lay participation led to a tug of war between parishioners and bishop. By 1520, the selection of the incumbent for at least forty of the 238 parish church livings in the Three Leagues was in the hands of the local commune.[17]

Surmiran, Sutsilvan, Sursilvan), which vary so greatly from one another that without practice the speaker of one form cannot easily understand a speaker of another. As a result, since the Reformation the various forms of Romansch have adopted different written forms.

11 Adolf Collenberg, *Istorgia Grischuna*, (ed.) Verein für Bündner Kulturforschung (Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 2003), 94–102.

12 Unlike Head (*Democracy*, 43), I do not hold that the language divisions were "relatively unimportant."

13 A *Gerichtsgemeinde* or political commune might contain several villages or neighborhood settlements, and it could be divided into two or more parishes.

14 Immaculata Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft, Pfarrei und Gemeinde in Graubünden 1400–1600* (Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 1997), 15–9.

15 This process has been called "dismembration;" Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 13–111.

16 Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 97–9.

17 Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 131–47.

By the 1520s greater independence was being sought not only for the communes but also for the parishes, especially in terms of spiritual provision in the villages. The parishioners' desire to select their parish priests themselves could have been a result of the poor moral conduct of some priests, their failure to reside the parish, or the misuse of their priestly authority. Against this background, representatives of the twenty-one communes of the *Oberer Bund* gathered in Ilanz on 20 April 1523 to discuss and find a remedy for the situation in the ecclesiastical sphere.[18] The introduction to the resultant articles stated that the apostolic successors of Christ were to preach the gospel truly throughout the world, according to the instructions recorded in Matthew 10.[19]

The decisions known as the Ilanz Articles are among the first in Europe in which the secular authorities sought to reform the church, and, indeed, they record substantial intervention by the state in the life of the church.[20] Two innovations were especially revolutionary: the residency requirements for the clergy and the substantial limitations on the jurisdiction of the episcopal court. In 1523 the articles of the *Oberer Bund* were printed in Augsburg[21] along with the Articles of Sargans, of the same year.[22] Subsequently, the articles of the *Oberer Bund* were adopted by the *Zehngerichtebund* and by the northern parts of the *Gotteshausbund* (Chur, Vier Dörfer, Domleschg) and, expanded by eleven further articles, they were ratified in Chur on 6 November 1523. In their final version the articles were particularly concerned, more so than the original articles of the *Oberer Bund*, with alleviating the economic burdens that fell on the poorest; in addition, the clergy were to improve their moral conduct and cease their involvement in worldly matters. The introduction to the

18 Reforms, set within the framework of existing practice, were addressed in seven articles that tackled the requirement of clerical residency, ecclesiastical courts (which were rejected), and the conduct of the clergy.

19 Martin Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit und Inquisition im rätischen Alpenraum. Von der Proklamation der "Religionsfreiheit" zu den Glaubens- und Hexenverfolgungen im Freistaat der Drei Bünde (16. Jahrhundert)*, (ed.) Verein für Bündner Kulturforschung (Bern: Haupt, 2003), 28–9.

20 Bundi, "Dynamik," 3–4.

21 *Eyn Tracktadt von etlichen grossen klagen…und wyter von zweyen gehaltenen Landttägen im Grauen Bundt…* (Augsburg: Steiner, 1523). The publisher may have been Martin Seger of Maienfeld; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 29; Gisela Möncke, "Ilanzer und Sarganser Artikel in einer Flugschrift aus dem Jahre 1523," ZKG 100 (1989), 370–88, here at 372.

22 The eight items that formed the Articles of Sargans, which likewise sought to tackle ecclesiastical abuses, were issued by representative of seven members of the Swiss Confederation (Bern was not represented) on 13 July 1523; they were largely based on the articles of the Gray League; Bundi, "Dynamik," 4–5; Head, *Democracy*, 66–7.

published articles included a reference to the principle of *sola scriptura*,[23] a position that was also included in the introduction to the First Ilanz Articles, which were adopted as legally binding for the Three Leagues on 4 April 1524 and largely agreed in content with the eighteen articles of November 1523. The *Bundstag* included the earlier introduction and a conclusion, and it affixed the seals of the Three Leagues to the document; the episcopal seal was not used, for although he was the most powerful territorial lord, the bishop had not participated in the *Bundstag*.[24]

By 1524, when the letter of confederation (*Bundesbrief*), which agreed with the First Ilanz Articles, was issued, Bishop Paul Ziegler had already fled Graubünden for Fürstenburg, his castle in the Vinschgau; he would not return to Chur during his remaining sixteen years as bishop. His flight made clear the implications of the First Ilanz Articles.[25] Where the Articles of Sargans had addressed specific grievances concerning the church, by means of the First Ilanz Articles various groups within the communes systematically reduced episcopal authority and by their own authority introduced a state church.[26]

Events in the Swiss Confederation in 1525 would have significant impact on both church and state in the Three Leagues. Disputations had enabled the breakthrough of the Reformation in Zurich, and at Easter 1525 an evangelical Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time. The same year celebration of the Roman Catholic mass ceased in a number of locations within the Three Leagues.[27] On 21 April 1525, Marco Spavento, a Venetian merchant, recorded that mass had not been celebrated in Chur that Easter.[28] The actions of Johannes Comander (Dorfmann, 1485–1557) were especially influential.[29]

23 The introduction recorded the need for "capable individuals … in order that the common man be provided with the words and teaching of Christ all the more faithfully and not be led into error," Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 29. These eighteen articles, too, were printed in Augsburg, as well as in Nuremberg and Zwickau. Bundi, "Dynamik," 5–6.

24 Bundi, "Dynamik," 8.

25 On the implications and implementation of the Articles in general, see Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 171–263.

26 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 30; Head, *Democracy*, 68; Oskar Vasella, *Geistliche und Bauern. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu Spätmittelalter und Reformation in Graubünden und seinen Nachbargebieten*, (eds.) Ursus Brunold und Werner Vogler (Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 1996), 129.

27 For example, in 1524 Ulrich Bolt was already preaching the Reformation in Fläsch und Malans; Emil Egli, "Täufer aus dem Lande Schwyz," *Zwingliana* 1 (1900), 138–44, here at 142.

28 Martin Bundi, *Frühe Beziehungen zwischen Graubünden und Venedig (15./16. Jahrhundert)* (Chur: Gasser, 1988), 137–38, 316–17.

29 Wilhelm Jenny, *Johannes Comander. Lebensgeschichte des Reformators der Stadt Chur*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1969–70).

Comander had left Eschholzmatt for Chur in 1523, called by the town council as pastor at the church of St. Martin.[30] After the abbot of the monastery of St. Luzi and the cathedral chapter complained to the *Bundstag* that the teachings of Comander and other clergy were heretical, the *Bundstag* resolved that a religious disputation should be held on 7 January 1526.[31] With this decision, the state assumed responsibility in an essentially religious matter. The disputation in Ilanz produced no concrete results, but indirectly this was a victory for the reformed party. Furthermore, the principle of *sola scriptura* had already been recognized in the Ilanz Articles. In spring 1526 the presiding officials of the Three Leagues met in a smaller meeting (a *Beitag*), probably in Chur, to clarify the religious situation. Fourteen men, drawn from all three leagues, agreed on a proclamation of faith, according to which every individual, both male and female, had the right to decide freely between "evangelical" and "papal."[32] This proclamation was to be put to a *Bundstag*, probably that held on 12 June 1526 in Davos,[33] for approval.[34] Historian Rosius à Porta (1734–1806) termed the

30 From 1519 the town council of Chur had this right; Ulrich Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen,* 93. The rural communes were well aware of this right, which had an indirect impact on the composition of the Ilanz Articles; Georg Jäger, "Die Reformation in der Stadt Chur," in Bundi, *Geschichte der Stadt Chur*, 274–338, here at 286–93.

31 See below.

32 "…ut singulis utriusque sexus et cuiuscunque conditionis ac ordinis hominibus, intra Foederatorum Raetorum ditionis fines incolentibus, liberam esset ex hisce duabus, pontifica nempe et evangelica, quamvis inter se non parum diversis religionibus, utram quisque vellet, prout spiritus sancti instinctu admoneretur incitareturque, eligere, amplecti atque retinere;…" (Durich Chiampell, *Historia raetica. De Raetia ac Raetis liber posterior*, (ed.) Placidus Plattner, 2 vols. [Basel: Schneider, 1887–1890], 1: 161–62).

33 On the date of this *Beitag*, Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 44, 257. Bundi's position that the *Beitag* could only have taken place after the release of those who had been imprisoned in the Musso War is more convincing that that proposed by Vasella, *Geistliche*, 182–84; Bundi, "Dynamik," 28; Giuglielmo Scaramellini, "'Et è ormai Chiavenna fatta una Genevretta, et minaccia a Italia.' Mercanti e 'libertà retica': riformati et eterodossi sulle vie d'Otralpe nel XVI secolo," *Storia ecomomica* 17 (2014), 43–84, here at 50–64.

34 Although the original of this document is no longer extant and we have only the copy by Durich Chiampell, there is little doubt about the historicity of this proclamation of faith, despite the arguments of Florian Hitz, "Im Veltlin die Reformation durchsetzen. Ein Traktat von Ulrich Campell 1577," JHGG 140 (2010), 5–62, here at 47–8. There are several examples of villages in which individual families followed a confession different from that of the majority, although there was no parity for the confessions. For example, the commune of Seewis i. O. (Sevgein) parted company with the mother church in Castrisch when the latter joined the Reformation around 1530; the Bertogg family adopted the Reformed faith but remained full members of the commune.

document a *libertatis conscientiae diploma*.[35] This quasi-constitutional protection of individual freedom of belief was unique in Europe.[36]

The proclamation understood religious freedom as relative and limited, restricted to the "papal" or "evangelical" faiths. While the term "evangelical" as used in this period should not be understood as the equivalent of "Reformed,"[37] it is clear that it did not include other forms of belief associated with the early Reformation, such as Anabaptism.[38] Yet from 1525 Anabaptists were to be found in the Three Leagues. They included Michael Gaismair, who was occasionally in the Leagues from 1525, and Ulrich Bolt, the reformer of Fläsch, who by late 1525 was an Anabaptist sympathizer.[39] This context explains the conditions imposed by the *Bundstag*. Additionally, the proclamation instructed the pastors of both "religions" to ensure that they preached both to groups and individuals "from the scriptures alone of the Old and New Testaments." The *Bundstag* clearly reaffirmed its insistence on the principle of *sola scriptura*.[40]

On 25 June 1526, the next meeting of the *Bundstag* issued the Second Ilanz Articles, twenty articles that again portray an independent democratic state at work.[41] The most dramatic attack on the existing nature of the state was contained in the first article, in which the Three Leagues abolished episcopal

35 Petrus Dominicus Rosius à Porta, *Historia Reformationis Ecclesiarum Raeticarum*, 2 vols. (Lindau: Jakob Otto, 1771–1777), 1: 146.

36 The legal principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, as contained in the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, was therefore never applicable to the Three Leagues; see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), 163–4.

37 Although Bundi makes this inference; Bundi, "Dynamik," 28.

38 See Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 161–2.

39 See Bundi, "Dynamik," 25–9; Egli, "Täufer," 142–3; Chapter 10 below.

40 The majority of the representatives who attended the *Bundstag* that confirmed the proclamation of faith were still adherents of the old faith, although the three league representatives and the secretary favored the new faith; Bundi, "Dynamik," 27–30; idem, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 33–4, 42–5; Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 180–1.

41 Hitz, in particular, holds that the Ilanz Articles, like other European peasant articles, were largely declamatory in character and should be understood merely as a negotiating position adopted by the communes; Florian Hitz, "Landesherrschaft und Gemeindekirche. Heterodoxie und politischer Widerstand. Schiers an der Schwelle zur Konfessionalisierung," in *Konfessionalisierung und Konfessionskonflikt in Graubünden, 16.–18. Jahrhundert*, (eds.) Georg Jäger and Ulrich Pfister (Zurich: 2006), 45–76, here at 51; and Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen,* 79–84. By contrast Bundi, following Liver (who tends to idealize) and Head, has come out forcefully for the position that the articles are revolutionary in character and the expression of the legislative powers of an independent democratic state; Bundi, "Dynamik," 30–1, 32–3; Head, *Democracy*, 68–9, 71–2; Peter Liver, "Vom Feudalismus zur Demokratie," JHGG 59 (1929), 99–107. On the Ilanz Articles as "peasant articles," see below.

authority in temporal matters.[42] In effect, the Three Leagues declared themselves an independent republic. Other articles sought to ease the condition of the rural population, for example by removing the burden of payments due to ecclesiastical landowners. And finally, earlier articles, in particular those that had addressed the legal rights of the church, were refined.[43] Of particular interest is article 13, according to which every commune was to ensure their pastor received the income due to him, but the commune was also empowered to "appoint and dismiss a pastor according to what seems right to them."[44] This provision is clear evidence that ecclesiastical sovereignty was definitively transferred from the bishop to the commune. The *Missio* of the bishop was no longer the basis for religious activities; instead, endowments created within the commune provided the necessary income for a pastor and obligated performance of his duties, and therefore the commune itself should have the legal power to appoint and dismiss him.[45] This process had already begun in the 15th century, and so—in contrast to the twelve articles of the south German peasants of 1525—the Second Ilanz Articles did not need to turn to scripture to justify these provisions, which did not arise directly from efforts to introduce the Reformation. In the mid-1520s the communes were freeing themselves definitively from the authority of local feudal lords (the bishop, the abbots of Disentis and Pfäfers). Religion was to be the reserve not of feudal lords or the political officeholders of the leagues, but of the communes.[46]

This is not to say that the various reform movements in Europe did not have an impact on the legal and political status of both church and state in the

42 Up until this point the episcopal college of councilors (*Ratskollegium*) had been the highest court and was the court of appeal for the *Gotteshausbund*; Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 174.

43 Various articles abolished endowed masses, placed the administration of the monasteries under the oversight of the state, forbade the acceptance of novices, and regulated the representation of the *Gotteshausbund* at the election of the bishop by the cathedral chapter.

44 Ilanz Articles of 1526, in *Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte Graubündens. 2. Heft: Zeit der Reformation*, (ed.) Constanz Jecklin (Chur: Sprecher & Plattner, 1884), 93; see Bundi, "Dynamik," 31; Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 177. A provision with the same intent was subsequently included in all legal decisions of the Three Leagues and the canton of Graubünden; it still appears in the constitution of the canton as revised in 2004 (Art. 99, Abs. 3).

45 This should by no means be viewed negatively, as "undeserving dependence on the community" (Vasella, *Geistliche*, 489), but rather as "positive law" (Peter Liver, "Die Staatliche Entwicklung im alten Graubünden," SZG 2 [1933], 206–48, here at 227), which invested all sovereign rights, including those concerning religion, in the people.

46 Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 176–81; Head, *Democracy*, 72.

Three Leagues. The reformation movement was formative for both the proclamation of religious freedom and the ecclesiastical provisions of the Second Ilanz Articles.[47] The Second Ilanz Articles would help shape the confessional developments that led eventually to the creation of a Reformed church within the Three Leagues.

8.3 The Reformation in the Three Leagues

8.3.1 *Setting the Stage: Humanistic and Reformation Knowledge Transfer*

Located at the heart of Europe and with its mountain passes a conduit for travelers and ideas, the Three Leagues was a locus in the European-wide transfer of knowledge, including humanist and Reformation ideas. This humanistic-reformatory transfer of knowledge, which occurred especially in the form of correspondence between scholars, the dissemination of printed works, and the travel of students, would normatively influence intellectual developments in the Three Leagues in a variety of ways.[48] For many reformers, the two were closely intertwined, and as a result we can speak of a "humanistic Reformation."[49] Humanist ideas, or, indeed, humanistic-reformatory ideas, were circulating in the 1520s and 1530s in the Rhine valley, in Chur, in the Bündner Herrschaft, and in the Prättigau, rooted in the intellectual exchange between Chur and the monastery of Pfäfers, on one side, and leading European intellectual figures, on the other,[50] and in the Valtellina and the Southern Valleys, as a result of the persecution of reform-minded humanists in Italy. Later, educated individuals in the Engadin and other valleys in the Three Leagues

47 Bundi's statement (*Gewissensfreiheit*, 34) that the content of the Second Ilanz Articles breathed "a clear Reformation spirit" accords with this interpretation. Bertogg held that the goal of the Articles was "to open the door to direct evangelism;" Hercli Bertogg, *Evangelische Verkündigung auf rätoromanischem Boden* (Chur: Bischofberger, 1940), 94.

48 The necessary connection between correspondence, printing, and student travel is still not sufficiently considered in Reformation research. The studies of Conrad Bonarand on the Three Leagues are a noteworthy exception.

49 The term "humanistic Reformation" has been employed in particular in accounts of the Reformation in Hungary; see Ulrich A. Wien, "Die Humanisten Johannes Honterus und Valentin Wagner als Vertreter einer konservativen Stadtreformation in Kronstadt,'" in *Konfessionsbildung und Konfessionskultur in Siebenbürgen in der frühen Neuzeit*, (eds.) Volker Leppin und Ulrich A. Wien (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 2005), 89–104, here at 103.

50 A number of humanists and reformers—Heinrich Glarean and Huldrych Zwingli, for example—had personal contact with Abbot Johann Jakob Russinger while they were in Pfäfers to take the waters; Russinger would later decide against adopting the Reformation.

also self-identified as humanists. Although not all them became Protestant,[51] they helped prepare the soil from which Protestantism grew. And the great majority of those in the Three Leagues who can be identified as humanist did indeed sooner or later adopt the new faith. Both those who accepted the Reformation and those who remained Catholic remained true to humanist methods drawn from Erasmus.[52]

8.3.2 *The Early Reformation of the 1520s*

By the early 1520s evangelical ideas had already been taken up by a number of individuals in the Prättigau and in the Rhine valley above and below Chur.[53] One influential figure was Martin Segers, *Stadtvogt* in Maienfeld. Also active in these years, in the church of St. Martin in Chur, was Lorenz Mähr, who had served with Zwingli in Zurich in 1522; Mähr would finally decide for Catholicism.[54] In 1523 he was succeeded by Johannes Comander, from Maienfeld, who was supported by Jakob Salzmann, who taught at the newly founded school in Chur from 1524.[55] Zwingli's intervention secured a position for his supporter Ulrich Bolt in Fläsch; Bolt also influenced the neighboring communes of Malans, Maienfeld, and Ragaz. Communion in both kinds was distributed in Fläsch as early as 1524, an indication that Fläsch was one of the first communes to introduce the Reformation.[56] Although Igis adopted the Reformation in 1532, the other communes within the Vier Dörfer remained Roman Catholic until into the 17th century.[57] The indefatigable Jakob Spreiter of Montafon, pastor of St. Antönien (from 1517), would become the leading light of the Reformation in

51 Examples include Simon Lemnius of Münstertal, Antonius Stuppa of Bergell, and Theodul Schlegel, abbot of Chur. On these individuals, see Lothar Mundt, "Introduction" to *Simon Lemnius: Amorum Libri IV—Liebeselegien in vier Büchern* (*1542*), (ed.) Lothar Mundt (Bern: Lang, 1988), 7–14; Janett Michel, *Vom Humanismus und seinen Anfängen in Graubünden* (*Lemnius und Campell*) (Chur: Bischofsberger, 1930), 12–38; Beat Rudolf Jenny, "Antonius Stuppa. Ein vergessener Humanist aus dem Bergell," BM (1975), 49–83; and Oskar Vasella, *Abt Theodul Schlegel von Chur und seine Zeit: 1515–1529. Kritische Studien über Religion und Politik in der Zeit der Reformation* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1954).

52 Conradin Bonorand, *Die Engadiner Reformatoren. Philipp Gallicius—Jachiam Tütschett Bifrun—Durich Chiampell* (Chur: Evangelischer Kirchenrat Graubünden, 1987), 16–8.

53 Hans Berger, *Die Reformation in Chur und ihre Ausstrahlungen auf Bünden* (Chur: Vereinigung freigesinnter Protestanten, 1968), 6–7.

54 Hans Berger, *Evangelisch Chur—seine Prädikanten, Kirchen und Friedhöfe* (Chur: Calven-Verlag, 1978), 61.

55 As a result of the unanimous decision of the cathedral chapter for Catholicism in 1524, Seger left the monastery school; Berger, *Reformation*, 7–8.

56 Berger, *Reformation*, 8–9.

57 Hans Berger, *Die Reformation im Kreis der fünf Dörfer* (Chur: Bischofberger, 1950), 1–52.

the Prättigau.[58] Bartholomäus Bilger, provost of the monastery of St. Jakob in Klosters, converted to the Reformation in 1525, left the monastery, and married the sister of the *Landammann*; in 1526 the lands of the monastery passed into the hands of the commune.[59] In 1526–27 Spreiter also prepared the way for the Reformation in Davos, although its full acceptance came only under his successor, Andreas Schmid (called Fabricius, ca. 1480–1552) from Medels (Medel).[60] Individuals with a humanist education and clergy sympathetic to the ideas of the Reformation were also active in Gruob (Foppa) in the early 1520s—Jacob Jos (called Barbla) in Ilanz, for example, and Christian Hartmann, formerly a monk of St. Luzi, in Sagogn.[61] A letter addressed by the town council of Ilanz to neighboring Glarus, with which Ilanz was on good terms, concerning an invitation to a church festival makes evident that in 1525 the town council was characterized by a spirit of Zwinglian reform and had a low opinion of pilgrimages.[62] The presence of a number of politically or spiritually reform-minded individuals in Gruob may explain why several *Bundstage* at which significant decisions were made were held in Ilanz.[63]

Although associated with the beginnings of the Reformation, such events are usually categorized as peasant unrest and analyzed within the context of the Peasants' War of the Three Leagues.[64] At issue is whether the growing

58 Resistence in the Vorderprättigau was greater; Hitz, "Landesherrschaft," 57–67; Paul Gillardon, *Geschichte des Zehngerichtebundes: Festschrift zur Fünfhundertjahrfeier seiner Gründung 1436–1936* (Davos: Buchdruckerei Davos, 1936), 95. See also below.

59 Florian Hitz, *Die Prämonstratenserklöster Churwalden und St. Jakob im Prättigau. Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und Kolonisationstätigkeit* (Chur: Bündner Monatsblatt, 1992), 55.

60 Gillardon, *Geschichte*, 94.

61 Martin Bundi, "Zur Führungsrolle des Grauen Bundes und der Stadt Ilanz in der frühen Reformbewegung Graubündens," *Zwingliana* 39 (2012), 23–50, here at 29–31.

62 See town council of Ilanz to Landammann of Glarus, 6 July 1525, in Vasella, *Geistliche*, 207.

63 Examination of individual regions in Graubünden makes evident that Pfisters and Hitz are incorrect to hold that the events of the 1520s led to a rudimentary Reformation only in Chur. Ulrich Pfister, "Konfessionskirchen und Glaubenspraxis," in *Bündner Geschichte,* 2: 213; Hitz, "Landesherrschaft," 51. Indeed, as early as 26 October 1521 Salzmann had assured Vadian that the inhabitants of the Rhaetian mountains were longing for the Word of God; VBS 2: 203–5, no. 283.

64 See, for example, Vasella, *Geistliche*, 138–97, or Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation,* 445–6. In his most recent depiction Pfister shares that view, *Konfessionskirchen*, 74–6, placing the Ilanz Articles in the context of the so-called "Bündner Bauernkrieg." There had been refusals to pay the tithe in the Three Leagues at the end of the 15th century, and such events should not be read as signs of a peasants' revolt. Hercli Bertogg, *Verkündigung*, 92–8, has established that unlike the peasants' wars, the Ilanz Articles cannot be understood as

resistance to episcopal authority in the Three Leagues, i.e. the movement for democratization expressed in various Articles from 1523 on, should be characterized as peasant unrest. The term 'Peasants' War' is usually reserved for a revolutionary movement directed against the ruling elite. In the Three Leagues, however, the reallocation of sovereign rights resulted not from a revolt led by peasants but rather from the opposition of various groups to the bishop as their temporal lord. We have evidence, based on very few sources, of only one event that could be termed a "peasants' revolt:" on 16 June 1525, peasants from the area of Chur, and possibly also from the Prättigau, tried to take control of the city of Chur. Participants in this uprising refused to pay tithes to the church or to the bishop, citing the Ilanz Articles of 1524.[65] We should note, however, that the participants were not just peasants, for the opposition movement enjoyed the support of townspeople as well, and that the impact was largely limited to the episcopal quarter in Chur, for by this date Comander was already preaching the Reformation, Bishop Paul Ziegler was no longer in Chur, and the episcopal curia was isolated. Among the citizens of the town were not just delegates to the *Bundstag* but also member of noble families. Thanks to the intervention of the latter, the uprising was quelled without loss of blood, and further movements towards democratization resulted.[66] At about the same time Gian Giacomo de Medici, the Castellan of Musso and an ally of the bishop of Chur, attempted to occupy the Three Leagues. The Leagues' victory in the first Musso War (1524–26) promoted a self-assurance that strengthened calls for increased self-government and contributed indirectly to the Second Ilanz Articles of 1526.[67]

Even before the First Musso War, in the autumn of 1523, the Inquisition was active in the Valtellina, at the request of the Valtellina valley council (*Talrat*). Fra Modesto Scrofeo, inquisitor from Como, preached in the Valtellina against

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the product of economic, social, and political grievances alone; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit,* 31–2; Saulle Hippenmeyer, *Nachbarschaft*, 174–5.

65 Bundi, "Dynamik," 18–9; Vasella, *Geistliche*, 164.

66 It is very doubtful that Michael Gaismair, leader of the peasant revolt in the Tyrol, was also at the head of the peasant uprising in the Three Leagues. Although Gaismair was in Graubünden for periods from September 1525 to 1530, the evidence that he led the revolt is very slim, as Chiampell addresses briefly; see Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 115. We can agree with Bundi, "Dynamik," 26–7, however, who writes that the presence of Gaismair in Graubünden contributed to a revolutionary atmosphere among the peasants of the *Zehngerichtebund,* which furthered progress toward complete extrication from the temporal authority of the bishop, as evident in the Second Ilanz Articles.

67 Bundi, "Dynamik," 20–2; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 85.

FIGURE 8.1 *View of the city of Chur, from Merian,* Topographia Helvetiae
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

the "Lutheran heresy."[68] Thirty trials were held over the course of the next two months, with supporters of the Reformation among the accused. The excessive punishments, which were carried out in Sondrio, provoked violent protest among the population of the Valtellina, and Scrofeo was hounded out of the valley.[69] Although in the early 1520s the first flickers of reformatory thought in the Valtellina were dampened down,[70] they would flare up again in the 1530s, first in Chiavenna and subsequently in Tirano and Sondrio.

68 The subject lands belonged to the diocese of Como. The authority of the bishop of Como in spiritual matters had, however, already been abolished in the First Ilanz Articles of 1524, as was confirmed in the *Bundstag* decree of 4 February 1542 and finally legally established in the *Statuti di Valtelina riformati* (Poschiavo: Landolfi, 1549).

69 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 96–7.

70 Comander mentioned an Italian religious refugee who found no welcome in the Valtellina in 1529 and therefore moved to Bregaglia and the Upper Engadin, where he was actively involved in promoting the Reformation; Johannes Comander to Joachim Vadian, 12 April 1529, VBS 4: 178–9, no. 571. The individual was probably Bartolomeo Maturo, who introduced the Reformation to Vicosoprano.

The early Reformation provoked a Catholic response in the north. From 1522 the episcopal curia initiated disciplinary actions against individual clergy.[71] As noted, in December 1525 Abbot Theodul Schlegel and the cathedral chapter complained to the *Bundstag* in Chur about Comander and forty other clergy in the Three Leagues and requested that the secular authorities assist them in tackling these heretics and sectarians.[72] Comander called for a disputation in order to prove that his sermons accorded with scripture. The *Bundstag* agreed and set 7 January 1526 as the date of the event, with the gathering to be held in Ilanz. Each league sent a delegation of two men to attend and preside over the disputation. Clergy from both camps were also invited to attend.[73]

As the basis for the disputation held in Ilanz on 8 and 9 January 1526, Comander drew up eighteen theses, which were printed at the end of 1525 in Augsburg and would have been known to both parties by the time the disputation began.[74] At the head of the theses stood the statement, "The Christian Church is born from the Word of God; it should remain in the same and not

71 Vasella, *Theodul Schlegel*, 33–4, 70–1.

72 See the decision of the *Bundstag* in Chur, December 1525, in Fritz Jecklin, (ed.), *Materialien zur Standes- und Landesgeschichte Gem. III Bünde* (*Graubünden*) *1464–1803*, 2 vols. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung, 1907–1909), 1: 87, no. 422; *Acta und handlung des Gesprächs so von allen Priesteren der Tryen Pündten im M.D.XXVI. jar uff Mentag und Zynstag nach der heyligen III. Künigen tag zuo Inlantz im Grawen Pundt uss Ansehung der Pundtsherren geschehen,* (ed.) Sebastian Hofmeyster (Zurich: Froschauer, 1526), Aiij^{r}–Aiiij^{r}; Bundi, "Dynamik," 22–3; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 115–6.

73 Comander was the spokesman for the new faith, while Vicar General Peter Spyser, called Fabri, was the spokesman for the old faith. Further Catholic participants included Abbot Theodul Schlegel of St. Luzi, Cathedral Canon Bartholomäus de Castelmur from Bregaglia, Dean Johann Bursella from Chamues-ch, and Schoolmaster Christian Berri from the cathedral school. Participants of the new faith included the Schoolmaster Johannes Pontisella, Pastor Christian Hartmann from Thusis, Chaplain Philipp Gallicius from Chamues-ch, and Schoolmaster Jakob Salzmann. The main source for the disputation is Sebastian Hofmeister from Schaffhausen, one of the two delegates sent by Zurich to attend the event in Ilanz and who put together a report along with a list of the eighteen theses proposed by Comander. See Hofmeister, *Acta und handlung,* and J. Jakob Simonet, *Die Ilanzer Disputation von 1526* (Chur: Selbstverlag, 1927), 16–7. Gallicius, unlike Bursella, had adopted the cause of the Reformation, which raised some dust and had legal consequences: on 15 March 1526 Gallicius was found guilty by a court in the Upper Engadin, expelled, and ordered to pay a fine of 100 Gulden; the opposition, however, was soon able to have this verdict reversed; Vasella, *Geistliche*, 180–1.

74 [Johannes Comander], *Uber dise nachkommenden Schluszreden…ainem yeden antwurt und bericht geben auss hayliger geschrifft news und alts Testaments auff den Pundtstag der zuo Jlantz angesehen ist auff Sontag nach Epiphanie…*(Augsburg: [Melchior Raminger?], 1526); reprinted in RBS 1/1: 177–9.

listen to the voice of another."[75] The theses that followed addressed auricular confession, purgatory, clerical marriage, the adoration of images, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the mass or Lord's Supper, and tithes.

Comander prevailed in the lengthy negotiations concerning procedure.[76] In the end, however, he was able to provide an extended explanation only of his first thesis concerning the concept of *sola scriptura*, a principle already accepted by the *Bundstag*.[77] Abbot Schlegel spoke for the Catholic party on the church, purgatory, and especially on the Lord's Supper. Despite Comander's protest, the discussions were broken off on the second day, and as a result neither side could claim a decisive victory. On 23 January 1526 representatives of Lucerne and Schwyz demanded at the *Bundstag* that the members of the Three Leagues distance themselves from the Lutheran heresy, which they appeared to be allowing to spread—evidence in itself that the Catholics recognized the danger inherent in the lack of a decision at the disputation. The representatives of the Three Leagues refused to have Comander banished, and the Catholics therefore did not see Comander punished for his allegiance to the new ideas as they had wanted. The above-mentioned proclamation of religious freedom was adopted by a smaller meeting (*Beitag*) at a subsequent *Bundstag*.

In his theses Comander had also taken aim at the secular authority of the bishop,[78] thereby providing a theological justification for the Second Ilanz Articles of 1526. This laid the foundation for a closer relationship between the reform movement and political developments.[79] The Ilanz Articles left the religious question open, but by legitimizing the free election of parish pastors, they aided the Reformation in the long run.

As a consequence of the Second Ilanz Articles, a number of communes accepted the Reformation. In Ilanz itself, where the Reformation had been preached even before the Second Ilanz Articles were issued, the town seal, which included an image of Mary and Jesus, was replaced. In Gruob (Foppa),

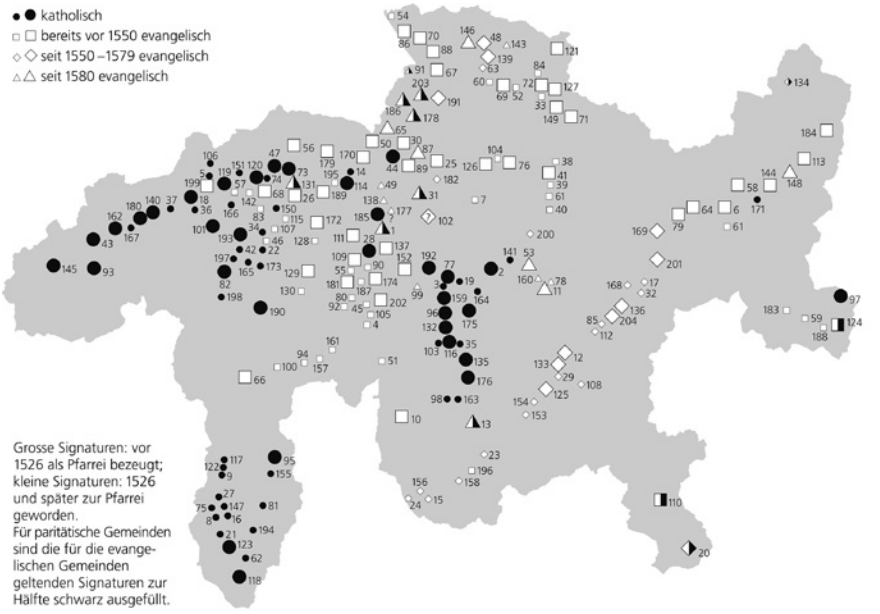
75 RBS 1/1: 177.

76 Supporters of the old faith hoped to prevent the disputation from taking place by arguing, for example, that they should first wait for the reform council that had been called, or that the delegates from Zurich should leave the room, along with members of the laity, because they did not understand the matters discussed; *Acta und handlung*.

77 Eberhard Busch, "Das eine Wort Gottes," in *Emlékkönyv Tőkés István kilencvenedik születésnapjára*, (ed.) Zsolt Geréb (Klausenburg/Kolozsvár: Protestantisch-theologisches Institut, 2006), 486–500, here at 487–90; Simonet, *Disputation*, 12–6.

78 "Bishops should preach themselves, and not rule with a secular sword or possess much property;" RBS 1/1: 178.

79 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 116; Jakob Rudolf Truog, *Aus der Geschichte der evangelisch-rätischen Synode 1537–1937* (Chur: Ebner, 1937), 33.



MAP 8.2 *The confessional situation in the Three Leagues. Black circles show Catholic parishes, white squares show parishes that became Protestant before 1550, white diamonds show parishes that became Protestant between 1550–1579, and white triangles show parishes that became Protestant in 1580 and later. Large symbols are parishes that existed before 1526; smaller symbols are parishes created in 1526 and after. Symbols that are half black show parishes where confessional parity was established. Numbers refer to the following parishes: 1 Almens-Rodels-Rothenbrunnen; 2 Alvaneu; 3 Alvaschein; 4 Andeer; 5 Andiast; 6 Ardez; 7 Arosa; 8 Arvigo; 9 Augio; 10 Avers; 11 Bergün/Bravuogn; 12 Bever; 13 Bivio; 14 Bonaduz; 15 Bondo; 16 Braggio; 17 Brail i.E.; 18 Breil/Brigels; 19 Brienz/Brinzauls; 20 Brusio; 21 Buseno; 22 Camuns; 23 Casaccia-Maloja; 24 Castasegna; 25 Castiel-Calfreisen-Lüen; 26 Castrisch; 27 Cauco; 28 Cazis/Cazas; 29 Celerina/Schlarigna; 30 Chur; 31 Churwalden; 32 Cinuos-chel; 33 Conters i.P.; 34 Cumbel; 35 Cunter; 36 Danis-Tavanasa; 37 Dardin; 38 Davos Dorf-Laret; 39 Davos Frauenkirch; 40 Davos Monstein; 41 Davos Platz; 42 Degen; 43 Disentis/Mustér; 44 Domat/Ems; 45 Donath-Patzen-Fardün-Casti; 46 Duvin; 47 Falera; 48 Fanas; 49 Feldis/Veulden; 50 Felsberg; 51 Ferrera; 52 Fideris; 53 Filisur; 54 Fläsch; 55 Flerden; 56 Flims; 57 Flond; 58 Ftan; 59 Fuldera; 60 Furna; 61 Davos Glaris; 62 Grono-Cama-Leggia; 63 Grüsch; 64 Guarda; 65 Haldenstein; 66 Hinterrhein; 67 Igis; 68 Ilanz/Glion; 69 Jenaz; 70 Jenins; 71 Klosters; 72 Küblis; 73 Laax; 74 Ladir; 75 Landarenca; 76 Langwies; 77 Lantsch/Lenz; 78 Latsch; 79 Lavin; 80 Lohn; 81 Lostallo; 82 Lumbrein; 83 Luven; 84 Luzein; 85 Madulain; 86 Maienfeld; 87 Maladers; 88 Malans; 89 Malix; 90 Masein; 91 Mastrils; 92 Mathon-Wergenstein/Vargistagn; 93 Medel/Medels i.O.; 94 Medels i.R.; 95 Mesocco; 96 Mon; 97 Müstair; 98 Mulegns; 99 Mutten; 100 Nufenen; 101 Obersaxen; 102 Parpan; 103 Parsonz; 104 Peist; 105 Pignia; 106 Pigniu/Panix; 107 Pitasch; 108 Pontresina/Puntraschigna; 109 Portein-Sarn-Tartar; 110 Poschiavo; 111 Präz; 112 La Punt-Chamues-ch; 113 Ramosch-Vnà; 114 Rhäzüns; 115 Riein; 116 Riom; 117 Rossa; 118 Roveredo; 119 Rueun; 120 Ruschein; 121 St. Antönien; 122 Sta. Domenica;*

123 Sta. Maria i.C.; 124 Sta. Maria i.M.; 125 St. Moritz; 126 St. Peter-Pagig-Molinis; 127 Saas; 128 Safien Neukirch; 129 Safien Platz; 130 Safien Thalkirch; 131 Sagogn; 132 Salouf; 133 Samedan; 134 Samnaun; 135 Savognin; 136 S-chanf; 137 Scharans-Fürstenau; 138 Scheid; 139 Schiers; 140 Schlans; 141 Schmitten; 142 Schnaus; 143 Schuders; 144 Scuol/Schuls; 145 Sedrun; 146 Seewis i.P.; 147 Selma; 148 Sent; 149 Serneus; 150 Sevgein/Seewis i.O.; 151 Siat; 152 Sils i.D.; 153 Sils i.E./Segl; 154 Silvaplana-Champfèr; 155 Soazza; 156 Soglio; 157 Splügen; 158 Stampa-Borgonovo; 159 Stierva; 160 Stugl/Stuls; 161 Sufers; 162 Sumvitg; 163 Sur; 164 Surava; 165 Surcasti; 166 Surcuolm; 167 Surrein; 168 Susauna; 169 Susch; 170 Tamins; 171 Tarasp; 172 Tenna; 173 Tersnaus; 174 Thusis; 175 Tiefencastel/Casti; 176 Tinizong; 177 Trans; 178 Trimmis-Says; 179 Trin/Trins; 180 Trun/Truns; 181 Tschappina; 182 Tschiertschen-Praden; 183 Tschierv; 184 Tschlin-Strada-Martina; 185 Tumegl/Tomils; 186 Untervaz; 187 Urmein; 188 Valchava; 189 Valendas; 190 Vals; 191 Valzeina; 192 Vaz/Obervaz; 193 Vella; 194 Verdabbio; 195 Versam; 196 Vicosoprano; 197 Vignogn; 198 Vrin; 199 Waltensburg/Vuorz; 200 Wiesen; 201 Zernez; 202 Zillis/Ziraun; 203 Zizers; 204 Zuoz
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the communes of Schnaus, Flond, Luven, Riein, Pitasch, Waltensburg (Vuorz), and, finally, also Flims (Flem) and Castrisch followed suit.[80] In most instances, the abolition of the mass was accompanied by the removal of images.[81] In the course of the 1520s the Walser communes of Versam, Valendas, Safiental, and in the Heinzenberg those of Präz and Masein also adopted the Reformation. These were joined by communes in Domleschg, largely as the result of efforts by Philipp Gallicius, who previously had been active as a reformer in the Lower Engadin, Münstertal and Schanfigg.[82] Backing for the Reformation on a larger scale came in a number of areas, including the Lower Engadin, only in the 1530s. It was only introduced to Thusis around 1530, by Christian Hartmann,

80 Bundi, "Führungsrolle," 24–8; Bertogg, *Verkündigung*, 98–104, supplies numerous interesting details, such as letters of endowment, for the separation of benefices in the various communes in Gruob.

81 On the various ways in which images and church implements were removed, Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 97; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 32–3.

82 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 465–78; Hans Berger, *Bündner Kirchengeschichte. 2. Teil: Die Reformation*, (ed.) Evangelischer Kirchenrat Graubünden (Chur: Bischofberger, 1986), 101–4. One particularly valuable source on the beginnings of the Reformation in the communes of the individual leagues still largely awaits attention: the "histories of the colloquia," the *Raetia Cisapina,* by Rosius à Porta, both printed and unpublished. The various sources are evaluated, each is treated individually, and a list of pastors provided. The *Raetia Cisalpina* was published only in part, with the remainder in à Porta's manuscript documents; see the drafts of the *Raetia Cisalplina,* StAGR: B 1500 b; collection of documents including extracts from the church records for the Three Leagues, StAGR: A Sp III/11a, VI.B.11.10.

who had previously been in Sagogn; under the influence of Thusis additional communes in Heizenberg, Schams (Val Schons), and the valley of the Hinterrhein also adopted the new faith.[83]

While Gallicius and Spreiter were active in various communes on behalf of what might be termed a moderate Reformation, others, specifically Anabaptists, were preaching a more radical message.[84] The political development of the Three Leagues and the continued lack of a territorial church organization were naturally conducive to the activities of Anabaptist preachers. As we have noted, by the end of 1525 at the latest, Ulrich Bolt had become sympathetic to Anabaptism and in early 1526 he moved from the jurisdiction of the Three Leagues to eastern Swiss lands.[85] As early as 1524 Wolf Uolimann, called Schorant, had left the Premonstatensian monastery at St. Luzi and become an Anabaptist. Georg Cajakob, called Blaurock, from Bonaduz, who had been pastor in Trins (Trin), left the Three Leagues to join with Anabaptists first in south Germany and finally in Zurich.[86] One final example: from early 1525 we have reference in the records of the episcopal court to a certain Gregor Maler, an artisan from Chur who had gone over to the Anabaptists.[87] After the second Zurich Anabaptist disputation (20 to 23 May 1525),[88] Anabaptists were banished from Zurich, and a good number moved to Chur, including Felix Manz, Georg Blaurock, and Andreas Castelberg. The Anabaptists then launched an intensive evangelization campaign in the Rhine valley from Chur. Blaurock preached and baptized in Rhäzüns; Manz and Castelberg were active in Chur. This Anabaptist mission greatly threatened the progress of the Reformation in Chur and the surrounding area.[89] Felix Manz was banished from Chur on 18 July 1525; Blaurock was held prisoner at the court.[90] The others appear also

83 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 465–78; Berger, *Kirchengeschichte*, 103–4.

84 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 118; Berger, *Reformation*, 35–46; see Chapter 10 below.

85 Egli, "Täufer," 142–3.

86 Blaurock was even the first to be baptized, at a gathering at Zollikon on 21 January 1525; Jäger, "Reformation," 326–7; Berger, *Kirchengeschichte*, 59–60; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 245–6.

87 Vasella, *Geistliche*, 117.

88 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 407–8. For the individual decisions of the council: QGTS 1: 74–5, no. 65.

89 Jakob Salander to Zwingli, 15 May 1525, Z 8: 329–30, no. 370; Johannes Comander to Zwingli, 8 August 1525, Z 8: 341–2, no. 374.

90 See the letter from the town of Chur to the town of Zurich (extradition of Felix Manz), 18 July 1525, in QGTS 1: 92–3, no. 86; See Jäger, "Reformation," 327. Also noteworthy is that the wife of town secretary Hans Heim was banished in summer 1525 on account of her Anabaptist beliefs. See Johannes Comander to Zwingli, 8 August 1525, Z 8: 341–2, no. 374.

to have been active in the Three Leagues; even Konrad Grebel appeared, but he died in Maienfeld in 1526. As a result of events in Maienfeld and Fläsch, on 12 March 1526 Anabaptists in Maienfeld were prosecuted, but the majority recanted, "acknowledged their error," and escaped with a fine.[91] The *Bundstag* held at Davos on 12 June 1526 proclaimed religious freedom but prohibited Anabaptism, which provided the legal basis for the prosecution of Anabaptists throughout the Three Leagues.[92] Although the various measures against Anabaptism carried out in 1526 had some temporary success, the Anabaptist movement was not stamped out. In March 1528 Comander wrote to Zwingli that the "catabaptistas" in Chur were being very well received. He was particularly troubled by Andreas Castelberg.[93] The twelve theses drawn up for a disputation held, at the instigation of a *Bundstag*, on Easter Monday 1531 at Chur included the statement that rebaptism was an error and an offense against the Word and command of God.[94] Comander's preserved sermons from 1545/46 make very evident that he was still preoccupied with countering Anabaptist teachings.[95] Leopold Scharnschlager (d. 1563), an Anabaptist from the Tyrol, was banished from Chur in 1544, but from 1546 he was teaching in Ilanz, where a peaceful Anabaptist congregation gathered.[96]

The evidence for the continuation of Anabaptist preaching in Chur and the Three Leagues even after 1526 is clear. The Anabaptists' missionary engagement made a united front with the town authorities, and with the *Bundstag*, all the more necessary. Moreover, Comander had the support of Zwingli, who on 14 January 1525 had appealed to the Three Leagues to permit preaching, at the same time writing in favor of Comander and advocating closer ties with

91 Proposal of the episcopal court chamberlain and councilors, 8 February 1526, in *Materialien,* 2: 142–3, no. 160; Jakob Salzmann to Joachim Vadian, 13 March 1526, VBS 4: 10–3, no. 446.

92 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 118; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 41–5, 257.

93 Johannes Comander to Zwingli, 17 March 1528, Z 9: 395–6, no. 701.

94 Theses of Johannes Comander and Johannes Blasius, in Fritz Jecklin, "Beitrag zur bündnerischen Reformationsgeschichte," *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte* 5 (1899), 242–6, here at 245–6.

95 Johannes Comander: sermons, StAGR: B 6. See Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "Die Bibelauslegung und -hermeneutik des Bündner Reformators Johannes Comander (1485–1557)," in *Auslegung und Hermeneutik der Bibel in der Reformationszeit,* (ed.) Sven Grosse (Berlin: de Gruyter, in press); Wilhelm Jenny, *Der Hirte: eine Darstellung der Gestalt und Verkündigung des bündnerischen Reformators Johannes Comander* (Chur: Bischofberger, 1945), 357–61; Berger, *Reformation*, 40–1.

96 Jakob ten Doornkaat Koolman, "Leopold Scharnschlager und die verborgene Täufergemeinde in Graubünden," *Zwingliana* 4 (1926), 329–37, here at 331–2.

Zurich.[97] Later it would be Bullinger and his colleagues in Zurich who supported the campaign against Anabaptism in the Three Leagues.

Reformatory preaching based on the *sola scriptura* principle began in Chur at an early date, when Comander took up office, but the impact on ecclesiastical organization and religious practices at this stage was minimal. Despite a substantial evangelical presence, and even though mass was no longer celebrated at St. Martin, images and altars —but not the high altar —were removed from the church only in 1527,[98] after Comander, before Christmas, had presented the town council of Chur with "a number of articles concerning the gospel."[99] Subsequently, mass was also abolished in the churches of St. Regula and Masans. The celebration of mass and the preaching of the old faith within the city walls[100] were expressly forbidden only after the Bern Disputation in 1528, however,[101] and even then, the high altar in St. Martin's was not removed until 1529. The introduction of the new faith in Chur was not the speedy process that some historians have identified.[102] And we should be wary of following Pfister in speaking of an urban reformation from the outset, for as letters from Comander to Zwingli make clear, elements within the town council were very reluctant to follow Comander.[103] Significant opposition came also from the episcopal curia, the monastery of St. Luzi, and the members of the Dominican monastery of St. Nicolai.[104] The execution of Abbot Theodul Schlegel, a sentence carried out in Chur at the beginning of 1529, must have

97 See Zwingli to the Three Leagues, 14 January 1525, Z 8: 286–90, no. 358.

98 Johannes Comander to Joachim Vadian, 18 April 1527, VBS 4: 53–4, no. 481.

99 Johannes Comander to Zwingli, after Christmas 1526, Z 8: 822–3, no. 565. Comander writes in this letter, "likewise, neither the idols nor the mass are completely abolished," which does not imply that the mass at St. Martins was only abolished in 1527, for (1) Comander is speaking not only of St. Martin's but of the whole town of Chur, and (2) under "masses" he includes masses for the dead, which had been forbidden in the Second Ilanz Articles.

100 The court, including the monastery of St. Luzi and the episcopal buildings in which the bishop and members of the cathedral chapter resided, lay outside the walls of the town.

101 Although not without the protests of the monks of St. Nicolai! Those who remained by the old faith were able to ensure, by means of a legal judgment of the *Gotteshausbund*, that the monks of St. Nicolai could themselves decide whether mass would continue to be celebrated, which in effect removed the monastery from the spiritual institutions over which the town had authority. See *Materialien,* 1: 97, no. 464; Jäger, "Reformation," 321–2; Vasella, *Geistliche*, 356–60.

102 With this suggestion I vary my interpretation somewhat from that of Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 93–4, Berger, *Chur*, 62, and Jäger, "Reformation," 315–6.

103 Their hesitation was a product in part of Comander's strict opposition to mercenary service and pensions; Jäger, "Reformation," 303; Jenny, *Comander*, 1: 241–2, 2: 128–38.

104 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 92–5.

bolstered the supporters of the new faith psychologically.[105] The departure of one of the strongest opponents of the reform movement had significant consequences, breaking the resistance of the Catholic phalanx in Chur, formed primarily by the cathedral chapter and the monasteries of St. Luzi and St. Nicolai. The cathedral chapter now largely dissolved itself.[106]

In many rural areas, the Second Ilanz Articles served as the legal basis for the introduction of the Reformation. Chur, however, where Comander had been preaching the Reformation since becoming pastor of St. Martin, remained for an extended period embroiled in confessional disputes. The enforcement of "the papal or the evangelical religion" under the terms of the Ilanz Articles was complicated by the particular ecclesiastical and political circumstances of the town. Comander was strongly supported by his colleagues. Jakob Salzmann, the town schoolmaster, initially stood alongside Comander in the vanguard of reform, but Salzman and his whole family died of the plague in summer 1526. Thanks to Zwingli's intervention, Nikolaus Balingius (Pfister, died 1553) from Württemberg took over leadership of the school in 1527.[107] In 1530 Comander was finally able to call Johannes Blasius, who was from the Münstertal and had been active in Malans, to the church of St. Regula, the second town church in Chur.[108] Comander also had supporters in the town council who favored the new faith, including individual mayors (*Bürgermeister*).[109] Without this significant group of political figures, the spiritual support of his colleagues, the strategic advice received from individuals such as Zwingli, Bullinger, and Vadian, and finally his own tenacity and determination, Comander would not have been able to bring about the break with bishop and pope and the town's adoption of the Reformation.[110]

105 Although humanistically educated and initially supportive of reformatory ideas, Abbot Theodul Schlegel proved to be a politically influential and energetic opponent of the new faith. He was suspected of involvement in the conspiracy by the castellan of Musso with Austria to have the castellan's brother, Archpriest Gian-Angelo de Medici, later Pope Pius IV, forcibly installed as Bishop of Chur, even after Bishop Paul Ziegler had in practice already resigned in 1524; this assumption led to his execution; see Vasella, *Theodul Schlegel*, 36–7, 211–5, 227–72, 301–4 and *passim*; Berger, *Reformation*, 23–7. It seems that the suspicion may have been unfounded; Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 447; Jenny, *Comander*, 2: 217–8, 222.

106 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 85; Jäger, "Reformation," 316–22.

107 Jenny, *Comander* 1: 247–50.

108 Berger, *Reformation*, 60–3.

109 Jäger, "Reformation," 303–4.

110 The First Chur Church Ordinance was drawn up only in 1545, years after the consolidation of the Reformation; it was intended for disciplining moral behavior. The responsible

During these years it became increasingly clear to Comander and his colleagues that it was essential to consolidate the Reformation across regional boundaries by coordinating developments in individual evangelical communes. Without such reinforcement, the decentralized centers of reformation in the Three Leagues would have suffered the same fate as the centers of reformation in Italy. Bullinger's recommendations for the creation of institutional ties amongst the evangelical communes proved particularly constructive.

The disputation in Ilanz provided the first occasion for the various forces of the Reformation in the Three Leagues to come together. Responding to this occasion in his last letter to Vadian, Salzmann wrote that although many nobles remained opposed to the Reformation, reformers were active at various locations within the Three Leagues.[111] In 1529 and 1531, Comander sought to convince the *Bundstag* to hold further disputations, for he recognized the opportunity they provided for the consolidation of a reformed party.[112] On 9 February 1531 a group comprised of both clergy and laity appeared before the *Bundstag* in Chur to express concern about the future of the land, where, they reported, the preaching of the Word of God was irregular, following diverse interpretations and teachings; the delegation requested that the *Bundstag* call another disputation. The delegates to the *Bundstag* responded positively, with the event to be held on Easter Monday 1531. All interested persons—secular and spiritual, preachers and monks, from the Three Leagues and the subject territories—were invited to attend. The foundation of all debate was the Old and New Testaments alone, "which are called the Bible and are God's Word." Appended to the announcement of the disputation were twelve theses, which were largely in accord with Commander's eighteen theses of 1526.[113] Although, for unknown reasons, the disputation did not take place as announced, the affair makes evident that Comander's intent was not to come to an agreement with the Roman Catholic party,[114] but rather to bring together the various

authority consisted of seven leading members of the urban commune, along with the pastors of the two town churches. Disciplinary measures available for use against those who failed to abide by the ordinance, which covered issues such as adultery, prostitution, usury, and drunkenness, were the threefold admonition and exclusion from the Lord's Supper; Churer "Kirchenordnung," 9 May 1545, Stadtarchiv Chur: Zizerserband; *Materialien*, 1: 129, no. 608; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 94–5; Jenny, *Comander*, 2: 226–65; Berger, *Reformation*, 47–51.

111 Jakob Salzmann to Joachim Vadian, April 1526, in VBS 4: 18–9, no. 451.

112 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 47–8.

113 See the decision of the delegates of the councils of the Three Leagues in Chur, 9 February 1531, in *Materialien*, 2: 157–8, no. 176.

114 Contra Jäger, "Reformation," 322.

Reformation forces. A disputation with the Catholic party on the basis of the principle of *sola scriptura* and, in particular, Comander's theses would be very unlikely to find any common ground.

By the early 1530s Comander's principle task, with the support of Blasius, Gallicius, and others, was the consolidation of reformatory impulses in the Three Leagues; in other words, confessionalization and institutionalization of the Leagues' evangelical communes.

8.4 Disputations, Confessions of Faith, and Institutionalization

By the beginning of the 1530s the separation of the old and new faiths in Chur was complete, while the need for institutional ties among the evangelical communes was becoming more urgent. To help establish such links among the Romansch-speaking communes in the Lower Engadin, in the 1530s both Gallicius and Chiampell made available liturgical and scriptural material in Romansch: Gallicius translated the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, parts of Genesis, and individual prayers; Chiampell translated several songs and Psalms.[115] But translations alone could not meet all the challenges facing these communes. Concerns about the progress of the Reformation, about proper order and doctrine, and about the provision of pastors to the growing number of Reformed communes dominated the correspondence of reformers and humanists in the Three Leagues with Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich, which intensified after 1535.

On 14 January 1537 a delegation of "preachers and shepherds of the gospel" appeared before the *Bundstag* meeting at Chur. Only the *Bundstag* could issue legally binding orders, but it could also delegate authority in individual matters. The delegation therefore requested that the *Bundstag* pass on to the evangelical ministers as a body the right to admonish, warn, suspend, or exclude those pastors whose teachings or conduct were found to be "offensive and dishonorable." They also requested permission to examine pastors who moved to the Three Leagues from elsewhere, to determine "if they are sufficiently capable in their teaching."[116] The delegates to the *Bundstag* approved the pastors' request, conferring on the synod the right to receive into its membership and

115 Alexi Decurtins, "Gedanken zum Thema 'Das Engadin und seine (literarische) Schrifttradition,'" BM (2004), 51–61, here at 57–61; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 86–7; Berger, *Reformation*, 66–7.

116 Founding document of the synod, 14 January 1537, in Truog, *Geschichte*, 11.

to censure Reformed ministers.[117] This decision is regarded as the founding act of the "Evangelisch-rätischen Synode" (synod or "chapter"), that is, the assembly of all Reformed ministers in the Three Leagues. No longer simply informal gatherings, from 1537 such meetings had a status that made their decisions legally binding. For centuries to come, examination, formal admission, and censure would remain the principal tasks of the synod.[118] This gathering of ministers would be the means by which Comander and his like-minded colleagues ensured that all evangelical communes in the Three Leagues formed a rudimentary territorial association.[119]

The decision of 14 January 1537 was the decisive turn on the path toward the institutionalization of the Reformed church in the Three Leagues. Subsequently a disputation on lay baptism was held in Susch, the monasteries of St. Luzi and St. Nicolai in Chur were dissolved, and at one of its first meetings, the synod resolved that Comander and Blasius should compose a catechism for the instruction of children.[120]

Although several communes in the Lower Engadin had adopted the Reformation after 1529,[121] the majority had remained Roman Catholic. In 1537 the daughter of Durich Chiampell, born in Susch while her father was away from home, became deathly ill, and Chiampell's father, Chasper Chiampell, who favored evangelical teachings, performed an emergency baptism. His act

117 The original of the founding document is in the synod archive of the evangelical-reformed church of Grisons in SKA Chur: Synodalakten.

118 To this day the synod retains both these rights.

119 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 128–9; Truog, *Geschichte*, 11–3; Werner Graf, *Die Ordnung der Evangelisch-reformierten Kirche in Graubünden von der Reformation bis 1980* (Chur: 1983), 20–1.

120 Johannes Comander and Johannes Blasius to the pastors and servants of the gospel in the Three Leagues, 9 October 1538, in Jachiam Bifrun, *Vna cuorta et christiauna fuorma dad intraguidar la giuuentüna* ([Poschiavo] [1552]), 4 (in Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "'Vna cuorta et christiauna fuorma da intraguider la giuuentüna.' Iachiam Tütschett Bifruns Katechismus von 1552 in der Ausgabe von 1571," AnSR 121 (2008), 187–247, here at 220). The variously repeated suggestion that the synod met formally for the first time only in 1547 (Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 129; Truog, *Geschichte*, 13) is incorrect. The *Placita Synodi* of 1553 records that the synod had already often decreed that the names of those baptized and of baptismal witnesses were to be noted in the records of the church; *Confessio Raetica* (1552/53), in RBS 1/3: 275.

121 Although the account by contemporary Durich Chiampell suggests the Reformation was introduced in Ramosch as early as 1530, it seems likely that the date should be somewhat later, probably around 1537, as the people of Ramosch did not give up St. Florinus without hesitation; Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "Geschichtliche Einführung in das Wirken und die Wirkung des heiligen Florinus," *Der Schlern* 81 (2007/10), 20–47, here at 38–41.

unleased a storm of controversy, as a result of which on 1 June 1537 a *Beitag* of the *Gotteshausbund* called for a disputation to be held in Susch on St. Stephan's Day.[122] The disputation, held in Romansch and overseen by the secular authority, lasted from 29 December 1537 to 4 January 1538; a number of clergy and deputies of the *Gotteshausbund* participated.[123] The central issue was whether lay baptism was permitted, especially in cases of emergency—a position the old faith supported and the new faith rejected. In a Salomonic judgment, the magistrates resolved that baptism was to be carried out by a pastor; in the absence of a pastor the midwife could baptize, and in the absence of a midwife a lay person could baptize.[124] Subsequently Ardez (1538), Ftan (1542) and after the second disputation of Susch, held in 1544, Tschlin (1545) and probably also Sent[125] joined the Reformation. Evidently the disputation had cleared the way for the spread of the Reformation in the Lower Engadin.

The success of the evangelical party had decisive consequences for the confessional balance in the *Gotteshausbund*. As additional communes adopted the reformation, the majority of members of the league became evangelical, and as a result, following a *Bundstag* of the league held on 12 July 1538, Comander could report to Bullinger that the monasteries of St. Luzi and St. Nicolai were to be dissolved, with their assets used to support new schools.[126] In 1539 a Latin school was opened at St. Nicolai,[127] in line with advice received from Bullinger.[128]

At the synod's request, Comander and Blasius composed a catechism so that "the children are diligently taught the pure religion of the sacred scripture."[129]

122 See *Beitag* in Chur, 1 June 1537, in *Materialien*, 1: 115, no. 549.

123 A detailed account of the disputation can be found in Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 224–75, and à Porta, *Historia*, 1/1: 198–223.

124 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 116–7.

125 In his *Raetia Cisalpina*, Rosius à Porta is not altogether clear on this point; Petrus Dominicus Rosius à Porta: *Colloquium Inferioris Oengadinae*, StAGR: B 1500 b, no. 2.

126 Johannes Comander to Bullinger, 24 June 1538, in Traugott Schiess, (ed.), *Bullingers Korrespondenz mit den Graubündnern*, 3 vols. (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariatshandlung, 1904–6), 1: 12–3, no. 11.

127 On which see the source-based accounts: Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 94, 199; Jäger, "Reformation," 331–5; Jenny, *Comander* 1: 279–85; Oskar Vasella, *Geschichte des Predigerklosters St. Nicolai in Chur* (Paris: Vrin, 1931), 79–84.

128 Bullinger to Johann Travers, 21 February 1539, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 13–4, no. 12; Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 13 July 1539, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 14–6, no. 13. Subsequently the Latin school in Chur appeared repeatedly in the correspondence of the pastors of Chur with Bullinger.

129 Bullinger to Johann Travers, 21 February 1539, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 13–4, no. 12.

They drew principally on Leo Jud's Large Catechism of 1534 and Small Catechism of 1535.[130] The final prayer included in the catechism was based on the same prayer in Jud's Large Catechism. Although this catechism is no longer extant,[131] we know of its structure and content from the Romansch translation, printed in 1552 by Dolfin Landolfi in Poschiavo.[132] Overall the catechism was theologically dependent on the Zurich reformers, although in several *loci* Comander and Blasius did adopt an independent line or provided a different emphasis. The idea of the one and eternal covenant of God,[133] the conviction that the Reformed confession preserved the ancient faith,[134] and the understanding of the sacraments as symbols of a holy matter[135] provide incontrovertible evidence of the close relationship with Zurich and its reformers.[136] When Bullinger dedicated Vadian's *Epistola orthodoxa*, published in Zurich in 1539, to Johann Travers, at the end of the letter of dedication he included regards sent by Leo Jud, Kaspar Megander, Erasmus Fabricius, Konrad Pellican, and Theodor Bibliander to Anton Travers, Johannes Comander, Johannes Blasius, Nikolaus Baling, Rudolf Salis, and Philipp Gallicius.[137] By autumn 1537 at the latest, Comander and the majority of the other pastors of the Three Leagues were in step with Zurich's confessional identity, as can also be seen in Comander's polemical comments about Bucer in a letter to Bullinger.[138]

130 Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "'Vna cuorta et christiauna fuorma da intraguider la giuuentüna.' Der erste Katechismus Bündens als Zeugnis der Ausstrahlungen der Zürcher Reformation," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 45–72, here at 56–67.

131 Josias Simler records that it did appear in print; Josias Simler, *Appendix bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1555), 59^{v}; Bernhard, "Ausstrahlungen," 63–4; Bernhard, "Fuorma," 192–3.

132 Bernhard, "Fuorma," 195–200.

133 Heinrich Bullinger, *De Testamento seu Foedere Dei unico et aeterno* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1534). As correspondence shows, the work was very well known in the Three Leagues; Florian Chinlius (Malans) to Bullinger 22 June 1535, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 3–4, no. 4.

134 Heinrich Bullinger, *Das der Christen gloub von Anfang der Wält gewäret habe der recht und ungezwyflet glauben sye* (Basel: Wolfgang Friess, 1537).

135 'Elg es ün signel da üna sainchia chiosa' (Bifrun, *Fuorma*, 24).

136 Bernhard, "Ausstrahlungen," 67–72.

137 Ioanni Traverso Rhetiae primae clarissimo senatori, domino colendiss. Heinrychus Bullingerus …, in Joachim Vadian, *Orthodoxa et Ervdita Epistola, qua hanc explicat quaestionem, An corpus Christi propter coniunctionem cum uerbo, inseparabilem, alienas a corpore conditiones sibi sumat* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1539), A6^{v}.

138 Johannes Comander to Bullinger, 2 October 1537, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 9–10, no. 8. The following year, as Comander and Blasius were composing their catechism, relations between Bullinger and Bucer broke down. Comander challenged Bucer to explain his position on the Lord's Supper, and how that position had changed over recent years. Bucer

Comander and Blasius regarded the catechism they had composed in 1538 at the synod's request as providing a normative statement of faith for religious instruction in the communes of the Three Leagues—and in light of its language in the northern leagues in particular[139]—that had adopted the new faith. This catechism clearly demonstrated, for the first time, that these communes were Reformed according to the confessional identity defined in the First Helvetic Confession of 1536, which had also been shaped by Bullinger and Jud. A process of Reformed confessionalization in the Three Leagues had been launched.

On 28 January 1544 Gallicius reported to Bullinger that he had left the school in Chur and returned to the Engadin, where there was much unrest on account of Italian preachers.[140] Since the reintroduction of the Inquisition in 1542, religious refugees from Italy had arrived in the subject lands, the Southern Valleys and also the Engadin. Complaints about the missionary tactics of these refugees had reached the *Bundstag*, but on 24 June 1544 a *Bundstag* held in Davos granted them permission to remain and further resolved that they could be appointed in the Valtellina as teachers and educated figures "for the instruction of the family" as long as they abided by the pure form of the confession they had adopted.[141] These refugees held a variety of religious views; alongside supporters of Luther and Zwingli there were biblical humanists and nonconformists with a mix of Anabaptist, antitrinitarian, and libertine views.[142] Among those who traveled to the Three Leagues after 1542 were

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used the opportunity to expound on his Eucharistic theology in detail, hoping to reopen conversation with Bullinger via Comander; Martin Bucer to Johannes Comander, October 1539, in *Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften*, vol. 8, (ed.) Stephen E. Buckwalter (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004), 349–400; see ibidem, 331–7. But Comander did not show even polite interest in Bucer's letter; he wrote to Bullinger that he had not read to the end of Bucer's "longwinded account" either in Latin or in the German version that followed; Johannes Comander to Bullinger, 5 January and 7 March 1541, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1:22–3, 34–5, nos. 18, 25. Comander's mention of a German version is a reference to Bucer's letter to the "evangelical brothers" in Chur; Martin Bucer to Chur, s.d. [1540], *Bucers deutsche Schriften*, 8: 403–10, with its appendix of theses in Latin and German; and Martin Bucer, "De Sancta Eucharistia instructio (1539/40)," in *Bucers deutsche Schriften*, 8: 418–57; see ibidem, 337.

139 Several communes subsequently adopted the Reformation: Jenins, Tschiertschen, Praden, Tamins, and Trins.

140 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 28 January 1544, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 59–60, no. 46.

141 See the decision of the *Bundstag* at Davos, 24 June 1544, in à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 38; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 61, 269.

142 Treated in detail in Conradin Bonorand, *Reformatorische Emigration aus italien in die Drei Bünde: ihre Auswirkungen auf die kirchlichen Verhältnisse; ein Literaturbericht* (Chur:

Agostino Mainardo, Bernardino Ochino, Camillo Renato, Francesco Calabrese, and Girolamo Milanese.[143] Calabrese and Milanese, who preached in Ftan and Lavin from 1543, held libertine and Anabaptist views,[144] and their preaching caused the "tumult" Gallicius described to Bullinger. After Gallicius's return to the Engadin, Milanese left Lavin, but Calabrese continued to preach undisturbed in Ftan, backed by a number of supporters. In these circumstances both Roman Catholics and Reformed deemed further investigation was necessary.[145] Although these two parties believed they had a common cause in the struggle against Anabaptism, the *Bundstag* held the matter to be an inner-evangelical affair and therefore no longer saw the calling of a disputation as part of its remit. Johannes Comander in Chur was also embroiled in a dispute with Anabaptists, including Leopold Scharnschlager,[146] which likely explains why the synod wanted a disputation to be held. The invitation to the disputation was likely issued, however, in the name of the regional secular authorities,[147] which would explain the participation of Roman Catholic clergy and secular officials from throughout the Engadin, Münstertal, and Vinschgau. Francesco Calabrese defended his teachings, but after two days his views were rejected, and the secular authority expelled him from the Three Leagues and the Tyrol.[148]

This episode illustrates that in the 1540s the synod, as a gathering of Reformed ministers, was not yet able to take action against nonconformity on its own. Not only had the communes retained some authority to censure in ecclesiastical matters, but the rights and responsibilities of the synod had not yet been institutionalized in that a synodical ordinance had not yet been drawn up. As a result, it was left to the secular authorities in the Engadin to act. The synod was eager, however, to acquire and exercise the right to discipline. To that end, in 1548 Agostino Mainardo and Camillo Renato were called

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Bündner Monatsblatt, 2000); Delio Cantimori, *Italienische Haeretiker der Spätrenaissance* (Basel: Schwabe, 1949); Peter Dalbert, *Die Reformation in den italienischen Talschaften Graubündens nach dem Briefwechsel Bullingers. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation in der Schweiz* (Zurich: Leemann, 1948).

143 à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 30–1.

144 On their teachings, à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 67–70; Jenny, *Comander*, 2: 99–107; Cantimori, *Haeretiker*, 45–8; Dalbert, *Reformation*, 17–9.

145 à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 70; à Porta's account of the background and course of the second Susch disputation is based on that of Chiampell, who was present at the disputation (Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 296–307); the protocols of the synod are no longer extant.

146 See QGTS 2: 515–7.

147 The sources available do not make clear in whose name the invitation was issued.

148 See à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 75; Petrus Dominicus Rosius à Porta: *Colloquium inferioris Oengadinae*, StAGR: B 1500 b, no. 2; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 120.

before the synod and accused of preaching against each other in Chiavenna.[149] Agostino Mainardo (1482–1563) had fled to Tirano at the end of 1541, and then on to Chiavenna, where he had become pastor of an existing congregation.[150] Camillo Renato (ca. 1500–ca. 1570) had also arrived in Tirano in the summer of 1542, but he then moved to Caspano as tutor to the Paravicini family. He had been in Chiavenna since autumn 1545, where he and Mainardo had clashed over doctrine.[151] Called before the synod in 1548, Mainardo used the opportunity to present to the synod his *XXII Articuli*, in which he condemned the "errors of the Anabaptists."[152] Mainardo was, at the same time, embroiled in a dispute with Francesco Negri (ca. 1500–63), born in Bassano del Grappa, who, after studying in Strasbourg with Bucer and Capito, had been active in Chiavenna since the mid-1530s, first as a teacher, then also as a preacher.[153] Herkules von Salis-Soglio, a supporter of Negri, had not only made his private chapel available to the young congregation, but also obtained permission from the *commissari* Georg Thöni that the gospel could be preached freely in Chiavenna, an agreement that was confirmed by a *Bundstag* in Davos, on 6 September 1539.[154] Despite his service for the early Reformation in

149 Johannes Blasius to Bullinger, 17 October 1547, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 114–5, no. 88.

150 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 40–42; Emanuele Fiume, *Scipione Lentolo 1525–1599. 'Quotidie laborans evangelii causa'* (Turin: Claudiana, 2003), 119–23; idem, "La Chiavenna di Mainardo, Zanchi e Lentolo," in *Protestantesimo*, 79–83. Mainardo was not in Chiavenna already in 1539, as Pfister (*Konfessionskirchen*, 107) suggests.

151 Renato rejected the sacramental character of the Lord's Supper and taught that baptism was a product of faith; additionally, like other libertines he believed in the sleep of the soul after death. See Camillo Renato, "Trattato del battesimo e della santa cena (1547?)," in Camillo Renato, *Opere. Documenti e testimonianze*, (ed.) Antonio Rotondò (Florence: Sansoni,1968), 91–108; Büsser, *Bullinger*, 2: 108–9; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 142–3; Cantimori, *Haeretiker*, 72–80; Dalbert, *Reformation*, 33–58.

152 *Articuli Augustini Maynardi* (1547), in Renato, *Opere*, 202–5.

153 Countering a widely held view, supported in particular by Bonorand (*Emigration*, 146 par), I have argued that an assessment of Negri's theological writings makes evident that Negri was not a nonconformist; Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "La 'Brevissima somma della dottrina christiana' (ca. 1550) da Francesco Negri—in catechissem per la Vuclina e las valladas grischunas dil sid," AnSR 127 (2014), 7–55, here at 23–31; idem, "Francesco Negri zwischen konfessionellen und geographischen Grenzen," *Zwingliana* 37 (2010), 81–115, here at 100–8. On Negri and the beginnings of the Reformation in Chiavenna; Luca Ragazzini, "Francesco Negri," in *Bibliotheca Dissidentium. Répertoire des non-conformistes religieux des seizième et dix-septième siècles*, vol. 25, (ed.) André Séguenny (Baden-Baden: Koerner 2006), 71–144; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: LVIII–LXIV.

154 See the decision of the *Bundstag* from 6 September 1539, StAGR: A I/2a, no. 52 (= Asp III/11a, II B 7); Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 59–60; Giovanni Giorgetta, "Le comunità riformate in Valchiavenna," in Jäger and Pfister, *Konfessionalisierung*, 139–61, here at 141–2.

Chiavenna, Negri, according to Mainardo, was to be counted among the heretics, although he acknowledged that Negri had not fallen into error to the same extent as Renato.[155] In spring 1548, these various figures were joined in Chiavenna by Francesco Stancaro (1501–74),[156] who along with Negri represented a via media somewhere between Mainardo and Renato in his sacramental teaching, which only intensified the tension in Chiavenna. In light of these delicate circumstances, the synod that met in 1548 resolved to declare Mainardo's *XXII Articuli* orthodox, but to refer the opposing parties to Zurich to put an end to the continuing conflict. In summer 1548, Mainardo, accompanied by Stancaro, left for Zurich, followed in the autumn by Negri, whom Mainardo held jointly responsible for the conflict in Chiavenna.[157] The adjudication of the Zurich ministers that followed these discussions did not condemn Negri for his via media, but did accuse Renato of holding heretical views. The conflict in Chiavenna was not over, however, as schism ensued.[158] The situation was relieved only by a visitation carried out in December 1549 on the instructions of the synod, which condemned Renato's uncompromising stance and exonerated Negri. Additionally, the synod was recognized as sole adjudicator in future conflicts. In summer 1550 Renato was finally excommunicated from the Reformed congregation in Chiavenna.[159]

Scholars are divided over the impact of the disciplinary authority exercised by the synod in these years, and specifically over whether the synod was in a position to intervene in an increasing number of instances or whether its efforts remained largely ineffectual. In his most recent account, Pfister holds that enforcement of confessional uniformity in the Three Leagues was possible

155 Agostino Mainardo to Bullinger, 7 August 1549, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 147–9, no. 110.

156 Stancaro cannot at this date have been identified as an antitrinitarian, as otherwise Comander would certainly not have recommended him to Bullinger, 1 June 1548, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 125–7, no. 97. Mature "Stancarianism" was a development of the 1550s.

157 It is certainly possible that Negri defended himself with his personal confession (*Accrescimento*), which had been approved by Comander, Blasius, and Vergerio and which he later included with the second edition of his work *Tragedia del libero arbitrio.* In the introduction to that edition he states that he sees himself as forced "a tutto'l mondo protestare… la fede mia," Francesco Negri, [Confessione], in *Tragedia del libero arbitrio,* 2nd ed. (Basel: [Johannes Oporin], 1550), Y5^{r}; see Bernhard, "Somma," 23.

158 Camillo Renato to Bullinger, 21 September 1548 and 12 May 1549, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 131, 144, nos. 101, 108.

159 Thanks to the correspondence of Mainardo, Renato, and Negri with Bullinger, we are relatively well informed about these complex relationships and events; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1, nos. 86, 88, 90, 92, 97, 99, 101–2, 104, 108–10, 114, 130; Renato, *Opere*, 159–63, 205–35; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 81–138. For a summary account of the episode, see Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 120–1; Bernhard, "Negri," 104–5, 109–11; Cantimori, *Haeretiker*, 64–72; Dalbert, *Reformation*, 58–85.

only after 1570/71, for only at this late date did the synod become more strongly institutionalized.[160] Other accounts assert that "the Protestant inquisition was no less harsh than the Catholic inquisition," a view based on the condemnation and expulsion of Italian preachers at synods held in 1547, 1561, 1571, and 1579.[161] Neither side is fully faithful to events in the Three Leagues: the model of confessionalization in which the territorial church—in this instance the synod—enforced confessional uniformity does not correspond with the political realities or legal status of the church in the Three Leagues, but the equation of the synod's authority to censure with the Inquisition is also not true to the political and legal situation in the Three League. The key to resolving such misinterpretation of the nature of the Reformation in the Three Leagues can be found in the synod's founding document, where we read that the task of the synod was to admonish and to warn and, if the need arose, to suspend or to exclude.[162] Even if the synod did not immediately implement its authority to censure, that does not mean that it lacked these powers, and the synod's exclusion of preachers is not an indication that it functioned like the Inquisition. The synod took its model from the New Testament (Matt. 7:1f.; Rom. 14:10; James 4:11f.) and the practices of the early church, when there was no inquisition.[163] Accordingly, oral and written disputation was the first step against a possible "heretic," who could subsequently be warned, called before the synod, and reprimanded. Only in instances of continued obstinacy were individuals to be suspended from office and excluded from the congregation.[164] Renato, for example, on account of his beliefs was never formally accepted into the synod; his expulsion from the territory was the work of the *Bundstag* and came only after he had been accused of inciting unrest. No nonconformists were ever executed.[165] Some nonconformists returned to the valleys of the Three

160 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 119–26; Pfister, "Konfessionskirchen," 206. Pfister's additional argument (*Konfessionskirchen*, 130) that regular protocols of the synod's deliberations were only kept after 1572 is of questionable relevance.

161 Ettore Mazzali und Giulio Spini, *Storia della Valtellina e della Valchiavenna*, 3 vols. (Sondrio: Bissoni, 1968–73), 2: 18.

162 See the founding document of the synod, 14 January 1537, in Truog, *Geschichte*, 11.

163 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 86–7.

164 This order—admonition, warning, suspension, and exclusion—remains to this day the official procedure of the synod, as is evident from the exclusion of Alberto Pool from the synod in February 2009; see the protocol of the extraordinary synod of Chur, SKA Chur: no number yet assigned.

165 Tiziano, a Venetian Anabaptist whose repeated appearance from 1547 in the Three Leagues and in Chiavenna had been a matter of concern for the *Bundstag*, was dealt with harshly by that body in 1554. See à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 76–7, 80; Bonorand, *Emigration*,

Leagues,[166] and because many of these individuals took on pastoral roles, their activities regularly provoked new complaints to the *Bundstag*, which repeatedly cited the law prohibiting the appointment of unapproved foreign pastors.[167]

The Second Ilanz Articles had acknowledged the right of the commune to appoint and dismiss its pastor. This communal right had been confirmed at several *Bundstage*, but it conflicted with the territorial right of the synod to formally admit and censure the pastors. The creation of the synod had in theory significantly reduced the unconditional right of the communes to appoint and dismiss their pastors. The synod's authority to censure was only haltingly employed in individual cases and in particular after the *Confessio: Fides et Placita synodi* (1552/53) had been drawn up. This limited exercise of authority was due not to the synod's institutional deficiencies, however, but rather to the marked emphasis on communal autonomy. The decree of the *Bundstag* of 27 June 1570 that forbade all teachings other than those of the Roman Catholic and Reformed churches, with the teachings of Anabaptists and Arians specifically forbidden and no longer tolerated,[168] was not made necessary by the synod's inability to enforce confessional uniformity. The decree was rather a corollary of the legal ruling of 1526 giving communes the right to choose their own pastor and proclaiming religious freedom. Johannes Gantner, whom we will encounter later, understood this religious freedom as unconditional freedom of conscience and in defense of that principle became a champion of the opposition to incursions by secular authorities into the affairs of the church.[169]

137–8; Aldo Stella, *Anabattismo e Antitrinitarismo in Italia nel XVI Secolo* (Padua: Liviana, 1969), 43–4, 47–57; Dalbert, *Reformation*, 19–21. His treatment was undoubtedly related to the condemnation of Michael Servetus. If Gallicius had not taken up Tiziano's cause with some fervor at the *Bundstag*, it is likely that Tiziano would have been not banished but executed; Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 2 and 25 June 1554, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 373–6, no. 261; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 80; Jenny, *Comander*, 2: 101–5; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 137–8.

166 Those who returned included Renato, Squarcialupi, and Silvio (see below).

167 See, for example, the decision of the *Bundstag* of Ilanz of 9 December 1574, in *Materialien,* 1: 213, no. 945; decision of the *Beitag* in Chur, 29 June 1584, in *Materialien,* 1: 236, no. 1030; decision of the *Bundstag*, 9 June 1586, in *Materialien,* 2: 540–2, no. 507; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 89; Michael Valèr, *Die evangelischen Geistlichen an der Martinskirche in Chur vom Beginn der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (Chur: Ebner, 1919), 16.

168 See the protocol of the *Bundstag* at Chur, 27 June 1570, StAGR: B 1538, vol. 5, 316–26.

169 Erich Wenneker, "Heinrich Bullinger und der Gantnerhandel in Chur (1570–1574)," *Zwingliana* 24 (1997), 95–115, here at 107–8.

The Italian immigrants particularly prized the democratically and federally conceived constitution of the Three Leagues, as Pier Paolo Vergerio emphasized. Freedom of conscience, he wrote, was a lifeline for Italians who thirsted for such freedom. While elsewhere the evangelical message was stifled and persecuted, here in the high mountains it could develop in safety and peace, free from inquisitors and stewards of superstition and darkness.[170] At the same time, however, the libertine beliefs of several Italian refugees caused numerous conflicts, which placed great demands on the synod. From the early 1550s on, this theme occurs frequently in letters from Comander, Gallicius, and others to Bullinger, Gewalther, and Simler.[171] From the mid-1540s, as the number of refugees from Italy grew, the frequent exchanges between Heinrich Bullinger and the "witnesses and supporters" of the Reformed church in the Three Leagues became increasingly important.[172] Bullinger's advice, paternalistic guidance, and arbitration not only aided the development of the Reformation in the Engadin, Bergell, and the subject lands but also enabled the consolidation and institutionalization of the synod, for his theological and organizational experiences helped in the formulation of the *Confessio Raetica* of 1552/53.[173]

One important but often overlooked step toward the creation of the *Confessio Raetica* was the appearance of the first Reformed catechisms in Italian (1549, 1550) and rhaeto-Romansch (1552), both products of the recently established printer's shop in Poschiavo. The two catechisms are not just fine examples of early printing in the Three Leagues, but also unmistakable evidence that in these years a number of communes in the Upper Engadin, Poschiavo, and Bergell adopted the Reformation, legitimizing the status of the synod as an institution representing the territory of the Three Leagues as a whole.

A number of texts were printed by the Landolfi printshop in Poschiavo shortly after it was set up. In addition to the *Statuti di Valtellina riformati*, with

170 Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Del battesimo e de fiumi che nascono ne paesi de signori Grisoni* (s.l. [Poschiavo: Landolfi] 1550), A6^{v}–A7^{r}. Church historian Rosius à Porta also recognized this freedom as a significant reason for the immigration of Reformed refugees from Italy and for the fruitful development of the Reformed church in the Three Leagues; Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 322–26, 348–50.

171 According to uncorroborated sources, in 1552 alone, some 200 Protestant immigrants arrived in the Three Leagues; in 1559, the year the new Index of Prohibited Books appeared, that number increased to 800.

172 Between 1545 and 1555 alone, Bullinger's correspondence with reformers and humanists in the Three Leagues and with Italian immigrants comprised some 250 letters.

173 Truog made a similar point at the time of the synodical celebrations in 1937; Truog, *Geschichte*, 13.

its reformatory and democratic character,[174] it produced works primarily by Pier Paolo Vergerio (1497/98–1565), former bishop of Capo d'Istria, whose participation in the religious colloquy of Worms had led to clear sympathies for Protestantism.[175] Vergerio arrived in the Italian-speaking valleys of the Three Leagues as a reformer at the beginning of May 1549 and later moved to the Upper Engadin.[176] Under Vergerio's influence, the Landolfi printshop quickly became an important location in the spread of Protestant writings in the Three Leagues and all of northern Italy.[177] Vergerio's 1549 catechism made a vital contribution to the success of the Reformation in Bregaglia, Poschiavo, and parts of the subject lands.[178] Theologically, the catechism is Reformed in character, although there is a Lutheran tinge to its teaching on the Lord's Supper.[179] The designation of the Supper as "a meal of thanksgiving and commemoration"[180] and the structure followed by the *loci* places Vergerio within the Reformed camp. The locus on faith, for example, is placed before the locus on good works,[181] a pattern also followed by Comander and Blasius in their catechism—although not by Jud—and which Calvin also used in the Genevan Catechism

174 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 55–65.

175 On Pier Paolo Vergerio, see Salvatore Caponetto, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-century Italy* (Kirksville, Mo: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999), 142–57; Angelika Hauser, *Pietro Paolo Vergerios protestantische Zeit* (Tübingen: s.n., 1980); Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Pier Paolo Vergerio. The Making of an Italian Reformer* (Geneva: Droz, 1977). For Vergerio's curriculum, Schiess's account, which is based on the correspondence, continues to be essential; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: LXXI–LXXXIII.

176 The sources indicate that he was first in Chiavenna, and then in Chur and Poschiavo; in autumn 1549 he moved to St. Gallen and from there to Basel, where he received the call to Vicosoprano; Bonorand, *Vadian*, 166.

177 Friedrich Hubert, *Vergerios publizistische Thätigkeit nebst einer bibliographischen Übersicht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1893), 28–33; Silvano Cavazza, "Pier Paolo Vergerio nei Grigioni e in Valtellina (1549–1553): attività editoriale e polemica religiosa," in *Riforma e società nei Grigioni. Valtellina e Valchiavenna tra '500 e '600*, (ed.) Alessandro Pastore (Milan: 1991), 33–62; Caponetto, *Reformation*, 192–4.

178 See Federico Zuliani, "Un catechismo perduto e ritrovato di Pier Paolo Vergerio," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* LXXXV (2013), 463–97.

179 The terms "sacramentum…sacrae rei signum," used by Zwingli in the *Schlussreden* (1523) and later in the *Fidei ratio* (1530), a telling indication of Reformed character, are lacking. Zwingli's position was adopted by Jud in his large and small catechisms (1534/35), by Comander and Blasius in the Chur catechism (1538), and by Bullinger and Calvin in the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549).

180 Pier Paolo Vergerio, *Instruttione christiana* (Poschiavo: 1549), b6^{v}–b7^{r}.

181 Vergerio began with baptism (a3^{r}–a4^{r}), which was followed by faith (a4^{r}–a8^{v}), good works (a8^{v}–b3^{r}), the Lord's Prayer (b3^{r}–b6^{v}), and the Lord's Supper (b6^{v}–b7^{v}).

of 1542/45.[182] The seemingly Lutheran nature of Vergerio's understanding of the Lord's Supper was the cause of much concern in the Three Leagues, and his headstrong and spirited manner gave the pastors of Chur and the synod quite a headache. For example, Vergerio actively promoted the establishment of an independent synod for the Protestant pastors in the southern leagues and in the subject lands and called for the appointment of a visitor for these areas, proposals that were wholeheartedly dismissed by the Chur pastors and by Bullinger.[183] Vergerio did not put his name to the *Confessio Raetica*, adopted by the synod in Chur 1553, and he left the Southern Valleys to take up a call he had received much earlier to the court of Duke Christoph von Württemberg.[184]

FIGURE 8.2
Pier Paolo Vergerio (1497/98–1565)
PHOTO COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

182 In 1534 Martin Bucer had selected the order Creed, Decalogue, and Lord's Prayer for his Strasbourg catechism; Ernst Saxer, "Genfer Katechismus 1542," RBS 1/2: 281–2; idem, "Der Genfer Katechismus von 1545," *Calvin Studienausgabe*, (eds.) Eberhard Busch et al., 8 vols. (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 2: 3–7.

183 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 23 February 1552, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 235–9, no. 177; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 286; Berger, *Kirchengeschichte*, 79; idem, *Reformation*, 58.

184 Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "Briefe an Heinrich Bullinger im Blick auf Entstehung, Abfassung und Rezeption der *Confessio Raetica* (1552/53)," *Zwingliana* 40 (2013), 37–71, here at 40–7.

Whatever "disturbances" can be laid at the door of Vergerio—although it is wrong to deem Vergerio a "quarrelsome and egotistical spirit" or even "heterodox"[185]—his contribution to the success of the Reformation in the Southern Valleys and the Upper Engadin was unparalleled. In 1550 he was called to Vicosoprano, where the Reformation had been introduced in the 1530s by Bartolomeo Maturo, from Cremona.[186] There had also been a small reformed congregation in Chiavenna since the 1530s. Various Italian immigrants had been involved in Protestant preaching in Tirano since the early 1540s; the first supporters of the Reformation in Teglio and Sondrio also appear at this time.[187] While Chiavenna—largely because it was a center for trade—was undoubtedly the heart of the Reformed movement in the subject lands,[188] Vicosoprano played a similar role in Bergell. Vicosoprano was the ideal jumping off point for Vergerio's travels and missionary activity on behalf of the Reformation.[189] In May 1551 he incited an iconoclastic incident in the pilgrimage church of San Gaudentio at Casaccia, and in so doing blazed a trail for the Reformation in the commune.[190] At around the same time the Reformation was introduced in Stampa, Bondo, and Soglio, and only a little later, in 1555, in Castasegna.[191] Vergerio also preached in the Valtellina, for example in Sondrio-Monte and

185 Büsser, *Bullinger* 2: 108; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 108, 537.

186 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 95–6; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: LXX–LXXI.

187 Caponetto, *Reformation*, 230–2.

188 Manfred Welti, *Kleine Geschichte der italienischen Reformation* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1985), 91–4; Fiume, *Lentolo*, 117–22. In addition to Chiavenna, the county also had reformed communes in Piuro, Mese, Villa di Chiavenna, and Prata; Giorgetta, "Comunità," 139–61.

189 He was repeatedly drawn north from Vicosoprano to the Reformed towns, to Chur, St. Gallen, Zurich, Strasbourg, Basel, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva. These travels were in part motivated, like his letter writing, by the wish for a general council that would find common ground for the various parties. See Emidio Campi, "Pier Paolo Vergerio und sein Briefwechsel mit Heinrich Bullinger," in *Historische Horizonte*, (eds.) Sigrid Lekebusch und Hans-Georg Ulrichs (Wuppertal: foedus-Verlag, 2002), 19–37, here at 23–7.

190 See Emidio Campi, "Ein italienischer Briefwechsel. Pier Paolo Vergerio an Rudolf Gwalter," in *Von Cyprian zur Walzenprägung: Streiflichter auf Zürcher Geist und Kultur der Bullingerzeit. Prof. Dr. Rudolf Schnyder zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed.) Hans Ulrich Bächtold (Zug: Achius, 2001), 41–70, here at 48–9; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 285–6.

191 Still authoritative for the beginnings of the Reformation in Bregaglia is Petrus Dominicus Rosius à Porta, *Dissertatio Historico-ecclesiastica, qua Ecclesiarum colloquio Vallis Praegalliae et Comitatus Clavennae* (Chur: Jakob Otto, 1787); see also Emil Camenisch, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in den italienischen Südtälern Graubündens* (Chur: Bischofberger, 1950), 59–94.

Sondrio.[192] In summer 1552 his spirited actions were the cause of religious unrest in the Valtellina, which brought further disapproval of his behavior. He recorded details of his experiences in his letters to Bullinger, and indeed Bullinger's influence on Vergerio was far greater than is often recognized, with the two men exchanging more than 150 letters between 1549 and 1564. Vergerio also corresponded with Gwalther, Pellikan, Simler, and Vadian.[193] From his base in Vicosoprano, Vergerio also travelled to the Upper Engadin, where he aided the breakthrough of the Reformation in Pontresina in 1549 and Samedan in 1551. In Bever he provided support for Pierto Parisotto, an Italian refugee from Bergamo.[194]

In 1552 a translation into Romansch of the 1538 catechism by Comander und Blasius was published in Poschiavo.[195] It was the work of the notary Jachiam Tütschett Bifrun (1506–72) from Samedan, a lay theologian but fine humanist[196] who had studied law in Paris and as a talented linguist had mastered both classical and modern languages.[197] Bifrun intended that this catechism would be used to instruct the younger generation in the Upper Engadin in the principal articles of faith and to bolster the Reformed confession. In the preface to the 1571 edition he noted that the edition of 1552 had been well received and for that reason was now being republished.[198] And indeed Bifrun's catechism contributed significantly to the spread of the Reformation

192 Pier Paolo Vergerio to Bullinger, 8 April 1552 and 23 January 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 248–50, 281–3, nos. 182, 201; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 84; Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 32–3.

193 Campi, "Vergerio," 20–3; idem, "Briefwechsel," 51–2 ; Bonorand, *Vadian*, 166–71.

194 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 104; Bernhard, "Ausstrahlungen," 51–2.

195 *Una cuorta et cristiauna fuorma per intraguider la giuuentüna*; Bernhard, "Fuorma," 188–200; Emil Camenisch, "Der erste evangelische Bündner Katechismus 1537," in *Aus fünf Jahrhunderten Schweizerischer Kirchengeschichte*, (ed.) Theologische Fakultät Basel (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1932), 39–79.

196 He was also the author of a treatise dedicated to Konrad Gessner on cheese production: Jodocus Willich, *Ars magica, hoc est conquinaria…*, (ed.) Konrad Gessner (Zurich: Jakob Gessner, 1563), 220–7; Gion Gaudenz, "Der Humanist Jachiam Bifrun beschreibt 1556 die Käseherstellung im Oberengadin," BM (1993), 445–51.

197 On Jachiam Tütschett Bifrun, Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 60–7; Men Gaudenz, "Iachiam Bifrun," in *Bedeutende Bündner aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, (ed.) Graubündner Kantonalbank, 2 vols. (Chur: Calven-Verlag, 1970), 1: 84–94; Adolf Kaiser, "Einiges über die Familie Bifrun von Samedan," BM (1954), 177–90; Bertogg, *Verkündigung*, 114–5.

198 No copy of the 1552 edition is extant, but the reprint of 1571 adopted the original form, including the prayer at the end of the catechism, without alteration; Bernhard, "Ausstrahlungen," 46–7.

in the Upper Engadin.[199] Above all, the translation into Romansch of the Chur catechism, which in turn was largely based on Jud's catechism, guaranteed both continuity and interdependency among the Reformed communes of the Three Leagues. Chiampell's translation of that same catechism (supplemented by further explanations) into Vallader, a form of Romansch, which appeared as a supplement to his *Cudesch da psalms*, published in Basel in 1562, was a further contribution to the same process.[200] The geographical spread of this catechism is telling evidence that the pastors of Chur,[201] facing particular

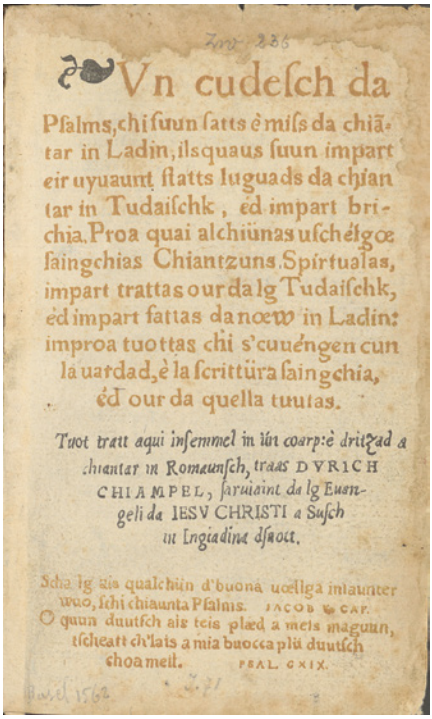
Vn cudeſch da
Pſalms, chi ſuun ſatts è miſs da chiã-
tar in Ladin, ils quaus ſuun impart
eir uyuaunt ſtatts luguads da chian
tar in Tudaiſchk, éd impart bri-
chia. Proa quai alchiünas uſchéigœ
ſaingchias Chiantzuns Spírtualas,
impart trattas our da lg Tudaiſchk,
éd impart fattas da nœw in Ladin:
improa tuottas chi s'cuuéngen cun
la uardad, è la ſcrittüra ſaingchia,
éd our da quella tuutas.
Tuot tratt aqui inſemmel in ün coarp: è dritzad a
chiantar in Romaunſch, traas DVRICH
CHIAMPEL, ſaruiaint da lg Euan-
geli da IESV CHRISTI a Suſch
in Engiadina dſuott.
Schà lg ais qualchün d'buoná uœlliga inlaunter
uuo, ſchi chiaunta Pſalmis. IACOB 5 CAP.
O quun duutſch ais teis plæd a meis maguun,
tſcheatt ch'lais a mia buocca plü duutſch
choa meil. PSAL. CXIX.
Basel 1562

FIGURE 8.3
The title page of Durich Chiampell's translation of the Psalms into Romansch, published in Basel in 1562
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

199 Pier Paolo Vergerio to Bullinger, 22 August 1552, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 259–62, no. 189; Bifrun, *Fuorma*, 2–3 (in Bernhard, "Fuorma," 219–20).

200 Durich Chiampell, "Vn intraguidamaint dad infurmar la giuuantün in la uaira cretta è cunguschéntscha," in *Vn Cudesch da psalms, chi suun fatts è miss da chiantar in Ladin*, (ed.) Durich Chiampell (Basel: [Kündig], 1562); see Jan-Andrea Bernhard and Georges Darms, "Il catechissem 'Intraguidamaint' (1562) da Durich Chiampell: Historia, lungatg e relevonza," AnSR 129 (2016) [in press].

201 The correspondence of the pastors of Chur makes evident in a variety of ways that Chur and its pastors were eager to take the leadership of the synod into their own hands (see below).

challenges from both Anabaptists and Italian religious refugees, recognized a need to establish commonalities with the other Reformed communes of the Three Leagues in order to encourage them to keep to a Reformed path. In German and Romansch-speaking areas the Chur catechism played precisely this role.[202]

At the same time, however, the Southern Valleys and the subject lands had not yet been integrated into this network. Disputes over the orthodoxy of various doctrines continued in the Italian-speaking areas and, indeed, were intensified by the arrival of additional nonconformists, in particular Anabaptists. As accusations flew and conflict became ever sharper, the *Bundstag* meeting in Davos resolved on 1 November 1552 that teachers and preachers could be privately employed in the Valtellina, as long as those appointed had been approved by the synod. The *Bundstag* also required preachers and teachers to attend the annual meeting of the synod, to give account of their conduct and teaching, and to obey the decisions of the synod (censure, suspension etc.).[203] A synod was then called immediately at Chur, and as a result of the ongoing problems with Italian religious refugees, that synod decided that a binding confession of faith and a synodal ordinance should be drawn up. Gallicius was charged with that task.[204]

Philipp Gallicius (1504–66) came from the Münstertal and completed his early studies in 1523 in Ingolstadt.[205] From 1524 he was chaplain in Chamuesch; he quickly became known as a critic of the church's teachings. His participation at the Ilanz disputation, noted above, was the catalyst for his wholesale transfer into the reformatory camp. From 1529 he was active as a reformer in the Lower Engadin, Domleschg, Schanfigg, and at other locations. He taught in Chur, but he returned repeatedly to Engadin and was involved in the conflicts with Italian nonconformists, from Chiavenna to the Lower Engadin. Following the death of Johannes Blasius he was called to the church of St. Regula in Chur.[206] His practical experiences suggested he was the ideal candidate

202 Bernhard, "Ausstrahlungen," 46–9.

203 Decision of the *Bundstag* in Davos, 1 November 1552, in Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 272–3.

204 Although the literature repeatedly records that this decision was the work of a synod held in spring 1552 (Eberhard Busch, "Confessio Raetica von 1552/1553," RBS 1/3, 252; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 191–2), there is no evidence that this was the case. The correspondence of the Chur pastors and Vergerio with Bullinger suggests that it is far more likely that Gallicius was given this task only in November 1552; Bernhard, "Briefe," 43–4.

205 It is often erroneously assumed that Gallicius studied in Wittenberg; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 55.

206 On Philipp Gallicius, Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 52–60; Berger, *Reformation*, 63–6; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: XIX–XXXVII.

to author the confession of faith and synodal ordinance. He appears to have finished his commission before Christmas 1552.[207] Even as he wrote, opposition to the synodal ordinance was taking shape,[208] which appears to have spurred Comander and Gallicius to write to Bullinger on 23 April 1553 with their account of the background to the text, stressing in particular the ongoing conflicts with the Italian nonconformists and requesting that he examine and approve the work.[209] The text, which was both a confession of faith (*Fides*) and synodal ordinance (*Placita*), was known as the *Confessio Raetica*.[210] The new synodal ordinance, approved by Bullinger, was finally adopted at the synod of June 1553, again in the face of opposition from the Italian-speaking members of the synod.[211]

The *Fides*, which formed the first part of the *Confessio Raetica*, was a response to the confusing confessional situation in the Southern Valleys, which was in turn a product of the communal right to appoint pastors and the presence of numerous Italian nonconformists. The *Fides* was intended to ensure that the pastors of these valleys were bound to a Reformed confession.[212] Certain *loci* in the *Fides* were highly detailed while others were left less explicit, as a means of confronting the teachings of the Italian nonconformists.[213] After the summary reference to the early Christian confessions at the start, the text tackled in particular teaching on God, with the antitrinitarian position as its foil; soteriology, directed against the libertarian position; and the sacraments, rejecting

207 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 12 December 1552, in *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 276–7, no. 198.

208 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 6 March 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 288–9, no. 206.

209 *Confessio. Fides ac Placita synodi Evangelium Christi in tribus Rhetiae Foederibus praedicantium* (1553), SKA Chur: B 1, 1–84 (original manuscript); à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 197–224; RBS 1/3: 256–75. See Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 122–3, 129–30; Graf, *Ordnung*, 21–5, 29–30; Jenny, *Comander*, 2: 392–8; Emil Camenisch, "Die Confessio Raetica. Ein Beitrag zur bündnerischen Reformationsgeschichte," JHGG 43 (1914), 223–59 (with German translation); Truog, *Geschichte*, 14–23.

210 Johannes Comander and Philipp Gallicius, 22 April 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 294–7, no. 209.

211 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 6 June 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 297–300, no. 211. According to Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 309, the synodal ordinance was also approved by a *Bundstag* in autumn 1553, an event that is not recorded, however, in the contemporary sources; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 51, 209.

212 Gallicius and Comander wrote to Bullinger that almost every Italian refugee presented his own statement of faith to the synod; Johannes Comander and Philipp Gallicius, 22 April 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 294–7, no. 209; Berger, *Reformation*, 53.

213 Further evidence of why the *Confessio Raetica* was drawn up.

Anabaptist or Socinian teachings.[214] All in all, the *Fides* was without question Reformed.

By contrast, the *Placita synodi*, the second and longer section of the *Confessio Raetica*, is to be understood not as a product of the conflicts with the Italian nonconformists, but rather as an outcome of the work of the synod in the 1540s, whereby a Reformed character was stamped on the communes and the ministers were bound to the synod.[215] The *Placita synodi* regulated the procedures of the synod (§22–29), the feast days to be celebrated (§30–32), the services for worship and the religious education of children (§33–35), baptism (§44–47, 65), the Lord's Supper and marriage (§43, 48–51), as well as pastoral duties and the synod's oversight through admission and censure (§52–64). Unlike the *Fides*, the *Placita synodi* did not claim to be an expression of God's eternal authority and could be accommodated to circumstances.[216] The constitution of the synod was specifically intended to ensure uniform religious practices in Reformed congregations and to validate the synod's ability to both encourage and educate the clergy. Only in its decisions on formal admission and censure were the declarations of the synod legally binding; all other rulings were simply exhortations to the congregations. If a congregation failed to cooperate with the synod, the synod's only recourse was to turn to the *Bundstag*.[217]

The leadership of the synod, termed the *minister synodi*, was originally exercised *ex officio* by the Chur Antistes; while the synod met he was assisted by two ecclesiastical assessors. Only in 1575 were three deans from the Three Leagues added to the synod.[218] The governance of the Reformed Church in the Three Leagues was therefore not the work of a permanent institution, a fundamental variation from other Reformed models. Ultimately, that governance remained in the hands of local communes. In order to prevent the repetition of events such as those surrounding the disciplining of Johannes Gantner,[219] the *Bundstag* meeting in Ilanz in 1573 called upon the clergy of each confession

214 RBS 1/3: 256–65; Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 355–6.

215 As recognized by Truog, *Geschichte*, 13.

216 RBS 1/3: 265; Camenisch, "Confessio Raetica," 258. The *Placita synodi* was indeed later reworked in order to take account of new circumstances, for the first time in 1584; *Fides ac placita synodi* (1584), Stadtarchiv Chur: AB III/S 01.01. A revised version is found in the *Leges synodales ecclesiae Raeticae reformatae* (Chur: 1645); Graf, *Ordnung*, 29–30.

217 Graf, *Ordnung*, 25–30.

218 Contrary to the view expressed by Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 130, and Truog, *Geschichte*, 96, church assessors and secretary were included in the *Placita synodi*; Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 9–10, is also in part incorrect.

219 See below.

to hold an annual "chapter," with two *assessors politici* from the Three Leagues in attendance, so that "it is known what is discussed."[220] Although this decision led to greater institutionalization of the synod, the synod itself strongly rejected the consistent oversight of the state. Additionally, in the face of opposition from the communes, secular authorities were themselves often unable to implement their decisions, for within the Three Leagues power came from below. Neither *Bundstag* nor synod was a permanent body; each met only as required.[221]

In July 1555 Gallicius laid before the synod a copy of the *Confessio. Fides ac Placita synodi…praedicantium*, leather bound and in quarto.[222] The first item in the volume was the letter sent by Comander and Gallicius to Bullinger on 23 April 1553,[223] which explained the background to the text; this was followed by the *Confessio* itself, along with a letter sent by Gallicius to Bullinger on 2 September 1553.[224] At the end Gallicius included an "Epitome of the most Necessary Articles," probably written in 1555, that ended with the synodal oath. This summarized the central articles of the *Confessio Raetica*, which all candidates had to accept.[225] This is followed by the signature of all ministers formally admitted to the synod, beginning with Comander and Gallicius.[226]

Although the *Confessio Raetica* addressed only issues currently in debate, the Reformed Church in the Three Leagues also felt bound to both the early church and the Reformed Church in Zurich. Evidence of the latter includes not only the letters to Bullinger that bookended the *Confessio. Fides ac Placita synodi* in 1555, but also the recognition of the 1549 *Consensus Tigurinus* a year

220 Decision of the *Bundstag* in Ilanz, in 1573, in *Materialien*, 2: 441–2, no. 431; see Randolph C. Head, "Rhaetian ministers, from Shepherds to Citizens: Calvinism and Democracy in the Republic of the Three Leagues, 1550–1620," in *Later Calvinism. International Perspectives*, (ed.) W. Fred Graham (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 55–69, here at 61.

221 Synods after 1570/71 continued to examine the orthodoxy of individual members, who often had strong support in their communes.

222 "Descriptus est hic liber Capitulo nostro mense Iulio annj. 1555," SKA Chur: B 1, 88.

223 Johannes Comander and Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 23 April 1553, SKA Chur: B 1, 2^{r}–5^{r} (note: fol. 6^{r} is 1 as foliation precedes the pagination).

224 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 2 September 1553, in Bernhard, "Briefe," 69–70; Camenisch, "Confessio Raetica," 256–7.

225 *Epitome necessarissimorum articulorum quos pro catholicis tenemus exigimusque ab omnibus Dominum Jesum praedicare volentibus* (1553), SKA Chur: B 1, 93–6 (= Camenisch, "Confessio Raetica," 259–60).

226 Matricula synodalis, SKA Chur: B 1, 96. This practice has continued up to the present day; the synodal register is complete from 1555.

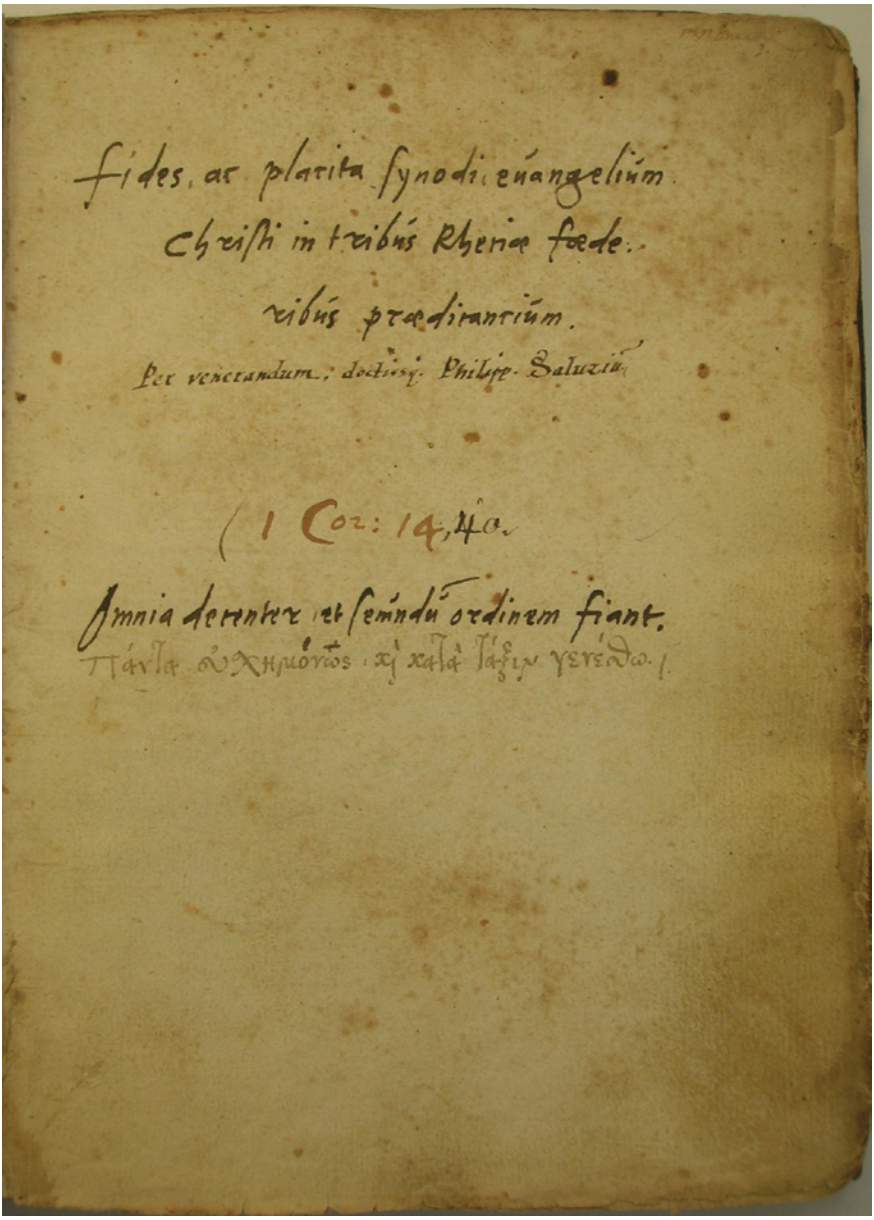

FIGURE 8.4A *The Confessio Raetica* (Fides et Placita Synodi) *presented to the synod to sign in 1553*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE SKA CHUR

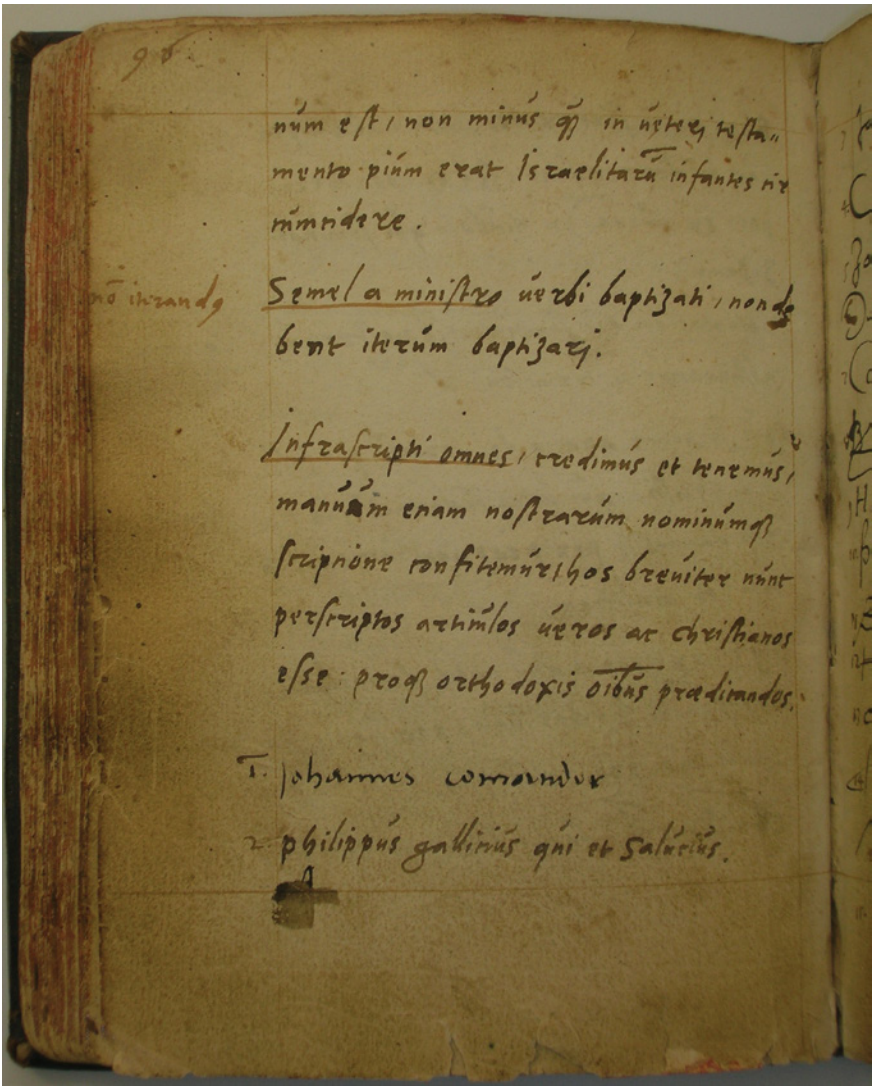

FIGURE 8.4B *First page of the matricula sinodalis with the signatures of Comander and Gallicius*
PHOTO COURTESY OF SKA CHUR

after the adoption of the *Confessio*,[227] which placed the Reformed church in the Three Leagues within the broader European Reformed community. Even more significantly, on 23 February 1566 Fabricius and Gallicius reported to Bullinger that "in our names and in the names of our brothers," they could accept Bullinger's Second Helvetic Confession.[228] This confession would soon be adopted not only by the Reformed churches of the Swiss Confederation, but also by many churches throughout Europe. It pushed the Three Leagues' own local *Confessio Raetica* to the sidelines, although the latter remained binding until the 19th century.[229]

With the acceptance of the *Confessio. Fides ac Placita synodi,* the Reformed confessionalization of the Three Leagues and the institutionalization of the evangelical-rhaetian synod were complete. Certainly over the years that followed, both Reformed communes and synod had to consolidate further, and numerous opportunities were provided by the activities of nonconforming clergy. The tools of a Reformation era church were, however, now available: a single confession, catechisms in several languages, and binding synodal and church ordinances.

8.5 Consolidation of the Reformed Presence

8.5.1 *Establishing a Coherent and Tolerant Religious Policy*

The previous section considered the factors that shaped ecclesiastical and political developments within the Three Leagues. Both the commune's right to select its pastor and the proclamation of religious freedom repeatedly led to conflict as, on one hand, the Roman Catholic Church resisted change, and on the other, nonconforming preachers called for a broader understanding of religious freedom. In the second half of the 16th century the political authorities in the Three Leagues sought to develop a religious policy that was in accord with the principles laid down in the Ilanz Articles.

In the 1550s much attention was necessarily devoted to the treatment of confessional minorities within individual communes. The *Bundstag* held in Ilanz in January 1557 established the ground rules: ministers and priests were to preach and teach, distribute the sacraments, and bury according to their own

227 Emidio Campi, "Consensus Tigurinus: Origins, Assessment, and Impact," in Campi, *Patterns,* 115; Graf, *Ordnung*, 28.

228 Johannes Fabricius Montanus und Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 23 February 1566, in à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 427 (ff.); RBS 2/2: 243–345.

229 Graf, *Ordnung*, 8; Busch, "Confessio Raetica," 249.

practices. If a commune had two churches, then one church was to be allotted to each party; if the commune had only a single church, then both parties would use that one church, consecutively.[230] This regulation led to the establishment of parity for Roman Catholic and Reformed in numerous communes of the Three Leagues.[231] The same *Bundstag* tackled the issue of religious freedom in the Valtellina, where, unlike Chiavenna, free public preaching had not yet been authorized.[232] It decided that throughout the subject lands, the two parties were each to receive a church, with preference given to the Roman Catholic party; where there was only one church, mass was to be celebrated first, and then the gospel preached. Foreign clergy, irrespective of confessional affiliation, would only be permitted to act when they had been examined and formally accepted by the relevant chapter: ministers would appear before the synod, priests before the bishop and cathedral chapter. Failure to gain approval would merit banishment from the land.[233]

This decision by the *Bundstag* established biconfessionality throughout the Three Leagues, including the subject lands, with the minority in each commune legally protected. The *Bundstag* had made evident that it intended to treat the confessions equally. While in the ruling lands a majority of communes had become Reformed, in the subject lands the Reformed population formed only a small minority, although in Chiavenna about half the population was Reformed.[234] With their religious policy well secured, the authorities in the Three Leagues did not intend to be swayed by outside interests. When,

230 See the decision of the *Bundstag* in Ilanz, 18 January 1557, in *Materialien,* 2: 272, no. 278.

231 In some instances this regulation generated tension; Randolph C. Head, "Religious Coexistence and Confessional Conflict in the Vier Dörfern. Practices of Toleration in Eastern Switzerland, 1526–1615," in *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment,* (eds.) John Christian Laursen and Cary J. Nederman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 145–65; Felici Maissen, "Der Sagenser Handel [1701]," ZSK 66 (1972), 307–65.

232 The *Bundstag* on 1 November 1552 in Davos only permitted the private appointment of preachers in the Valtellina (see above).

233 See decision of the *Bundstag* at Ilanz, 26 January 1557, StAGR: B 1538, vol. 5, 136–40. On the implementation of the decision: Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 72–3.

234 Only a very small percentage of the Valtellina was Reformed, with a maximum of only 5 per cent in individual communes such as Sondrio and only a very few individuals in the county of Bormio; Randolph C. Head, "At the Frontiers of Theory. Confession Formation, Anti-Confessionalization and Religious Change in the Valtellina, 1520–1620," in Jäger and Pfister, *Konfessionalisierung*, 168–9; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 244–5; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 73; Jakob Rudolf Truog, *Die Pfarrer der evangelischen Gemeinden in Graubünden und seinen ehemaligen Untertanenlanden* (Chur: Historisch-Antiquarische Gesellschaft von Graubünden, 1935), 261–70.

in 1561, the papal nuncio in Milan requested that all decisions that supported confessional or religious freedom be repealed,[235] the *Bundstag*, mindful of advice from Bullinger,[236] rejected the nuncio's demand, stressing that through the mercy of God all in the Three Leagues lived in peace and harmony with each other and hoped that this situation would continue.[237] Implementation of religious freedom in the Valtellina proved a particular challenge, however. Inquisitor Michele Ghislieri from Como (later Pope Pius V) and the Bishop of Como, Gianantonio Volpi, tried in various ways to eradicate the Reformed faith from the Southern Valleys and from the subject lands. Despite the prohibition, foreign monks continued to enter the lands governed by the Three Leagues, sparking conflict in a number of locations.[238] Francesco Cellario, pastor in Morbegno, who had become a member of the synod in 1557, was taken prisoner in 1568 near Lake Como but within territory that belonged to the Three Leagues. He was transported first to Como and Milan and then on to Rome. Condemned to death by Pius V, in May 1569 Cellario was hanged on the bridge before the Castell Sant'Angelo and his corpse burned.[239] The response of the political authorities to such foreign interference was appropriately robust. The heated character of the conflict can be read from the series of papal bulls initiated by Pope Pius V, who intended to ensure that formerly Roman Catholic churches and benefices in the bishoprics of Como and Chur be returned to Catholicism. The climax was reached in March 1572, with the execution of papal representative Dr. Johannes Planta on the orders of the criminal court of Chur.[240] The radical actions of the authorities in the Three Leagues—in defense of religious freedom—shocked both the Catholic vanguard in the Three Leagues and also neighboring territories. Yet foreign Roman Catholic monks and priests, many of whom were agents of the bishop and inquisitor of Como, continued their missionary activities in the Valtellina, deliberately ignoring the laws of the Three Leagues. Understandably, Durich Chiampell

235 *Fürtrag* of papal nuncio Bernardino Bianchi, 7 June 1561, in *Materialien,* 2: 309–13, no. 313.

236 Heinrich Bullinger composed his "Antwort uff den fürtrag" following a request by Johannes Fabricius; Johannes Fabricius to Bullinger, 29 September and 6 October 1561, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 334–8, nos. 382, 384.

237 See decision of the *Bundstag* at Ilanz, 20 October 1561, in *Materialien*, 2: 321–4, no. 321; *Materialien*, 1: 168, no. 766.

238 In this respect Head ("Frontiers," 165–9) is correct when he writes of an antimodel of confessionalization in the Valtellina. More broadly, Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 69–78; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 255–66; Hitz, "Veltlin," 48–52.

239 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 69–70. Many details of these events were described in letters sent by Tobias Egli to Bullinger; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2.

240 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 77–8; Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 20–1.

responded to the situation by seeking to remind the *Bundstag* of its spiritual responsibilities. To that end, in his treatise *On the Duty of the Magistrate Towards its most Dear Subjects* (1577) he emphasized that the secular authorities were responsible for the spiritual welfare of all subjects, which he understood as requiring subjects to change confession if necessary.[241] The *Bundstag* did not take his words to heart, but instead insisted that clergy refrain from intervening in secular matters.[242]

With their robust promotion of religious freedom, the Three Leagues were in effect pursuing a policy of religious toleration. Although freedom of religion applied only to the "papal" and "evangelical" confessions, the model of parity adopted in the Leagues was almost unique in 16th-century Europe, with similar systems found only in Transylvania and Poland. The banishment of those of other religious persuasions, in particular Anabaptists, anti-Trinitarians, and Arian teachers and refugees, cited from the 1550s on in more than a dozen *Bundstag* decisions,[243] was primarily an act of intolerance, but at the same time was indicative of a relatively tolerant religious policy. Nonconformists were only banished from the territory, a moderation that was not mirrored by the Roman Inquisition. This toleration was also evident in the severity with which the *Bundstag* responded to failure to follow its instructions, particularly when that disobedience took the form of provocative actions by Roman Catholics or Reformed. It was the *Bundstag*'s intention that "papists" and "evangelicals" tolerate each other. In the second half of the 16th century, the robust and tolerant character of the religious policy of the Three Leagues led by the *Bundstag* greatly aided the consolidation of the Reformed Church.

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241 Durich Chiampell, *De officio magistratus erga subditos suos charissimos…* (1577), SKA: B 3, 27–35; published, with translation, in JHGG 140 (2010), 31–44; Hitz, "Veltlin," 26–9.

242 Hitz, "Veltlin," 22–3; Randolph C. Head, "'cetera sunt politica et ad nos nihil.' Social Power, Legitimacy and Struggles over the Clerical Voice in Post-Reformation Graubünden," in *Debatten über die Legitimation von Herrschaft. Politische Sprachen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, (eds.) Luise Schorn-Schütte and Sven Tode (Berlin: 2006), 67–85, here at 72–3. It is questionable whether religious policies in the Three Leagues can be seen as the beginnings of confessionalization, as suggested by Hitz, "Veltlin," 9–10; also questionable is Hitz's characterization of Chiampell's treatise as a "model for confessionalization." Although Chiampell wrote of the enforcement of confessional uniformity, the *Bundstag* did not require religious uniformity in the subject lands but rather determinedly continued the existing tolerant religious policy there. Regarding the impact of Chiampell's treatise *De officio*, it is doubtful that the Thusis *Strafgericht* of 1618, particularly its function as a spiritual supervisory body, was a later product of that treatise, as Head considers it to be ("Ministers," 63–8).

243 Note in particular the *Bundstag* and *Beitag* decisions of 1570, 1574, 1584, 1586, and 1600; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 87–9; Truog, *Geschichte*, 36–40; Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 15–20.

8.5.2 *Further Steps to Consolidation*

The beginnings, development, and final form of the Reformed church in the Three Leagues were shaped by contacts with St. Gallen, Basel, and Zurich on the one hand, and the evangelical movement in Italy on the other. In the second half of the 16th century the Reformed church in the Three Leagues looked increasingly to Zurich, with a central role played by Johannes Fabricius Montanus (Hans Schmid, 1527–1566), a nephew of Leo Jud who had studied in Basel, Strasbourg, and Marburg and who was called to the church of St. Martin in Chur following the death of Comander in 1557. We know of at least 660 letters exchanged between Fabicius and Bullinger in the course of just nine years. This correspondence, along with additional letters exchanged with Pellikan, Capito, Bucer, and Beza, reveal Fabricius not only as an outstanding theologian and preacher but also a broadly engaged humanist-minded teacher active as a poet, botanist, politician, and biographer.[244] Furthermore, Johannes Pontisella (d. 1574), from Bergell, and his son Johannes Pontisella (1552–1622), were also in regular contact with Zurich. The father became provisor at the Grossmünster school in Zurich in 1542, and from 1544 he was the head of the Latin school at St. Nicolai in Chur. He was succeeded in this position in 1574 by his son, who completed his studies at Zurich and Heidelberg. Toward the end of the 1570s and as the result of encouragement from Ludwig Lavater, Johannes Pontisella the younger took up the task of writing a history of the Three Leagues.[245] Evidently the *Rhaetian History*, written by Durich Chiampell between 1573 and 1576, did not live up to the expectations of humanist history writing.[246] Chiampell's *History* was planned as the second part of a larger work,

244 His two autobiographical accounts and rich correspondence provide a relatively detailed picture of his life; Siegmar Döpp, *Ioannes Fabricius Montanus. Die beiden lateinischen Autobiographien* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998); Berger, *Chur*, 64–5. Fabricius formed a close friendship with Konrad Gessner himself, and the two men undertook a joint trip through the Engadin and Valtellina in June 1561 in order to visit various spas; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 72–9.

245 [Ludwig Lavater?] to Johannes Pontisella, s.d., in à Porta, *Historia*, 1/1: b2^{r}–c2^{r} and *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 3: 522–7, no. 457. Since à Porta provided the published version of the letter—the original is now lost—historians have traditionally ascribed it to Bullinger, but the letter mentions a visit by the letter writer to the Three Leagues ("vidi maximum in arce Haldenstein"), and that visitor cannot have been Bullinger. A number of clues suggest that the letter was written at the end of the 1570s by Ludwig Lavater. I thank Rainer Henrich, Winterthur, for this information. See Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 276–7; Christian Moser, "Geschichtskonzeption und -methodologie. Dokumente zur Zürcher Historiographie des Reformationszeitalters," *Zwingliana* 33 (2006), 93–154.

246 Durich Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, (ed.) Placidus Plattner (Basel: Schneider, 1887–90).

the *Topographical Description of the Rhaetian Alps*, his contribution to Josias Simler's planned historical and topographical account of all of Switzerland. The first part of Chiampell's work comprised a topographical account of the Three Leagues and the subject lands, with a supplementary section containing details about the natural environment and population.[247]

Even this brief account makes evident that contact between Zurich and the Three Leagues was limited neither to Bullinger nor to ecclesiastical concerns. The relationship between the two locations involved a comprehensive cultural and intellectual exchange that tackled issues of faith, political developments, and education, as well as the topographical, ethnic, and linguistic character of the Leagues and the subject lands. This multifaceted engagement undoubtedly stimulated the growth of the Reformed Church in the Three Leagues, not least as humanist and reform-minded political figures such as Johann Travers and his son-in-law Friedrich de Salis-Samedan participated in a regular exchange with Zurich.[248] Both Travers and Salis provided the Reformed Church with significant political protection; at the same time they sought to preserve the laws of the land by retaining existing institutional structures and by ensuring that the various decisions of the *Bundstag* were enforced in the subject lands.[249]

8.5.3 *The Reformed Confession after 1550*

While in many parts of the Three Leagues communes adopted the Reformation within only a few years of the Ilanz Articles, others did not abandon the old faith at this stage, particularly in the Vier Dörfer, parts of Domleschg, Upper

247 Durich Chiampell, *Raetiae alpestris topographica descriptio*, (ed.) Christian Immanuel Kind (Basel: Schneider, 1884); idem, *Raetiae alpestris topographica descriptio. Appendix III et IV*, (ed.) Traugott Schiess (Chur: Casanova, 1900). Florian Hitz and others are currently working on a critical edition of Chiampell's topography under the auspices of the Institut für Kulturforschung (Graubünden); see also Hitz, "Veltlin," 24–6; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 70–1; Michel, "Humanismus," 38–42.

248 *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: LIII–LVI, LXV–LXXII; see Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "Freundschaft und Kirchenpolitik. Zwei Buchgeschenke Bullingers an Friedrich von Salis-Samedan," *Zwingliana* 42 (2015), 109–33.

249 Among other things, Johann Travers opposed the secularization of the bishopric, which he feared would put at risk the institutional structures of the Three Leagues. In this he was in agreement with Gallicius; Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 12 March 1554, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, (1: 363–4, no. 253). Friedrich de Salis advocated extending the same legal rights to the Reformed as the Roman Catholic Church had in the Valtellina; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 113; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 210–2; Erich Wenneker, "Heinrich Bullinger und der Streit um die Auflösung des Bistums Chur," in HBLTI 1: 157–64; Lukas Vischer, "Friedrich von Salis (1512–1570)," BM (1952), 329–57, here at 339–40, 345–57.

Surselva, Albulatal, Oberhalbstein, parts of the Upper Engadin, and Val Mesolcina. The favorable political circumstances in the Three Leagues meant that some communes only became Reformed in the second half of the 16th century, some only at the beginning of the 17th century, and some not at all. This variety is an indication that the concept of confessionalization cannot be applied to the Three Leagues, where communes were free to make decisions on their own behalf, and the highest political authorities were therefore not in a position to implement a top-down process of social disciplining through religion. Confessionalization in the second half of the 16th century should be understood as support in the formation of confessional identity given by the synod to communes who had adopted the new faith. This process was furthered by the provision of printed material and the founding of schools.

A decision in favor of the Reformation in a single commune might be a product of the activity or attitude of a single individual. After taking up his office in Chur, Fabricius preached several times in the Vorderprättigau, and as a result soon Grüsch, Fanas, Valzeina and finally, in 1563, also Schiers, the mother parish, opted for the Reformation.[250] Seewis i. Pr. became Reformed only in 1586, while Schmitten became a Roman Catholic enclave.[251] By the beginning of the 17th century, almost the whole of the Prättigau had adopted the Reformation.

After the institutionalization process within the Reformed church in the Three Leagues was complete, several communes in the Upper Engadin also adopted the Reformed faith: Zuoz (1554), Madulain, La Punt-Chamues-ch (1561) and, only a little later, S-chanf. Alongside Philip Gallicius and his missionary activities, the two humanists Johann (Gian) Travers and Durich Chiampell contributed significantly to this development. Travers (1483–1563) came from Zuoz and had acquired a humanist and legal education at German universities and in Transylvania. On his return he held a number of offices, some prestigious, in the Three Leagues and the subject territories. He frequently represented the Three Leagues at the diets of the Swiss Confederation and at foreign courts. Both reformers within the Three Leagues and individuals such as Bullinger and Vadian were therefore eager to win over Travers for their cause. For many years Travers hoped that the rent in the church could be repaired. Although by 1551/52 he no longer attended mass,[252] Travers left the Roman Catholic Church publicly only in 1552, when the recess of the Council of Trent brought to an end all hope that the division would be healed. His conversion marked the beginning of a second period of reform in the Three Leagues as all

250 See Hitz, "Landesherrschaft," 57–65; Berger, *Reformation*, 83; Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 46.

251 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 474.

252 Johann Travers to Bullinger, 31 July 1553, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 306, no. 214.

of the Upper Engadin left the old church. At Travers' insistence, Philipp Gallicius was called to Zuoz, a step that would prove vital for rooting the new faith in Zuoz and neighboring communes.[253] Travers himself also played a decisive role in Zuoz. He read Bullinger's *Decades* with great enthusiasm, requested the author's advice about the elimination of individual feast days,[254] and although not a theologian, he occasionally preached in Zuoz from 1556 on.[255] Travers also made a significant contribution to popularizing Reformed teachings with his translation of catechetical and biblical texts into rhaeto-Romansch, such as Jachiam Bifrun's catechism (*Fuorma,* 1552) and the *New Holy Testament* (*L'g Nouf Sainc Testamaint,* 1560) and Durich Chiampell's translation of the Psalms (*Cudesch da Psalms*) with the *Instruction for the Education of Youth* (*Intraguidamaint dad infurmar la Giuuantün,* 1562).[256] From his base in Susch, Chiampell supported Travers and Gallicius's activities in the Upper Engadin in the years after 1554.[257] Only in the 1570s, however, did St. Moritz, Celerina, and Champfèr become Reformed, under the influence of the Samedan pastor Johannes Planta.[258] In order to consolidate the recently reformed communes Planta wrote a much-used catechism published in Poschiavo in 1582.[259] With the exception of the Habsburg county of Tarasp, all of the Engadin and Münstertal had now joined the new faith.

The influence of the abbey of Disentis appears to have been decisive in ensuring that none of the communes in Upper Surselva joined the Reformation. The only Reformed congregation in the Italian enclave of Bivio formed in Oberhalbstein in 1584 under the influence of Johannes Planta, although the majority of the population remained Catholic.[260] In Albulatal, too, the majority of the communes remained loyal to Roman Catholicism, although

253 Philipp Gallicius to Bullinger, 3 February und 12 March 1554, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 359–60, 363–4, nos. 250, 253; see also Berger, *Reformation*, 66–7.

254 Johann Travers to Bullinger, 26 May 1554, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: 370–1, no. 259.

255 Truog, *Pfarrer*, 259; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 47–8; *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 1: LV.

256 Since the 1530s Travers had been translating biblical dramas (for example *La historia dalg Patriarch Joseph*) into Romansch, having in 1527 already provided a poetic account of his imprisonment in the castle of Musso, *Chanzun da la guerra dalg Chastè d'Müs*; Bertogg, *Verkündigung*, 113; Caspar Decurtins, *Rätoromanische Chrestomathie*, 15 vols. (Chur: Octopus Verlag, 1983), 4: 16–38; Chiampell, *Historia Raetica*, 2: 352–6.

257 Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 67–71.

258 Johannes Planta, pastor in Samedan, is not to be confused with the Dr. Johannes Planta who was convicted by the Chur *Strafgericht* in 1572.

259 *Un cuort nuzeivel e bsognius Catechismus … huossa da noef scrit* (Poschiavo: Landolfi, 1582).

260 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 466; Truog, *Geschichte*, 13, 21.

in Bergün, where there had been a small Reformed congregation since 1562, Chiampell succeeded in convincing the majority of the commune to adopt the Reformed faith.[261] In the final decade of the 16th century, Filisur, too, finally became Reformed.

Only in the 1580s did the Reformation make progress in Feldiserberg in Domleschg. We know few details about the background of the activities of Conrad Jecklin, the younger son of reformer Conrad Jecklin (d. 1556), who had been a priest in Almens and Rodels. In 1581, when Jecklin became pastor of Thusis, he apparently also preached in various communes in Domleschg, winning them over for the Reformation with the assistance of Andreas Dominicus Stuppan (d. 1625), pastor in Scharans and Sarn. Mutten, Feldis, Scheid, and individual families in Trans and Almens also subsequently became Reformed.[262] Turning to the Italian Southern Valleys: Val Bregaglia became entirely Reformed and Val Poschiavo Reformed in part, while the communes of Poschiavo and Brusio were mixed.[263] From the time of the Counter-Reformation, the Val Mesolcina and Val Calanca were entirely Catholic valleys.

The Val Mesolcina provides the anti-model of the consolidation of the Reformed church in the Three Leagues.[264] The Reformation there was closely connected to the Reformed congregation in Locarno. From there the new teachings penetrated into the valley. In 1549 Giovanni Beccaria arrived in the Mesolcina as a religious refugee, the same year that the valley bought its freedom from count Gian Francesco Trivulzio. A new self-assurance was accompanied by sympathy for innovations in religion, and so the inhabitants of the Val Mesolcina allowed Beccaria's proclamation of the new teachings, which found supporters especially in Mesocco. In 1551, he was joined by the Locarno refugees Giovanni Antonio Viscardi and Guarnerino Castiglione. When the Reformed congregation in Locarno was dissolved by a decision of the Swiss Diet, many refugees from Locarno went to the Val Mesolcina, where they spent the winter, but pressure from the Catholic Confederates caused the *Oberer Bund* to issue a decree ordering the Locarno refugees to leave the valley.

A few families remained faithful to their Reformed faith, however, which presented a challenge to the *Bundstag*: it was under pressure from the

261 Hitz, "Veltlin," 24; Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 69; Truog, *Pfarrer*, 16.

262 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 465–78; Berger, *Kirchengeschichte*, 102; Emil Camenisch, *Bündner Reformationsgeschichte* (Chur: Bischofberger & Hotzenköcherle, 1920), 488–512.

263 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 85–92; Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 50–8.

264 See the sophisticated and detailed studies by Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 135–56, and Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 94–124, as well as Chapter 7 above.

Confederates supported by Rome and Milan, but it wanted to maintain its own religious policies. It therefore resolved on 12 February 1561 in Chur that one of the five churches in Mesocco should be given to the Reformed congregation.[265] The valley's inhabitants resisted this decree and demanded Beccaria's expulsion as a foreigner and disturber of the peace. The Reformed congregation continued to exist, but Beccaria moved to Chiavenna. He returned to Val Mesolcina in 1570, which sparked a secret meeting in September 1570 in the Ursern valley between Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and several important Catholic representatives of the Three Leagues.[266] Their goal was not only the expulsion of the "pessimi heretici" but also the long-term extirpation of the Reformed confession in the Mesolcina. Because there was still a significant Reformed presence in the Mesolcina at the end of the decade, Borromeo renewed his efforts, and in November 1583 he went to the Val Mesolcina himself, although without permission from the Three Leagues. Even before his arrival a number of families fled from Mesocco; others renounced their Reformed faith. Borromeo took action against the recalcitrant and obstinate, supported by Inquisitor Francesco Borsato, and about 130 people were examined. Once the death sentence was pronounced, the valley's court carried out the penalty and on 30 November had ten people burned at the stake. There was no further Reformed preaching in the Val Mesolcina and Val Calanca for centuries.

In contrast to the Val Mesolcina, and despite strong Catholic resistance, the Reformed church in the subject lands became firmly established in the second half of the 16th century. In Chiavenna, the heart of the Reformed presence in the subject lands, the central figure until his death in 1563 was Agostino Mainardo. As a firm adherent of the *Confession Raetica*, Mainardo dedicated himself especially to strengthening the Reformed presence in Chiavenna.[267] His efforts were supported in particular by the highly educated humanist Friedrich de Salis-Samedan (1512–70). As an active advocate of the Reformation in the subject lands and as *Comissari* of Chiavenna, de Salis-Samedan

265 Beschluss des *Bundstages* zu Chur, 12. Februar 1561, in *Materialien*, 2: 303–4, no. 309.

266 These were the abbot of Disentis Christian von Castelberg, the *Landrichter* of the Gray League Peter Bundi, and the bishop of Chur, Beat à Porta.

267 Additionally he was able to ensure that in 1560 the Reformed in Chiavenna published a *Definitio* that required the Italian religious exiles who had joined the church to subscribe to Mainardo's Confession of 1548; *Definitio Clavennensis ecclesiae ex vulgari nostro de verbo ad verbum*, 2 January 1560, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 277–8; Agostino Mainardo to Bullinger, 18 February 1561, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 277–8, no. 316.

was able to ensure that the church of San Pietro was given to the Reformed.[268] The Reformation was also actively supported, however, by "natives" from the Valtellina, such as the Pestalozzi family in Chiavenna, the Paravicini family in Caspano, or the Pergola family in Tirano.[269] Without the support and influence of numerous families who had adopted the new faith, the Reformed church in the subject lands would have been hard pressed to put down any roots.[270] While the Reformed church was established relatively early in Chiavenna, only from the 1550s did Reformed congregations come into being in Sondrio and Tirano, in particular in Teglio, Berbenno, Dubino, Morbegno, Piuro, Prata, Mese, Malenco, and Traona.[271] The report produced by a visitation carried out in 1589 by Feliciano Ninguarda (1524–95), Bishop of Como—Niguarda had been born in Morbegno—provides a reliable account of confessional realities in the Valtellina in the 1580s.[272]

The allocation of churches to the Reformed minority was not without its challenges. The situation was particularly fraught in Piuro where, from the 1560s a congregation that was in some respects nonconformist developed under Pastor Girolamo Turriani. Turriani repeatedly provided temporary refuge to nonconformists who were not tolerated by Zanchi's strict successor in Chiavenna, Scipione Lentolo; these included Camillo Sozzini from Siena, Filippo Valentini from Modena, and Gian Battista Bovio from Bologna. Other nonconformists, such as Niccolò Camogli, a rich merchant from Genoa, settled permanently in Piuro. In 1567 complaints were made about Turriani at

268 See the decision of the *Bundstag* at Ilanz, 25 October 1561, StAGR: B 1538, vol. 5, 172. The church had been used since 1557, according to the decision of the *Bundstag* that regulated the legal status of the Reformed in the Valtellina; de Salis-Samedan was in part responsible for this decision. See Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 65, 72; Giorgetta, "Comunità," 143–4. On Friedrich de Salis-Samedan, Bonorand, *Reformatoren*, 49–50; Lukas Vischer, "Friedrich von Salis," 329–57.

269 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 112; Bonorand, *Emigration*, *passim*; Caponetto, *Reformation*, 230–2.

270 Leaving to one side Chiavenna, in which the population was legally mixed, only in two communes on the Sonderser Berg (Sondrio-Monte)—Asche and Ronco—had the majority already adopted the new faith. In 1574 they had constructed their own church on a cliff top with fine views near Mossini; Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 32–3; Truog, *Pfarrer*, 268.

271 Overall, there were seventeen Reformed communes in the Valtellina; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 69–93; Giorgetta, "Comunità," 148–59; Truog, *Pfarrer*, 262–70.

272 *La Valtellina negli atti della visita pastorale diocesana di F. Feliciano Ninguarda*, (eds.) Lino Varischetti and Nando Cecini (Sondrio: Banca Piccolo credito Valtellinese, 1963); Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 117, 226; Camenisch, *Geschichte*, 47–51.

the synod at Chur,[273] and he was temporarily excluded from the synod in 1571. Neither this nor Camogli's temporary excommunication had an impact on the congregation in Piuro. Reinstated in 1572, Turriani continued to act as pastor of Piuro.[274] In 1579, with the aid of a decision of the *Bundstag*, the *Podestat* of Piuro was finally able to ensure that the church of St. Rochus was granted to the "Reformed."[275] It appears, however, that the commune only officially adopted the Reformed confession in the 1590s.[276]

One aspect of the consolidation of the Reformed Church in the Three Leagues and in the subject lands was the popular support associated with new school foundations. As mentioned above, in Chur, the civic Latin school of St. Nicolai, founded in 1539, was led by Johannes Pontisella; he was succeeded by his son Johannes, pastor at the church of St. Regula, since 1574.[277] The Latin school played a vital role in examining candidates for the ministry. As his publications show, Pontisella was not only a philologist and exegete but also active in bringing Reformed ideas to the German-speaking schools of the Three Leagues. He published a Reformed catechism that was printed in Zurich in 1596.[278] Pontisella appended four prayers from Leo Jud's large catechism of 1534 that had already been adopted by Comander and Blasius and that would later be used by Bifrun. Unfortunately, we know very little of the schools in other German-speaking areas of the Three Leagues. The names of some itinerant schoolmasters are recorded, but only in a few communes were schools permanent institutions.[279] Davos, the main town of the *Zehngerichtebund*, apparently had an elementary school at an early date, which the historian

273 See Giampaolo Zucchini, *Riforma e società nei Grigioni: G. Zanchi, S. Florillo, S. Lentulo e i comflitti dottrinale e socio-politici a Chiavenna* (*1563–1567*) (Chur: Archivio di Stato e dalla Biblioteca Cantonale dei Grigioni, 1978), 52.

274 See Bonorand, *Emigration*, 177. On temporary exclusion, see below.

275 See the decision of a *Bundstag* from 15 April 1579, StAGR: Landesakten (A II/LA 1), no. 1983.

276 Broadly, Bonorand, *Emigration*, 164–5, 176–7; Giorgetta, "Communità," 146; Welti, *Reformation*, 94.

277 See Berger, *Chur*, 67; Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 64–5.

278 *Catechismus. Kurtzer Bericht der Houptpuncten Christenlicher Religion für die Kirchen und Schůlen loblicher dreyer Pündten in alter Churer RHETIA Oberer Teütscher landen* (Zürich: Wolff, 1596).

279 Like Pfister, I am critical of Bonorand's calculation of the number of school locations, as many schools only functioned temporarily; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 334–5; Conradin Bonorand, *Die Entwicklung des reformierten Bildungswesens in Graubünden zur Zeit der Reformation und der Gegenreformation* (Thusis: Roth & Co., 1949), 134–40.

Fortunat Sprecher de Bernegg attended before learning Latin from Luzius de Capol.[280] Until the 18th century, it was not at all uncommon for the pastor also to be the schoolmaster,[281] a model we encounter in pastor Conrad Jecklin the younger, who was actively involved in teaching in Thusis and Ilanz.[282]

We know much more about schooling in the Romansch-speaking areas. We have already encountered Johann Travers as actively engaged in popularizing the Reformed confession in Zuoz; in this he aided schoolmaster Johannes Cönz (Contius) Bisaz, who later became pastor in Zuoz. In 1561 Johann Jenatsch from Samedan taught in Zuoz; like Bisaz, Jenatsch had also studied in Basel. He worked as a teacher in Zernez and then in his home commune of Samedan, where Friedrich de Salis resided. His humanist instruction provided more than simply an elementary education: in 1581 Andreas de Sprecher (d. 1638) learned both Latin and Romansch from Jenatsch in Samedan.[283] Fortunat de Juvalta (1567–1654) und Johann Guler de Wyneck (1562–1637), both humanists, attended the school in Zuoz in order to learn Latin and Romansch.[284] The protocol of the synod and letters exchanged between the Three Leagues and Zurich are illuminating. Members of the synod often worked as "humanist teachers" while waiting to receive a post as a pastor.[285] The protocol of the synod held in Chur in 1577 mentions two preachers who had not yet been engaged as pastors: Georg Carinus was working as a schoolmaster in Sent and Johann Thrana in Scuol.[286]

Durich Chiampell recorded in his topography that within the Three Leagues the population of the Engadin was most concerned about the education of young people.[287] To that end in 1571 Jachiam Bifrun published his work *Tæfla*, the first primer in Romansch. The texts starts with printed lowercase and uppercase letters, listed alphabetically, followed by syllables and diphthongs. There follows the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, Psalms and a number of short prayers, again in part drawn from Leo Jud's large catechism. In the epilogue, Bifun noted that schoolmasters should use this primer

280 Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 108, 135.

281 Instruction in the catechism was not the same as attendance at school: the former took place on Sunday morning or afternoon at the church and was obligatory; the latter was voluntary and essentially a "private" matter; Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 130.

282 Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 135–7.

283 Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 107, 165.

284 On the school of Zuoz: Bonorand, *Emigration*, 187–8.

285 Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 48–9.

286 See protocol of the synod at Chur (1577), SKA Chur: B 3, 20.

287 Durich Chiampell, *Topographische Beschreibung von Hohenrätien*, (ed.) Theodor von Mohr (Chur: L. Hitz, 1848), 116.

to educate children in the true faith and to teach them to read the Romansch language while they were still small.[288] Reading—and specifically reading of printed material—was doubtless the first lesson taught in elementary schools. Pastors and the majority of Reformed schoolmasters were concerned to ensure that children could read in order that they could understand the catechism, the Psalms, and the New Testament. True faith was to be acquired not by viewing images in churches but by reading the Word of God.[289]

We have only sporadic information about 16th-century schools in the Reformed Romansch-speaking areas of Schams and Gruob. No printed Reformed works from the rhaeto-Romansch Surselva and Sutselva are extant, so German and "Engadin" catechisms and primers must have been used in these areas, as we know was the case in Domleschg. In winter 1581/82 Hans Ardüser (1557–1614) from Davos was appointed as a teacher by the commune of Thusis, a market town and transport hub. Ardüser, who had given up his study of theology and became a chronicler, painter, and teacher, taught in Thusis through many winters. His pupils appear to have come largely from Oberhalbstein, Domleschg, and Davos,[290] and instruction would therefore have been in German, with Pontisella's German catechism one of the texts used. Daniel Bonifaci (1572–1639), who around 1600 was schoolmaster in Fürstenau, translated Pontisella's *Catechismus*, supplemented with further rules of conduct, into Sutselvan Romansch. For his texts in Romansch Pontisella evidently drew orthographically from Chiampell, even adopting a number of forms directly, which suggests that he must have known and used the Engadin catechism and primer.[291] The preface to Bonifaci's *Catechismus*, written jointly by Conrad Jecklin, pastor in Thusis, and Andreas Dominicus Stuppan, pastor in Scharans, exhorts parents to send their children to school.[292]

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288 Iachiam Bifrun to the schoolmasters, in [Iachiam Bifrun], [*Tæfla*] ([Poschiavo: Landolfi], 1571); see also Bernhard, "Fuorma," 199–200, 205–6; idem, "La 'Tæfla' da Iachiam Tütschett Bifrun—igl emprem cudisch da scola romontsch," AnSR 128 (2015), 25–54.

289 Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 124, 131; Bertogg, *Verkündigung*, 114–7.

290 Depending on their place of origin, the pupils were of both genders and both confessions; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 335–6; Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 135–3; Friedrich Pieth, *Geschichte des Volksschulwesens in Graubünden* (Chur: 1908), 16–9.

291 Wolfgang Dahmen, "Übersetzen und Sprachgeschichte. Übersetzungen ins Bündnerromanische," in *Romanische Sprachgeschichte. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprache*, (eds.) Gerhard Ernst et al., 3 vols. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 2: 1370; Deplazes, *Funtaunas*, 1: 93–5; Ambros Widmer, "Il catechismus da Bonifaci," *Igl Ischi* 44 (1958), 123–30.

292 Daniel Bonifaci, *Catechismus. Curt mussameint dels principals punctgs della christianevla Religiun, …* (Lindau: Johann Ludvig Brem, 1601), A4^{v}–A5^{r}; Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 124, 136.

In Chiavenna, Francesco Negri was so highly regarded as a humanist teacher that pupils who had already attended higher schools still sought to study with him: Friederich de Salis (1512–1570) sent his only son, Johann Travers, named after von Salis's father-in-law, to Negri's school in Chiavenna even after he had studied in Zurich and Basel.[293] Suitable schools were lacking, however, in the Valtellina. While individual works by Vergerio appear to have been instrumental in creating a popular following for the new teachings there and in the Southern Valleys, the teachers at the schools in the Valtellina were largely nonconformist Italian immigrants, as the examples of Caspano, Traona, Sondrio, and Morbegno show.[294] The synod was therefore eager to establish what it termed a territorial school in the Valtellina and presented that cause to the *Bundstag*. In 1581 the *Bundstag* proposed that a Latin school be established in the Valtellina at which young people of both confessions could be educated. Following agreement from the communes, on 14 October 1582 the *Bundstag* meeting at Davos resolved to use the endowment of the priory in Teglio for the establishment of a territorial school in which the youth of the Three Leagues would be taught the liberal arts and languages.[295]

Sondrio was eventually chosen as the location for the school. Lentolo and the Valtellina governor general (*Landeshauptmann*) Hartmann de Hartmannis turned to Gwalther in Zurich for a recommendation for a head of the school, and as a result Raphael Egli (1559–1622), son of Tobias Egli, pastor in Chur, was appointed. Egli had studied first with Pontisella in Chur and with Lentolo in Chiavenna, before continuing his education in Zurich, Geneva, and Basel. In November 1582 he settled in Sondrio and began to teach, unofficially and on a small scale.[296] Information about the establishment and running of the school can be gleaned from an edict issued by the *Landeshauptmann* in 1583 and published in Egli's school regulations, a work that was approved by Gwalther.[297] In addition to learning to read and write Italian and Latin, the boys were to be instructed in Latin literature, rhetoric, and the Greek language. The school

293 Friedrich von Salis to Bullinger, 20 July 1559, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 148–49, no. 184; Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 49–50.

294 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 203–12.

295 Decision of the Three Leagues at Davos, 14 October 1582, StAGR: Landesakten (A II/LA 1), no. 2219; à Porta, *Historia*, 2: 36–58.

296 Kurt-Jakob Rüetschi, "Rudolf Gwalthers Unterstützung des Landesschulprojekts in Sondrio (1582–1584) und seine Meinung über Graubündens Bedeutung in der damaligen Mächtekonstellation," in Campi FS, 39–63, here at 43–8; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 119–21; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 213–6; idem, *Entwicklung*, 55–9.

297 *Via ac ratio scholae illustrium D.D. Rhaetorum qui nomine Trium Foederum nuncupantur...* (Poschiavo: Landolfi, 1584).

leadership was to ensure, however, that the school was open to both those "who follow the mass and also evangelical preaching," with religious affiliation therefore no barrier to learning. Roman Catholic boys were exempt from attending the school on high feast days, and instruction in religion was to be given in segregated classes.[298] The territorial school was thus explicitly founded on principles of parity, with at least one of the three teachers Roman Catholic. Pupils were soon drawn to the school from throughout the Three Leagues and even from the Swiss Confederation more broadly.[299] Egli received very strong support from Scipione Calandrini of Lucca, the pastor in Sondrio.[300] In early 1584, however, unrest developed in Sondrio that lasted until June that year. Prime mover and agitator was archpriest Jacobo Pusterla of Sondrio, who was supported by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, the Spanish governor in Milan, and the Catholic Confederates.[301] Although the *Bundstag* sought to quell the uprising, secure the new institution financially, find suitable buildings, and support Egli in his work, the attempt to establish the school in Sondrio failed. On 12 January 1585 the *Bundstag* meeting in Chur resolved that the plan for Sondrio be abandoned and the territorial school transferred to Chur.[302] The attempt to establish a territorial school founded on confessional parity, which would have been unique in Europe, failed in the face of opposition from Catholic authorities.

For Borromeo the Three Leagues' apparent unwillingness to enforce their decisions in the face of opposition was an opportunity to put into effect his plans for invasion; in this he was supported by Pope Gregory XIII. Borromeo's intention was to invade the Valtellina from the Milanese lands and wipe out Protestantism south of the Alps. The plans for the attack were uncovered, however, and the conspirators condemned to death on 29 November 1584.[303] While the authorities in the Three Leagues sought to avoid further provocation, they

298 See edict of Hartmann de Hartmannis (1583), in Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 307–9; Rüetschi, "Gwalthers Unterstützung," 47–8; Carl Camenisch, *Carlo Borromeo und die Gegenreformation im Veltlin mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Landesschule in Sondrio* (Chur: Sprecher & Valer, 1901), 255–61.

299 Raphael Egli to Rudolf Gwalther, 16 May 1584, ZZB: F 42, 78; Rüetschi, "Gwalthers Unterstützung," 52; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 215.

300 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 78–9; Rüetschi, "Gwalthers Unterstützung," 48–53.

301 Rüetschi, "Gwalthers Unterstützung," 48–53; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 122–3; Camenisch, *Borromeo*, 160–87.

302 Decision of the *Bundstag* at Chur, 12 January 1585, in *Materialien*, 1: 239, no. 1038; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 121; Bonorand, *Entwicklung*, 58–61.

303 Arno Lanfranchi, "Un complotto in Valtellina ai danni delle tre Leghe nel 1584," *Bolletino della Società Storica Val Poschiavo* 16 (June 2012), 5–22; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 122–6; Camenisch, *Borromeo*, 188–203.

resolutely continued a religious policy whose roots went back to the Ilanz Articles. That response was sufficient reason for Como, Milan, and Rome to continue to support the idea of an attack, which was eventually carried out successfully in 1620.[304]

These events make evident the particular challenges faced by the synod as it sought to consolidate the position of the Reformed Church in the subject lands. In effect, it was fighting a war on two fronts: on one hand, the synod sought to draw a clear line between the Reformed Church and the Italian nonconformists; on the other hand, it faced repeated attempts at re-Catholicization by foreign powers who sought to influence confessional developments within the Three Leagues and the subject lands. Durich Chiampell, the humanist, reformer, and church politician, continued to be a central figure in the period after the failed invasion of Veltlin. Chiampell first turned his attention to the growing dominance of Chur at the synod: although the *Placita synodi* of 1553 had intended that the location of each meeting of the synod be freely determined, until the 1560s it met only in Chur.[305] Aware that not all Reformed ministers, and particularly those from the Engadin and the Southern Valleys, were able to attend the synod regularly when it was held in distant Chur, Chiampell advocated for meeting places throughout the Three Leagues. Additionally, he proposed that the Antistes of Chur should no longer act ex officio as *minister synodi*. Following Fabricius's death in 1566, Chiampell, who was then pastor in Susch in the Lower Engadin, was for the first time able to question the preeminence of Chur. Although the 1567 synod did meet at Chur, chaired by Tobias Egli, the new pastor of the church of St. Martin, the Reformed ministers of the Engadin challenged that model and elected Chiampell to preside at the synod. The synods of 1568 and 1569 took place in Zuoz and Ilanz respectively.[306]

304 History has recorded this act as the "Valtellina Murder" (*Veltliner Mord*) or *sacro macello*; Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta,* 375 (literature).

305 RBS 1/3: 266. As this account makes very evident, it was not uncommon for synods to be held in both spring and autumn of the same year. Jakob Rudolf Truog, "Die Versammlungsorte der evangelisch-rätischen Synode," BM (1917), 169–79, here at 174, is therefore mistaken when he assumes that there was only one meeting each year, and Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 103–4, 129–30, is also in error in holding that until the 1560s there were no regular meetings of the synod. The *Bundstag*'s requirement in 1573 that the clergy of each confession hold an annual "chapter" (*Kapitel,* synod) should not be taken as an indication that the synod had not previously met regularly; it was instead a product of the dual character of the religious policy of the *Bundstag*. Its intention was rather to ensure the "chapter" of the Catholic clergy of the bishopric of Chur met.

306 à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 433–42; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 103–4.

Chiampell's approach had two particular implications: Chur was no longer dominant,[307] and a decisive step had been taken toward ensuring that the synod was representative of the Three Leagues as a whole. The various Reformed regions of the Three Leagues now formed a more cohesive unit.[308] This new character was reinforced by a decision taken at a synod held in 1575 that one dean from each of the three leagues should work alongside the pastor who was presiding at the synod (*minister synodi*). Each dean was to ascertain whether the legal rights of the Reformed presence within his own geographical area were respected and to keep the *minister synodi* fully informed; when necessary he could also represent the synod at a *Bundstag*. From this date, Reformed communes throughout the Three Leagues and the subject lands were now suitably represented within the leadership of the synod, which was formed by the *minister synodi*, two ecclesiastical assessors, three deans, and a secretary.[309]

From 1580 to 1608 Johannes Cönz Bisaz, pastor of Zuoz, served as *minister synodi*, having previously acted as an ecclesiastical assessor from 1572, and then as dean from the *Gotteshausbund* from 1576.[310] After 1570 the synod met not only in Chur but also in Zernez, Vicosoprano, Ilanz, Davos, Thusis, Samedan, and Poschiavo.[311] That the synod increasingly represented the interests of the Three Leagues as a whole was doubtless the work of Chiampell. In addition to serving as pastor of Tschlin and attending the synod, before his death in 1582 Chiampell completed his principal work in Latin, *Raetiae Alpestris topographica descriptio*, ensuring him a lasting reputation as the historian of the Three Leagues in the age of the Reformation.

In the 1580s the synod became preoccupied with issues of order and discipline. In 1582, and more strongly in 1584, it forbade its members from accepting income raised from mercenary service and other gifts. Just how seriously the synod took this decision is evident from its decision in 1606 to exclude

307 For Pfister this step formed a hurdle on the path to a permanent and centralized church authority; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 130; also Valèr, *Geistlichen*, 11–2. Chiampell's actions should not be interpreted, however, as an attempt to assert the independence of the Reformed Church in the Leagues from Zurich (see Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 104), for into the 1580s Chiampell himself, like many other humanists and ministers in the Three Leagues, continued to participate regularly in exchanges with the theologians of Zurich.

308 For Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 128, in this context the synod can be understood as the beginnings of a territorial church organization.

309 Jakob Rudolf Truog, "Die Decane und Assessoren der evangelisch-rätischen Synode nach den Synodalprotokollen (1571–1930)," JHGG 60 (1930), 30–1.

310 Truog, "Decane," 33–9.

311 Truog, "Versammlungsorte," 174.

Johannes Pontisella the younger from the synod "propter hispanismum" after Pontisella had served for over three decades.[312] Through the last two decades of the century the synod repeatedly pressed for greater awareness of the ecclesiastical sovereignty of each Reformed commune, so that preachers would not carry out pastoral duties in neighboring or more distant communes.[313] Through these provisions the synod contributed substantially to the uniformity and consolidation of Reformed institutional structures and religious life in the Three Leagues and its subject lands.

8.5.4 *Doctrinal Disputes in the Cause of Consolidation*

In 1560 when Mainardo sought to enforce the *Definitio*, which required pastors to subscribe to his confession of 1548, he faced resistance from within his own ranks, from Pietro Leonie, Ludovico Fieri, and Simone Fiorillo in Chiavenna, from Girolamo Turriani in Piuro, and from Michelangelo Florio in Soglio.[314] The majority of Mainardo's opponents[315] were biblical radicals who insisted that it was sufficient to abide by scripture and the Apostles' Creed. In their supplication, the *XXVI Quaestiones*, first presented by Simone Fiorillo to Fabricius and then sent to Zurich, they justified their position by noting that faith is based on the correct interpretation of the Bible and therefore does not need to be laid down in dogmatic statements.[316] Mainardo's critics were Socinian in their position on the Trinity:[317] they rejected the view that Jesus Christ was the eternal Son of God, for he could be neither equal to the Father in being nor creator of heaven and earth. Their biblicism meant that they did not believe in redemption through the sacrificial death of Christ; only the grace of God could make Christ's sacrifice sufficient atonement for the sins of humankind and then accept that atonement. Individual nonconformists also rejected infant

312 Truog, *Geschichte*, 41–4; Hitz, "Veltlin," 23.

313 As, however, the number of Reformed clergy was often greater than the number of communes, this could not easily be implemented; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 220.

314 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 124–5; Fiume, *Lentolo*, 137–8. Michelangelo Florio was active in Soglio from 1555; Emidio Campi, "Michelangelo Florio. Un esule religioso attraverso l' Europa del Cinquecento," in *Quaderni grigionitaliani* 85 (2016), 73–83; Lukas Vischer, "Michelangelo Florio tra Italia, Inghliterra e Val Bregaglia," in *Il protestantesimo di lingua italiana nella Svizzera. Figure e movimenti tra cinquencento e ottocento*, (eds.) Emidio Campi and Giuseppe La Torre (Turin: Claudiana, 2000), 67–76.

315 A number of these opponents had subscribed to the *Confessio Raetica*.

316 Similar arguments were made by Pietro Leonie in his text aimed at Mainardo, which may have been printed in Milan; Cantimori, *Haeretiker*, 272–3, 466.

317 We know of aspects of their doctrinal positions from Bullinger's correspondence with Mainardo, Fabricius, and Lentolo.

baptism. Adult baptism was a sign of rebirth, they believed, and only those who had been reborn were capable of following Christ and performing good works.[318]

At the synod of 1561, Leonie, Fieri, and a number of like-minded individuals energetically defended toleration rather than compulsory acceptance of a confession. They also emphasized that the faithful could only be excommunicated for immoral behavior, not for holding different views. On the advice of the Zurich theologians, however, the synod decided that the oppositional preachers must accept the *Confessio Raetica* or face exclusion from the synod. Florio and Turriani apologized; Leonie and Fieri were excluded.[319] Fiorio settled in Moravia, but in 1563 Leonie returned briefly to Chiavenna.[320]

After the conflict-ridden departure of Girolamo Zanchi in 1567 to Heidelberg, Scipione Lentolo (1525–1599) was appointed minister in Chiavenna, the result of his more than twenty-five years of service and contributing significantly to the church's consolidation.[321] In the early 1570s a new conflict developed within the synod that would play out in the *Bundstag*. Again liberal spirits spoke out against the apparently intolerant religious policies of the Three Leagues, which tolerated only the Reformed and Roman Catholic confessions. This position had been reinforced by the *Bundstag* on 27 June 1570, in a renewed *Dekret* against Arians and Anabaptists.[322] Bartolomeo Silvio, formerly pastor of Pontresina and Casaccia, wrote a *Proclamatio* in response to this restriction of religious freedom and asked Bullinger for his judgment on the matter. Bullinger rejected Silvio's work and called on Lentolo to refute it. Lentolo wrote his *Orthodox Response*, which was approved by Bullinger but published, in Geneva, only in 1592.[323] Bullinger was also in close contact with Tobias Egli, pastor of St. Martin in Chur, and he supported Egli in his opposition to Anabaptist teachings. By 1570 an Anabaptist group had formed in Chur around Georg Frell, a bookbinder and bookseller. When Frell refused to have a baby baptized, he was banished from Chur by the town council, but Johannes

318 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 124–5; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 169–72, 180; Cantimori, *Haeretiker*, 270–89.

319 Johannes Fabricius to Bullinger, 6, 9, and 16 June and 14 July 1561, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 303–11, nos. 349, 350, 352, 354.

320 Bonorand, *Emigration*, 170–1.

321 Zucchini, *Riforma*; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 42–6; Fiume, *Lentolo*, 117–227.

322 Decree of the *Bundstag* at Chur, 27 June 1570, StAGR: B 1538, vol. 5, 319–26.

323 Bartolomeo Silvio to Bullinger, 26 September 1570, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 2: 171, no. 220; Scipione Lentolo to Bullinger, 23 October 1572 und 30 April 1573, in *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 3: 378–9, 420, nos. 336, 365. See Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 84–5; Fiume, *Lentolo*, 146–7; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 174–5.

Gantner, pastor of St. Regula since 1566, criticized the action taken against Frell and demanded that individual freedom of conscience be respected. The authorities, he claimed, should not involve themselves in questions of theology. Bullinger, by contrast, held firmly to the position that public heretics should not be defended. Finally Gantner was himself dismissed from his position as pastor by the town council. His views were out of step with the laws of the land.[324]

By its very nature the call for greater toleration also concerned the synod. Italian nonconformists including Bartolomeo Silvio and Girolamo Turriani and also Johannes Gantner were called before the synod held in June 1571. Despite the resistance of a minority at the synod, Gantner was suspended from office for a year;[325] Silvio recanted but did not hold to his recantation and was finally excluded at the synod held in autumn 1571.[326] Turriani was readmitted to the pastorate in 1572, after a temporary exclusion, as was also Niccolò Camoglio.[327]

In a *Sententia* of 1571 the synod emphasized that the secular authorities had the duty to reprimand those who were infected with "false beliefs or heresies."[328] The synod's position, which breathed the spirit of Chiampell, was supported by the *Bundstag*, to which Gantner turned after his suspension. Synod and *Bundstag* were bolstered in their stance by Zurich when Josias Simler dedicated his text *On the One Person and Two Natures of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ* (1571) to the "leaders, magistrates, and representatives" of the Three Leagues. In this Latin work Simler praised both the efforts of the representatives of the Three Leagues for the cause of freedom and their wisdom in permitting only the Roman Catholic and Reformed confessions and banishing "heretics" from the land.[329] Although he himself was Reformed,

324 Wenneker, "Gantnerhandel," 107–15.

325 Gantner was formally re-admitted into the synod only in 1586 and became pastor in Maienfeld; in 1595 he was appointed to Chur, to the church of St. Martin itself; Wenneker, "Gantnerhandel," 114; Berger, *Reformation*, 83–4; Truog, *Pfarrer*, 38.

326 See the protocol of the synod at Chur (1571), ZZB, S 124, no. 68; Tobias Egli to Bullinger, 20 June, 13 July, and 29 October 1571, *Bullingers Korrespondenz*, 3: 251–5, 262–6, nos. 252–3, 262; Wenneker, "Gantnerhandel," 112–3; Fiume, *Lentolo*, 155–9.

327 See the protocol of the synod at Davos (1572), SKA Chur: B 3, 2–5; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 165, 176–7.

328 *Sententia fratrum seu concionatorum synodi evangelicae Curiae congregatae*, 12 June 1571, SKA Chur: B 1, 107. See also Jakob Rudolf Truog, *Die Bündner Prädikanten 1555–1901 nach den Matrikelbüchern der Synode* (Chur: Sprecher & Valer, 1902), 9.

329 Josias Simler, "Praefatio," in Josias Simler, *Scripta vetervm latina, de vna persona et dvavus natvuris Domini et Saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi* (Zurich: Froschauer 1571), *2r–*5v.

Gantner "defended" the Anabaptists and the Italian nonconformists against the interference of the state. In different ways Gantner, Silvio, Turriani, and Mino Celsi, who was briefly in the Valtellina, all rejected a dogmatic Christianity. They emphasized that faith was the free gift of God. To make faith compulsory could only be unlawful, and so they insisted that church and state must be held separate. Celsi—at the time of the decree of 1570 he was in Piuro with Turriani, but he had left for Basel in 1571 before the synod met—subsequently composed the Latin disputation *To What Extent it is Allowed to Punish Heretics,* in which he vehemently rejected all religious persecution, whether carried out by Roman Catholics or Protestants.[330]

The closing of ranks by *Bundstag* and synod was temporarily successful.[331] A good number of nonconformists and others who sympathized with them left the lands of the Three Leagues and, often after a stay in Basel, settled in east-central Europe, in Moravia, Poland, or Transylvania.[332] Some returned, however, and became active in the subject lands and in the Southern Valleys.[333] As a result Chiampell took it upon himself to remind the *Bundstag* of its duties and composed his treatise, mentioned above, *On the Duty of the Magistrate,* which was approved by the synod.

Also during these years, bitter disputes broke out between individual members of the synod in the Lower Engadin over the correct understanding of predestination.[334] A specific complaint was made at the synod held in Zernez

330 *In haereticis coercendis quatenus progredi liceat…disputatio* ([Basel: Perna], 1577); à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 505–8; Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 343–4; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 184–5.

331 The relationship between the *Bundstag* and the synod became frayed when the *Bundstag* proved unwilling to enforce the extended exclusion of Johannes Gantner, citizen of Chur. Chiampell, Gantner's opponent, had to resign from the church of St. Regula, and no synod took place in 1574; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 126; Hitz, "Veltlin," 21.

332 Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 86; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 188–97; Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "Die Humanistenstadt Basel als Transferzentrum für italienische Nonkonformisten," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel,* 299–326.

333 Those who returned include Camillo Renato, who had been banished from the territory but returned to the Valtellina and worked as a teacher in Caspano until his death, Bonorand, *Emigration*, 144, 254; Dalbert, *Reformation*, 83–4; Marcello Squarcialupi, who returned from Transylvania to Poschiavo several times, *Bundi*, Squarcialupi, 435–9, 444–5; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 185–8; and Bartolomeo Silvio, who was active in Teglio from 1573 and temporarily in Sondrio around 1580, Giampaolo Zucchini, "Notizie su Bartolomeo Silvio nei Grigioni," *Clavenna* XIX (1980), 61–9.

334 Broadly, Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 104, 127–8; Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 368–71; idem, "Das Verhältnis des Bündner Kirchenhistorikers Petrus D. Rosius à Porta (1733–1806) zu den 'reformatorischen Vätern,' im Speziellen zur Theologie Johannes Calvins," in *Calvin im Kontext der Schweizer Reformation. Historische und theologische Beiträge zur*

in 1576 against Stephan Domnik, pastor of Susch and Lavin. For Dominik, it was said, God was "mali aeque ac boni Auctorem" and because the faithful were entirely subject to God's free and absolute will, they could not themselves lose their salvation.[335] The synod established a committee to investigate the accusation. For the next synod, Chiampell, who was a member of the committee, wrote an extensive treatment entitled *On Providence and Predestination* (1577), in which he refuted the errors of the so-called libertines. When, however, a number of those attending the 1577 synod announced that they were opposed to the reading aloud of this work, especially its second part, the synod resolved that the work be passed to four members of the synod, the *censores*, for further examination.[336] Those charged with investigating Chiampell's work soon decided to send it to Gwalther in Zurich,[337] stating that the text was not easy to judge.[338] Gwalther, who also gave Chiampell's text to Ludwig Lavater for examination, recommended in his response that the second part not be approved, for "he could not sufficiently follow the mind of the author." At the same time he encouraged them "to prefer a more simple and clear account." and he praised the efforts of both sides to maintain peace and unity in their discussion of predestination.[339]

At the suggestion of Lentolo, the synod of 1578 resolved that its members should put their names to the first part of the text (*Providentia*) but approving the second part, which drew from the *Confessio Raetica* and the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior*, was unnecessary because Bullinger, Gwalther, Vermigli, Calvin, and Musculus had already written clearly and adequately on this subject and therefore "all Chiampell's labor was superfluous."[340] After some opposition from a number of preachers, who again stressed that there could be no

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Calvinforschung, (ed.) Peter Opitz (Zurich: 2003), 271–301, here at 280–1; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/1: 613–32.

335 See the protocol of the synod at Zernez (1576), SKA Chur: B 3, 11–8; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 614.

336 The *censores* were Caspar Haubenschmid (Chur), Scipione Lentolo (Chiavenna), Johann Cönz Bisaz (Zuoz), and Christoph Chioergnia (Chamues-ch). See the protocol of the synod at Chur (1577), SKA Chur: B 3, 19–25; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 616–7.

337 Significantly, Jachen Anton Thünett, who was pastor in Ftan and sympathetic to Dominik, sent a confession he had composed to Gwalther to be examined; Jachen Anton Thünet, "De praedestinatione," StAZ: E II 449, no. 8; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 622.

338 à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 617.

339 Rudolf Gwalther to the synod, s.d. (1577), in à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 617–8. The original of this letter has not yet been found. I am grateful to Kurt-Jakob Rüetschi, Lucerne, for this information.

340 à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 625–6.

compulsion on matters of faith, Lentolo's request was approved, and all members of the synod were called to obey the decisions of the synod. The *Bundstag* could be assured that *concordia in fide* had been reestablished.[341]

8.6 The Transition to Reformed Orthodoxy

In his recent account, Ulrich Pfister maintains that after the disputes over predestination (1576–78), Reformed Orthodoxy held sway in the Reformed Church of the Three Leagues into the 18th century.[342] This view can be challenged on two counts. First, the expression "Reformed Orthodoxy" is itself problematic, as it is usually employed for the 17th century, for the period from the synod of Dordrecht of 1618/19 to the Helvetic Formula Consensus of 1675, the age of "high Orthodoxy." Widespread awareness and acceptance of the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 had certainly raised the profile of the Reformed Church, but individual teachings would require further attention before they could be adjudged fully formulated.[343] Secondly, although predestination was at the heart of the final major quarrel within Protestantism in the Three Leagues, as the records testify, the synod would subsequently also turn its attention to nonconformist teachings and to questions of pastoral theology. One theological question with both dogmatic and pastoral implications concerned exclusion from the Lord's Supper. While in the early 1560s excommunication was debated with regard to doctrinal conformity,[344] at the end of the 1570s the primary concern was the extent to which repentance was a prerequisite for admission to the Lord's Supper. Again Chiampell took up his pen on a controversial subject, but unfortunately his text is not extant. The synod of 1579 decided that repentance was necessary before the Lord's Supper, but it did not support exclusion from communion,[345] thereby rejecting a strict Calvinist

341 See the protocol of the synod at Chur (1578), SKA Chur: B 3, 36–40; à Porta, *Historia*, 1/2: 627–30.

342 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 128. I suspect that in making this statement Pfister drew on my doctoral thesis (Bernhard, *Rosius à Porta*, 359–60) in which, drawing in turn on à Porta's division of his *Historia Reformationis Ecclesiarum Raeticarum* into two parts the position I adopted lacked refinement. Elsewhere in that same work, Pfister describes the dispute over predestination as the epilogue to the enforcement of Reformed Orthodoxy (261).

343 We can talk here only of early orthodoxy. See HLS 10: 13–4; RGG[4] 6: 702–8; Rudolf Pfister, KGS, 2: 410–25.

344 The reference here is to the disputes with Florio, Fieri, and like-minded nonconformists; Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 124–5; Bonorand, *Emigration*, 171.

345 See the protocol of the synod at Chur (1579), SKA Chur: B 3, 41–5.

model of church discipline. Such strict church discipline was introduced only in the 17th century,[346] at the insistence of Stefan Gabriel, pastor in Ilanz and author of the first Surselvan catechism.[347]

Evidence that doctrinal debates continued into the 1580s is found in the publication of Lentolo's *Orthodox Response* in Geneva in 1592.[348] The publication of Lentolo's text in the early 1590s should be seen against the background of continuing debate over Reformed doctrine, for with it Lentolo placed the *Confessio Raetica* alongside the Reformed confessions of France, Scotland, England, Germany, the Swiss Confederation, and Poland. He intended to demonstrate that subscription to the *Confessio Raetica* by the pastors of the Three Leagues was evidence that their church could be numbered among the European Reformed Churches.[349]

That claim to membership in the community of European Reformed Churches underlay an incident in 1595, when Simon Cabasso, a Catholic priest from Tirano, entered the pulpit on 1 May with a copy of Calvin's *Institutes*. Focusing on selected passages, Cabasso sought to demonstrate to his congregation that Calvin blasphemed when he spoke of the godliness of Christ and was therefore an Arian. Anton Andreoscha of Samedan, the Reformed pastor in Tirano, demanded that the *Bundstag* hold a disputation concerning this issue. At the end of the disputation (1595/96), in which both Catholic and Reformed clergy participated, Cabasso was required to admit his defeat.[350] When Cabasso refused to recant, it fell to the *Bundstag* to convict him.[351] In 1598, the archpriest of Sonrio, Nicolò Rusca, published *The Acts of the Tirano Disputation Against Calvin and the Ministers Defending Calvin* without first gaining the approval of

346 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 262–3; idem, "Reformierte Sittenzucht zwischen kommunaler und territorialer Organisation: Graubünden, 16.–18. Jahrhundert," ARG 87 (1996), 287–333, here at 295–8.

347 Stefan Gabriel, *Il vêr sulaz da pievel giuvan* (Basilea: Genath, 1611).

348 This work is Lentolo's response to Bartolomeo Silvio's *Proclamatio*, with Bullinger's approval of the work; Bullinger to Scipione Lentolo, January 1574, in Scipione Lentolo, *Responsio orthodoxa pro edicto* (Geneva: LePreux, 1592), 348; Rudolf Gwalther: "Augiae stabulum," in Lentolo, *Responsio*, 2.

349 Lentolo, *Responsio*, 201.

350 Protocol of the *Bundstag*, 14 June 1596, StAGR: AB IV 1, Bd. 7, 384 ff. On all: à Porta, *Historia*, 2: 99–163; Floriana Valenti, *Le dispute teologiche tra cattolici e riformati nella Rezia del tardo Cinquecento. Primato del Papa—Divinità di Cristo—Sacrificio della Messa* (Sondrio: Valenti, 2010), 57–62, 96–108; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 126–30; Bernhard, 'Verhältnis,' 282–3.

351 Decision of the *Bundstag* at Chur, 15 January 1597, in à Porta, *Historia,* 2: 150–3.

the authorities.[352] In response the *Bundstag*, believing that Rusca's work was "against the truth on many points," called on the Reformed to respond, but by writing only the truth.[353] Ottaviano Mei and Cesare Gaffori provided a treatment entitled *The Tirano Disputation between the Papists and the Ministers of God's Word in Rhaetia*, a very sober account of the theological debates that had taken place at the disputation.[354]

Although the Tirano disputation in some ways had no clear outcome—much like the disputation held at Piuro in 1597, when a woman's conversion to Catholicism provided the occasion for controversy concerning the theological basis for the mass[355]—the circumstances of this disputation signaled that confessional realities had changed in a number of ways. While the first deputations of the Reformation era had been largely characterized by each party seeking to convince the other through weighty argumentation, at the disputations at Tirano and Piuro each party laid out its position in order to demonstrate its orthodoxy. It is noteworthy, however, that defamation of Calvin's *Institutes* was sufficient cause for a disputation to be called. The Reformed Church in the Three Leagues identified itself with Calvin and his teachings. The *Institutes* provided an absolute account of Reformed doctrine and, along with the Second Helvetic Confession, testified to membership in the European-wide Reformed community.

By the end of the 16th century, the Reformed presence in the Three Leagues and the subject lands was firmly established and there was general consensus on Reformed teachings. A decisive role had been played in this process of consolidation by Durich Chiampell.[356] With the new century came the transition to Reformed Orthodoxy. That transition occurred in dependence on and with explicit reference to the leading representatives of Reformed Protestantism in Switzerland: Bullinger, Calvin, Vermigli, and Gwalther.

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352 *Acta disputationis Tiranensis adversus Calvinum et Ministros Calvini defensores* (Como: Girolamo Frova, 1598).

353 Decision of the *Bundstag* from 27 May 1600, in à Porta, *Historia*, 2: 154. Bundi is wrong to hold that the *Bundstag* was critical of the pressure from Ottaviano Mei and Cesare Gaffori. Instead, at issue were Rusca's writings; Bundi, *Gewissensfreiheit*, 128, 229.

354 *Disputatio Tiranensis inter pontificios et ministros verbi Dei in Rhaetia* (Basel: Waldkirch, 1602).

355 *Disputatio Pluriensis* (1597), SKA Chur: B 2; *Disputatio Pluriensis de sacrificio Missae…* (1597), StAZ: E II 449, 2^{r}–15^{v}; à Porta, *Historia*, 2: 164–7; Alessandro Pastore, *Nella Valtellina del tardo cinquecento: fede, cultura, società* (Milan: SugerCo, 1974), 95–7; Jakob Rudolf Truog, "Das Religionsgespräch von Plurs von 1597," *Zwingliana* 9 (1953), 317–23; Valenti, *Dispute*, 62–7, 108–15, 241–73.

356 Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, 126–7.

CHAPTER 9

Francophone Territories Allied to the Swiss Confederation

Michael W. Bruening

9.1 Introduction

With the exception of Fribourg, none of the French-speaking territories of present-day Switzerland were full members of the Swiss Confederation at the beginning of the Reformation. Nevertheless, they all had important diplomatic connections to the Confederation that made them interdependent. Starting in the 15th century, some of the francophone territories would come under the rule of the cantons, chiefly Bern and Fribourg, and others would gain closer connections with the Swiss by signing treaties of *combourgeoisie* (*Burgrecht*).[1] A major shift took place in 1536, when Bern conquered the Pays de Vaud, bringing it into the Confederation, and in 1554, the comté of Gruyère was taken over by Bern and Fribourg. The other francophone territories, however, including Geneva, Neuchâtel, and the Valais, would remain independent but important allies throughout the period of the Reformation.

Much of the Swiss cantons' interest in the francophone lands stemmed from their rivalry with the dukes of Savoy. The chronological parameters of this study reflect that interest. We will begin with the Burgundian Wars (1474–1476) against Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy and his Savoyard allies and end with Geneva's emancipation from the threat of Savoy in the *Escalade* of 1602. Geneva's central role in the Reformation is well known, principally due to Calvin's leadership of the Reformed church in that city, but this chapter will not focus on the story of Calvin and Geneva. Instead, it will examine the role that Geneva and the other French-speaking territories played in relation to the Reformation in the German-speaking cantons.

The religious significance of the francophone allies to the Swiss lay chiefly in the theology that bears the name of its founder, Jean Calvin. Calvinism emerged quickly as an alternative to the system developed by Zwingli in Zurich, and it attracted many of the pastors in the French-speaking lands. Much of the theological debate in the 16th century between the Swiss Protestants and their

1 A treaty of *combourgeoisie* was essentially a military alliance that also carried with it certain economic and civil rights in each city or territory.

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French-speaking allies was about how to reconcile the differences between Zwinglianism and Calvinism, principally over the issues of the Lord's Supper, predestination, and ecclesiastical discipline. Calvin and his contemporaries took some steps towards unity but also encountered bitter conflict. His successor, Theodore Beza, and his counterparts in Zurich and Bern were far more successful in overcoming their differences, and by the end of the century, the only major difference remaining between the two sides was over ecclesiastical discipline.

9.2 The Territories

Before beginning the chronological history of the Francophone territories, let us first look briefly at the territories under consideration here and why they were geographically significant to the German-speaking cantons.

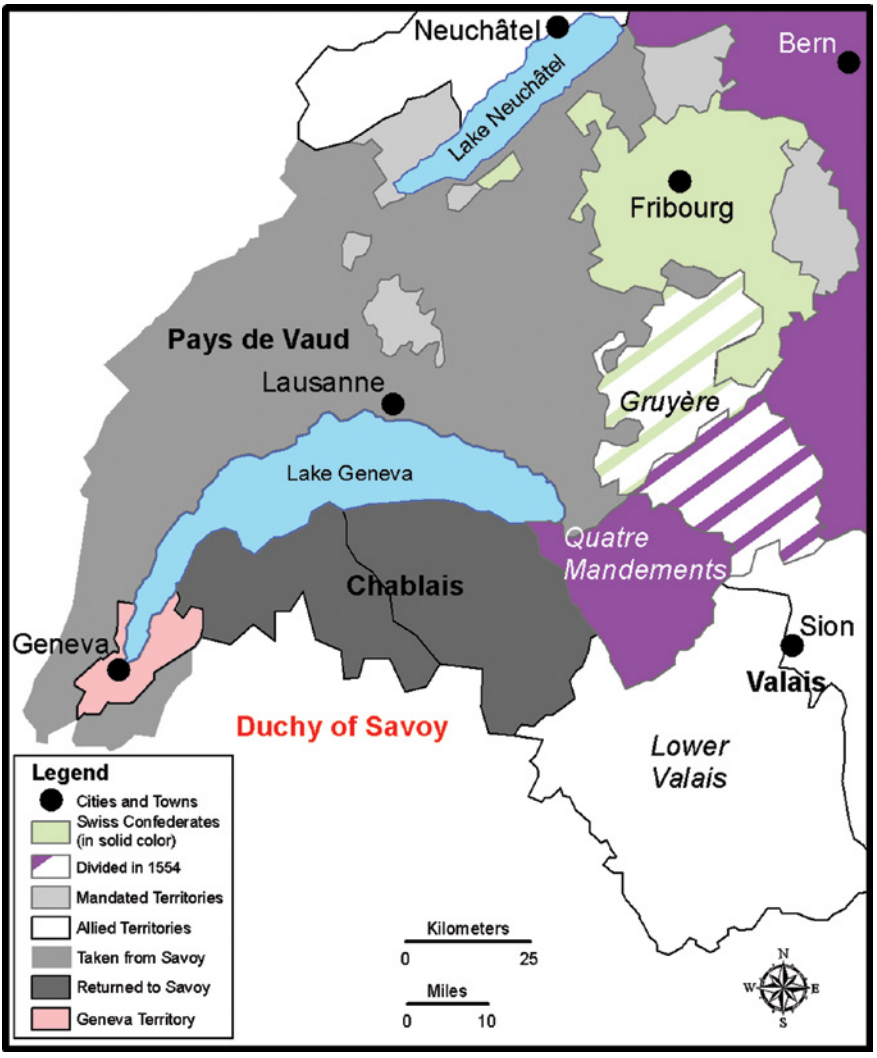
9.2.1 *The Pays de Vaud*

The largest section of the *Suisse romande* is the Pays de Vaud, which extends from its border with Geneva east along the length of Lake Geneva to Montreux and a bit further south up the Rhone Valley. In the west, it is bounded by the Jura Mountains and in the east by the Alps, and it extends north to the southern end of Lake Neuchâtel and the linguistic border at Murten (Morat).[2] The Pays de Vaud was not only relatively large geographically, it also held around 60,000 people in the early 16th century, a population almost twice the size of that of the major cantons of Fribourg, Bern, and Zurich.[3] Its chief city was Lausanne, the episcopal city for much of francophone Switzerland, as well as for Bern, Biel, and Solothurn at the time.[4] The region's chief port was at Morges on Lake Geneva, and before the Bernese conquest of 1536, the capital was inland at Moudon. In addition to the region's human resources, the vineyards along the lake produced commercially traded wine. But its chief importance to the Swiss was its strategic position for trade and communication. Morges provided a port with access to Geneva and Savoy, and the Château de Chillon at the eastern end of the lake guarded the narrow passage south to the vitally

2 See Charles Biermann, "Divisions régionales du Canton de Vaud," *Geographica Helvetica* 6 (1951), 182–85.

3 Jean-François Bergier, *Problèmes de l'histoire économique de la Suisse: Population, vie rurale, échanges, et trafics*, Monographies d'histoire Suisse publiées par la Société générale Suisse d'histoire (Bern: Franke Editions, 1968), 15.

4 On the diocese of Lausanne, see HS I/4.



MAP 9.1 *Pays de Vaud*

important alpine Simplon and Grand-Saint-Bernard passes. The roads of the Vaud linked Bern and Fribourg to Italy and Savoy to the south, and to Lyon, southern France, and Burgundy to the west.[5]

5 Jean-François Bergier, "Pays de Vaud et trafic international du XIII^e au XVIII^e siècle," RHV 63 (1955): 198–202; Jean-Pierre Dewarrat and Laurence Margairaz, "Le Pays de Vaud bernois: lieu de passages," in *De L'Ours à la Cocarde: Régime bernois et revolution en pays de Vaud (1536–1789)*, (eds.) François Flouck et al. (Lausanne: Payot, 1998), 45–57.

The region had been a part of the Holy Roman Empire since 1032. In the 13th century, it became a part of the lands of the counts (later dukes) of Savoy and remained so throughout the Middle Ages.[6] Under Savoyard rule, the Vaud was governed by the count's bailiff in consultation with the estates of Vaud, which consisted of the local lords and independent communes.[7] The area around Lausanne was under the rule not of Savoy but of the bishop of Lausanne, although the city had developed a semi-independent commune as well.[8] The status of the Pays de Vaud would start to shift with the Burgundian Wars and would change dramatically in 1536 with Bern's conquest of the region.

9.2.2 *Neuchâtel*

In the late Middles Ages, the *Suisse romande's* second largest region geographically was the *comté* of Neuchâtel, although in 1400, the population totaled only about 6,500.[9] As the name indicates, the region was governed by the counts of Neuchâtel. Within the *comté* the count had his own vassals, who governed the seigneuries of Valangin, Vaumarcus, Gorgier, Travers, and Colombier. The borders of the *comté* were similar to those of the present-day canton of Neuchâtel, stretching roughly from the region west of Lake Neuchâtel north to the southern end of Lake Biel and west to the Jura. In the Late Middle Ages, the count of Neuchâtel also controlled lands across the present-day French border in the Franche-Comté.[10] Like the Pays de Vaud, Neuchâtel was significant both for its produce, particularly its wine, and for its roads. The Val-de-Travers and col de Joux offered even easier access across the Jura into Burgundy and France than did the Pays de Vaud. Thus, Neuchâtel's markets were more important to the Swiss than those in the Vaud and easier to reach than the larger ones in Geneva and Lyon.

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6 For the medieval history of the Pays de Vaud, see Richard Paquier, *Le Pays de Vaud des origines à la conquête bernoise*, 2 vols. (Lausanne: F. Rouge, 1943); *La Maison de Savoie et le Pays de Vaud*, (eds.) Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Jean-François Poudret (Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1989). The first ruler of Savoy to receive the title *duke* was Amédée VIII in 1416.

7 On the estates of Vaud, see Denis Tappy, *Les Etats de Vaud* (Lausanne: Bibliothèque historique vaudoise, 1988).

8 For more on the political structures in the Pays de Vaud, see Bruening, *Battleground*, 18–22.

9 Jean-François Bergier, *Histoire économique de la Suisse* (Lausanne: Payot, 1984), 23.

10 On the history of the comté of Neuchâtel in the late Middle Ages, see Gisèle Reutter, *Le rôle joué par le comté de Neuchâtel dans la politique suisse et dans la politique française à la fin du XV^e siècle et au début du XVI^e siècle* (Geneva: Journal de Genève, 1942); a good short summary is in Comité Farel, *Guillaume Farel 1489–1565: Biographie nouvelle écrite d'après les documents originaux…* (Neuchâtel: Delauchaux & Niestlé, 1930), 209–17.

Neuchâtel developed a political relationship with the Swiss earlier than did either the Pays de Vaud or Geneva. In 1406, Bern signed separate treaties of *combourgeoisie* with both the count and the commune of Neuchâtel.[11] For the count, who was relatively weak militarily, the treaty secured the protection of a powerful canton. For the commune, Bern was a powerful friend who could ensure that the count respected the city's rights and privileges. For more than a hundred years before its treaties with Geneva and Lausanne, Bern exercised considerable influence over Neuchâtel.

Bern's influence in Neuchâtel only increased after these treaties. Count Rodolphe showed lackluster support for the Swiss in the Burgundian Wars, while his heir, Philippe, actually fought beside Charles the Bold against the Swiss. Worse for the counts, Louis d'Orléans-Longueville sided with King Louis XII against the Swiss in the Italian Wars of the 1510s. The result of these betrayals was the annexation of Neuchâtel by the Swiss. From 1512 to 1529, the Swiss seized complete control over the region. It was restored to Countess Jeanne de Hochberg only in 1529, just before Guillaume Farel's arrival in the city. Even after the countess's return, however, the city authorities, the *Quatre-Ministraux*, maintained close ties to Bern and were generally more inclined to take orders from their Swiss allies than from the countess.

9.2.3 *Geneva*

Geneva was the largest city in the allied Francophone territories, with a population of approximately 10,000 at the beginning of the Reformation.[12] Geneva was a commercial city from early on, famed in the Late Middle Ages for its international fairs.[13] Indeed, the population had been even larger in the 15th century, before the fairs of Lyon diminished the significance of those in Geneva. Located at the southwestern tip of Lake Geneva (or Lac Léman), Geneva was located in a key position that combined easy access by both water and land for traffic coming from all directions. For the Swiss it was the gateway to Lyon, Savoy, and southern France.

Although Geneva governed a few surrounding territories, its holdings were not extensive, a fact reflected in the very small geographical size of the canton today. Since the 1300s, the city had been in a political tug-of-war between the dukes of Savoy, the bishop of Geneva, and the commune of Geneva.[14] The

11 See Reutter, *Le rôle joué par le comté de Neuchâtel*, 122–30.

12 E. William Monter, *Calvin's Geneva* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), 2.

13 See Jean-François Bergier, *Les foires de Genève et l'économie internationale de la Renaissance* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963).

14 On the history of late medieval Geneva, see esp. Henri Naef, *Les origines de la Réforme à Genève*, 2 vols. (Geneva: A. Julien, 1936–1968).

commune had originally won its charter in a contest between the duke and the bishop, but in the 1400s, the House of Savoy controlled the episcopal see as well. Geneva's political history in relation to the Swiss started in 1519 when the pro-Swiss *Eidguenot* faction successfully pushed through a short-lived treaty of *combourgeoisie* with Fribourg.[15] A lasting treaty was concluded in 1526, with important ramifications for the Reformation, as we shall see below.

9.2.4 *Gruyère and the Valais*

Gruyère and the Valais will not be central to this chapter, but they merit a short discussion. Gruyère was an independent *comté* in the Alps sandwiched between the Vaud and the cantons of Fribourg and Bern and corresponding roughly to the present-day districts of the Pays d'Enhaut (Vaud), Gruyère (Fribourg), and Saanen (Bern).[16] As a mountainous region, it was sparsely populated and consisted chiefly of a few prominent châteaux and the rural communities around them. A notable Cluniac priory had been founded at Rougemont in the 11th century.

From the 13th century, the *comté* was under the suzerainty of the counts of Savoy. From that point on, the counts of Gruyère saw alliance with the Swiss as their best hope for achieving a measure of independence from Savoy. The first treaty of *combourgeoisie* was signed with Bern in 1401. Others with Fribourg followed. Gruyère was far less important strategically to the Swiss than were Neuchâtel and the Vaud, for it offered little in the way of natural resources or strategic roadways, apart from a direct link between the Bernese Oberland and the Vaud. Still, the counts' opposition to Savoy in the Burgundian Wars worked in Gruyère's favor, and soldiers from Gruyère fought alongside the Swiss at Murten and in the invasion of the Pays de Vaud.

At the beginning of the Reformation, Count Jean II remained steadfastly Catholic. The conquest of the Vaud created a somewhat difficult situation for the count, for he possessed the town of Aubonne in the Vaud. The Bernese required him to allow the Protestant faith to be preached there. Count Jean's son and successor, Michel, appears to have been friendlier to the Protestant faith. Pierre Viret once wrote to Farel that he had become friends with Count Michel and had struck up a personal correspondence with him.[17]

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15 The term *Eidguenot* comes from the German word for the Confederation: *Eidgenossenschaft*. The French word may well have been the basis for the term later applied to French Protestants: *Huguenots*.

16 On the history of the *comté* of Gruyère, see J.-J. Hisely, *Histoire du comté de Gruyère*, Introductory plus 2 additional volumes (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1851–1857).

17 Viret to Farel, Lausanne, 9 December 1550, Michael W. Bruening, (ed.), *Epistolae Petri Vireti: The Unedited Letters and a Register of Pierre Viret's Correspondence* (Geneva: Droz, 2012), 228, no. 6.

Count Michel was the last Count of Gruyère. His finances were a disaster, and in 1554, he defaulted on his debts and was forced to cede the *comté* to Bern and Fribourg. After the two Swiss cantons divided up the territory, Fribourg's portion remained Catholic, while Bern's predictably became Protestant.

The prince-bishopric of the Valais was governed throughout the Middle Ages by the Bishop of Sion/Sitten. Although Sion is chiefly French-speaking, the political language of the Valais in the Middle Ages was German. Prior to the Burgundian Wars, most of the region lay east of the linguistic border. Lands west of the Morge River (at Conthey, just west of Sion) were part of Savoy. The people of the Valais fought with the Swiss during the Burgundian Wars, however, and they were rewarded with the annexation of the French-speaking territories in the upper Rhone valley, west all the way to Evian. The Reformation was never officially adopted in the Valais, but evangelical ideas took hold among a minority and were used in the struggle for political independence from the bishop.[18]

9.3 The Burgundian Wars (1474–1476)

The relationship between the Swiss cantons and the Francophone territories shifted markedly with the outbreak of the Burgundian Wars in 1474. This shift was due chiefly to Savoy's alliance with Duke Charles the Bold in the conflict and the significance of Savoy to the Francophone territories. Just before the war, Bern had been allied to Savoy, but Yolande, regent for Duke Philibert I of Savoy, joined with Charles the Bold instead, thereby placing herself at odds with the Swiss.[19] Charles was seeking to recreate a Lotharingian kingdom from the Low Countries to Italy. The French and the Swiss were the duke's chief obstacles, but King Louis XI of France signed a peace treaty with Charles late in 1475, leaving the Swiss to stand against him largely alone, joined by only a few German allies and the Valais. The conflict jeopardized all the Francophone territories. The Vaud was, of course, part of Savoy itself and a potential staging area for Duke Charles.

18 Schnyder, *Reformation;* Mario Possa, "Die Reformation im Wallis bis zum Tode Bischof Johann Jordans, 1565," *Blätter aus der Walliser-Geschichte* 9.1–2 (1940), iii-266; see Chap. 7 above.

19 On the Burgundian Wars, see Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: The last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2002 [London, 1973]); Anne Le Cam, *Charles le Téméraire, un homme et son rêve* (Neuilly: V & O editions, 1992); Louis Vulliemin, *Histoire de la Confédération suisse*, 2 vols. (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1879), 1: 245–69; Paquier, *Le Pays de Vaud des origines à la conquête bernoise*, 2: 93–120; see also Chap. 1 above.

The Burgundian Wars had the greatest impact on the Pays de Vaud. With news of Savoy's alliance with Charles the Bold, the Bernese moved swiftly to secure key strongholds in the Vaud and launched an initial, pre-emptive invasion in October 1475. When Charles's route towards the Confederation became better known, however, they withdrew from most of the region to focus their defenses on the northern part of the Vaud and on their own canton.

The Swiss won two great victories during the war, first in February 1476 at Grandson and a few months later at Murten. After Murten, the Bernese took advantage of Charles' retreat and overran the Pays de Vaud once again. In the treaty ending the conflict, they were required to withdraw from most of the region but were granted a few significant concessions. First, Bern was given control over a small portion of the Rhone valley to the southeast of Lake Geneva. The area became known as the *Quatre Mandements* and included Aigle, Ollon, Bex, and Upper and Lower Ormont. Second, Bern and Fribourg were granted joint control over the strategically significant areas surrounding Orbe, Echallens, Grandson, and Murten. These mandated territories (*bailliages communs, gemeine Herrschaften*) would be vital at the start of the Reformation in the *Suisse romande*, for Bern was able to require these territories, as well as Neuchâtel, to allow Protestant preaching, while most of the rest of the Pays de Vaud remained steadfastly Catholic.

9.4 Treaties with Geneva and Lausanne

As we saw above, Neuchâtel had already signed a treaty of *combourgeoisie* with Bern in 1406. Gruyère had done so as well a few years earlier. These treaties were part of a process of "turning Swiss" that reached its peak around 1500.[20] Smaller lordships and independent communes sought to ally with the Swiss in an effort to preserve their independence from their traditional lords.

In the early 16th century, Geneva and Lausanne were prime candidates for turning Swiss. Geneva sought protection against the House of Savoy, which controlled both the duchy, which claimed political jurisdiction over the city, and the bishopric, which held spiritual authority in the city. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries, two factions arose in the city around this question: the *Mammelus*[21] who favored the status quo and the *Eidguenots* who wanted

20 Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

21 The word was indeed an allusion to the Egyptian Mamluk warriors; it was a derogatory label intended to show that the pro-Savoyard faction preferred to live in slavery and fight for a foreign ruler.

to forge closer ties to the Swiss. In 1519, the *Eidguenots*, led by Philibert Berthelier, pushed the Genevans to sign a treaty of *combourgeoisie* with Fribourg, but Duke Charles III of Savoy interceded to force the nullification of the treaty. The bishop of Geneva, Jean de Savoie, had Berthelier arrested, and he was subsequently executed. It was an inauspicious start to Geneva's attempt to turn Swiss, but it did not end the effort.

In Lausanne, the commune was also at odds with the city's bishop, who had much political control over the city.[22] In an attempt to diminish the power of the bishop, the commune signed a treaty of *combourgeoisie* with Bern and Fribourg in 1525.[23] Geneva followed suit the following year.[24] Geneva's move, in particular, was a fateful decision, both for the future of the city and for the Reformation in Geneva and in the Vaud. By allying with Bern, the Genevans unwittingly opened the door to the Reformation. Bern was not yet officially Protestant in 1526, but there was a growing evangelical community in the city. After the Bernese abolished the mass in 1528, they would use their influence to encourage the Reformation in Geneva, Neuchâtel, the *Quatre Mandements*, and the mandated territories. And when Savoy threatened Geneva militarily once again, Bern used the situation as its excuse to conquer the Pays de Vaud.

9.5 Guillaume Farel, *Agent Bernois*

The Bernese were aided in their efforts to evangelize Neuchâtel and the francophone lands won in the Burgundian Wars by the arrival in the Confederation of Guillaume Farel, an enthusiastic French-speaking evangelical from Gap in the French Alps, who been a part of the reform circle in Meaux, France, led by Bishop Guillaume Briçonnet.[25] Farel had left France in 1523, disgusted when Bishop Briçonnet gave in to political pressure to cease pushing aggressively for reform. After moving from place to place, principally in the Upper Rhine, for a few years, Farel came to Bern sometime in the autumn of 1526. Although the details are unclear, some Bernese Protestants, probably including the evangelical preacher Berchtold Haller, seem to have persuaded him to help bring the teachings of the Reformation to Bern's francophone territories. By late November 1526, Farel was preaching in Aigle and around the *Quatre Mandements*.[26]

22 See Charles Biaudet, (ed.), *Histoire de Lausanne* (Lausanne: Payot, 1982), 106–14, 152–60.

23 Text in SDS 19.B.1, 54–58, no. 55.

24 Text in SDS 22.2, 236–46, no. 587.

25 On Farel generally, see Comité Farel, *Guillaume Farel; Actes du colloque Guillaume Farel, Neuchâtel, 29 septembre-1er octobre 1980,* (eds.), Pierre Barthel, Rémy Scheurer, and Richard Stauffer, 2 vols. (Geneva: Revue de théologie et de philosophie, 1983).

26 See *Guillaume Farel*, 171–90.

FIGURE 9.1
Guillaume Farel (1489–1565), from Beza, Icones (*Geneva: Laonius, 1580*).
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Most of the locals resisted his efforts, but the Bern council was quickly filling up with Protestants and increasingly stood behind his efforts there. Finally, in January 1528, the Bern Disputation resulted in the abolition of the mass in Bern's lands. Farel had translated the articles to be debated into French and was present at the disputation itself.[27]

After this, Farel worked in Aigle and Bern's other francophone territories not as a private evangelist but at the behest of the Bern city council. He had become, in other words, *un agent bernois*. Farel, no doubt, saw himself as an agent of the Lord, not of Bern, and he frequently exceeded the limits Bern tried to place on his evangelization.[28] Nevertheless, he acted at the behest of the Bernese and almost exclusively in territories controlled by or allied to Bern. Moreover, he needed Bernese support for his missions; without it, he would have been run out of nearly every town he visited.

27 Farel's translation in *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue Française,* (ed.), Aimé-Louis Herminjard, 9 vols. (Geneva: G. Georg, 1866–97), 2: 59–60.

28 See Louis-Edouard Roulet, "Farel, agent bernois? (1528–1536)," in *Actes du Colloque Guillaume Farel* 1: 99–105.

Farel's first major success as a missionary in the *pays romand* was in Neuchâtel, the city where he would spend the bulk of his later career. Bern's influence in the city was such that if its leaders wanted Farel to preach in the city, there was little Countess Jeanne could do about it. Bern's influence was also such that the religious situation in the city could be settled by the *plus*. The *plus* (or *Mehr*) was a vote in a town for or against abolishing the Catholic mass. All male heads of household were eligible to vote. The compromise had been worked out in the wake of the Protestant victory at the First Kappel War.[29] As such it gave a decided advantage to the Protestant side. A Protestant victory in the *plus* would mean the abolition of the mass; a Catholic victory, on the other hand, did not require the shutting down of Protestant worship. The *plus* could be held in all of the common lordships and in allied territories. In Neuchâtel, the vote took place in November 1530, after months of evangelizing by Farel, and the Protestant side won by eighteen votes.[30]

At this point, we should pause and consider why the Bernese were so interested in propagating the Protestant faith in the allied and mandated territories. First and foremost, we must not ignore what was likely genuine religious motivation. The Bernese were, in essence, new converts, and like most neophytes, they were particularly zealous about the new faith and thoroughly convinced that after years of wandering in darkness they had finally seen the light of the true faith. They wanted to share that true faith with those who continued to "walk in darkness." We must also consider, however, the political advantages to be gained by convincing these territories to turn Protestant. The mandated territories provide the clearest example. Since Protestant Bern and Catholic Fribourg shared control of these territories, the religion of the territory would help to determine which canton would have the greater influence there. A Protestant territory would be far more likely to forge stronger ties with Bern than with Fribourg, and vice versa. The same general principle also applies to the other allied territories. A Protestant Neuchâtel or Geneva would be bound more tightly to Bern than to the Catholic count of Neuchâtel or duke of Savoy. As long as those territories remained Catholic while Bern was Protestant, there was always the chance that the people might look once again for protection from their coreligionists instead of from the Bernese.

After the conversion of Neuchâtel, Farel began to evangelize the mandated territories. Increasingly, he had help from a growing number of Protestant French refugees, as well as a few area natives, most notably Pierre Viret of

29 See E. Dupraz, "Introduction de la Réforme par le 'Plus' dans le bailliage d'Orbe-Echallens," ZSK 9 (1915), 1–22, 99–118.

30 On Farel's work in Neuchâtel in 1530, see *Farel*, 217–30.

Orbe.[31] The challenge of proselytizing in the mandated territories was that, unlike the citizens of Geneva or Neuchâtel, those in the mandated territories lacked the political motivation to accept the Reformation as a means of advancing their political independence from their overlords. They would remain just as firmly under Swiss control whether they remained Catholic or turned Protestant. Hence, the reformers ran into a great deal of opposition in these territories, and only two parishes in the Pays de Vaud, Fiez and Yvonand, voted to abolish the mass between 1530 and 1536. Hopes for Lausanne, which shared the political characteristics of Neuchâtel and Geneva, were dashed early on when the resident bishop made it clear that he would suffer no Protestant preacher to remain in the city for long.

Geneva was the other great early success for the reformers and the Bernese before 1536. Bern saw an opportunity here as the commune increasingly chafed under the control of the duke of Savoy and the bishop. Bern was in competition with Fribourg for influence in Geneva since both cities had signed treaties of *combourgeoisie* with Geneva. The Genevans saw the Bernese as the more powerful protector and threw in their lot definitively with Bern in 1534. Farel and Viret had recently arrived in town to preach, at Bern's behest. Fribourg insisted that they be stopped. Bern required that they be allowed to continue preaching. Faced with contradictory demands from their allies, the Genevans annulled their treaty with Fribourg in favor of the Bernese alliance. The preachers continued preaching with Bernese support. The next year, Geneva abolished the mass and expelled the bishop, leaving Bern as the most important external influence on the city.

9.6 The Conquest of the Pays de Vaud (1536)

This newfound influence of the Bernese over Geneva soon had much farther reaching ramifications. In late 1535, Duke Charles III of Savoy reasserted his claim to power over newly Protestant Geneva. The Genevans called on their Swiss allies for assistance, and Bern was quick to comply.[32] Bern's eagerness was based not only on a desire to strengthen Geneva's dependency on them but also on a clause in the Treaty of St. Julien which had ended the previous conflict between Savoy and Geneva in 1530.[33] According to the terms of the

31 On Viret, see Jean Barnaud, *Pierre Viret: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Saint-Amans: G. Carayol, 1911).

32 On Bern's conquest of the Pays de Vaud, see Charles Gilliard, *La conquête du Pays de Vaud par les Bernois* (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1935); see also Chap. 3 above.

33 Text in EA IV.1b, 1501–05 (Beilage 14), St. Julien, 19 October 1530.

treaty, any act of aggression by Savoy against Geneva would entail the duke's forfeiture of the Pays de Vaud. The Bernese, who had overrun the Vaud twice during the Burgundian Wars, were hoping that the third time would be the charm.

And so it was. The Pays de Vaud stood between Bern and Geneva, and as Bern's troops marched to Geneva's aid, they extracted oaths of allegiance from the towns of the Vaud. Just as importantly, the Bernese determined that the bishop of Lausanne was an ally of Savoy; hence, his lands were subject to annexation as well. The threat from Savoy to Geneva was easily repelled, the more so with France's entry into the conflict against Savoy. Indeed, the duchy was temporarily extinguished after the conflict and the duke's lands divided between Bern and France.

The Bernese had promised to allow continued Catholic worship in the Pays de Vaud, but this soon proved untenable.[34] Communities were torn apart by religious strife, and Protestant pastors came under attack. And so the Bernese called for a religious disputation to take place in Lausanne to settle the religious question in the Vaud once and for all. In October 1536, all the clergy of the Vaud were summoned to the Lausanne cathedral to debate ten theses on religion.[35] The disputation turned out to be not much of a debate at all. The Catholic clergy had been told not to debate with heretics; they would await the outcome of the general council at Mantua, recently called by the pope for May 1537 (but which never met). Hence, Farel and Viret expounded the Protestant position on the theses virtually unopposed. Bernese councilors presided over the event, and it was clear from the start how it would turn out.

Soon after the disputation, the Bernese issued an edict abolishing the mass in their French-speaking territories.[36] The addition of these lands as a Protestant Bernese possession had a number of important consequences. First, the Protestant population of the Swiss Confederation increased significantly and instantaneously. Second, Protestant Bernese control of the routes through Geneva as well as both major passes through the Jura (Jougne and Joux) was secured. Similarly, Bern now controlled the Château de Chillon and the routes to it from both north and south. Third, the addition of the Pays de Vaud as a Protestant territory ensured that the Bernese could exert more direct control

34 See Bruening, *Battleground*, 123–31.

35 On the Lausanne Disputation, *Les Actes de la Dispute de Lausanne 1536, publiés intégralement d'après le manuscrit de Berne*, (ed.) Arthur Piaget (Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université, 1928); *La Dispute de Lausanne (1536): La théologie réformée après Zwingli et avant Calvin,* (ed.) Louis Junod (Lausanne: Presses Centrales Lausanne, 1988).

36 Text in SDS 19.C.1, 13–14, no. 2d.

over the religious affairs of the *pays romand*. Previously, Bern had played an indirect role in the progress of the Reformation by exerting political pressure on its allies to ensure the right of Protestants to preach in their territories. Now, with a francophone Protestant territory under their direct rule, the Bernese could involve themselves more actively and directly in that area's religious affairs. The stage had been set at the Lausanne Disputation, summoned by, presided over, and concluded by Bern's magistrates. With the second Edict of Reformation for the Vaud, Bern more specifically defined the religious way of life to be followed in the territory.[37] Likewise, the 1537 and 1538 Synods of Lausanne were summoned and presided over by Bernese councilors and pastors.

Significantly, pastors from Geneva and Neuchâtel were invited to both synods as well, precipitating the first breach between the Bernese authorities and some of the francophone pastors. In particular, John Calvin, then a young pastor newly arrived in Geneva, argued against the Bernese practices of using baptismal fonts and unleavened bread and celebrating the Lord's Supper only three times per year. The Geneva council sought to avoid alienating their powerful Swiss protector and encouraged Calvin to fall in line with Bernese practice, but he continued to cause trouble and was almost asked not to come to the 1538 Synod of Lausanne.[38] Soon after the 1538 synod, partly for his opposition to Bernese rites, but primarily for his refusal to administer the Lord's Supper at Easter in Geneva in the absence of effective church discipline, Calvin was expelled from Geneva along with Farel.

9.7 Calvinists and the Swiss

Calvin's opposition to Bernese ecclesiastical rites was the first of many conflicts between an increasingly Calvinist pastorate in the *pays romand* and the Zwinglians in Bern and Zurich. There were also, one must note, deep divisions both among the Bern pastors themselves and among those in the Pays de Vaud. But the leading francophone pastors—Viret, Farel, Theodore Beza, and most of the Lausanne Academy—followed Calvin. In Bern, at least after 1548, the pastors were decidedly Zwinglian. Zurich never abandoned the man who had initiated the Reformation in the city.

37 Text in SDS 19.C.1, 14–20, no. 2e.

38 Karine Crousaz and I recently published the acts of the 1538 Synod of Lausanne: "Les Actes du Synode de Lausanne (1538): Un rapport sur les résistances à la Réforme dans le Pays de Vaud (Introduction, édition, et traduction)," RHV 119 (2011), 89–126.

FIGURE 9.2 (*a*) *Calvin: Jean Calvin* (*1509–1564*). *Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons;* (*b*) *Viret: Pierre Viret* (*1511–1571*), *from Beza,* Icones.
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Hence, for the rest of Calvin's life, and a bit beyond, the relations between the Protestant cantons and the francophone territories were largely about overcoming the theological divisions between Zurich and Geneva. Many of these debates played out in the Pays de Vaud, the area I have called "Calvinism's First Battleground" for precisely this reason. The Pays de Vaud was central to these debates, for its French-speaking, Calvinist pastors were subject to the political rule of Zwinglian Bern. Calvin and his colleagues in Geneva always had the option simply to walk away from conflict with Bern or Zurich. Viret and his colleagues did not have that option. Thus, this was the territory where two Reformed movements, two languages, and two religious cultures came together within the same political system. The Swiss Reformation had earlier met the challenge from Luther. Now, it would have to confront Calvin.

The Calvinists presented a far different challenge to the Swiss than Luther had. First, they were, at least in the Vaud, subjects of Bern. This created a political dynamic that was missing entirely from the negotiations with Luther. Not only that, Bern needed these French-speaking pastors badly. Overnight, Bern had created 60,000 French-speaking Protestants in need of pastors. Additionally, Calvin was arguably closer to the Swiss theologically than Luther had been. While the animosity between Luther and Zwingli had virtually doomed

to failure the Eucharistic negotiations of the 1520s long before they had begun, there was no such personal animus between Calvin and Bullinger in Zurich or Johannes Haller in Bern. The issue that divided the Swiss from the Calvinists most sharply was the understanding of the proper relationship between church and state. As we shall see, this was the one subject they were never able to agree on throughout the entire 16th century. There were also significant disagreements over the interpretation of the Lord's Supper and predestination.

The earliest of these disputes followed in the wake of Bern's conquest of the Pays de Vaud. The question soon arose over what to do with the lands and revenues of the former Catholic clergy.[39] For the Bernese, the answer was simple: All of the ecclesiastical goods were forfeit to the secular magistrate. This position aroused the indignation of the Calvinist clergy. For them, ecclesiastical goods had been dedicated to the church and to God and could not simply be seized and sold by the secular authorities. While they acknowledged that the goods could be administered by the secular magistrate, they had to be administered for the sake of the church. In the end, the Bern council ignored the objections of the Calvinist clergy and did what they wanted with the seized goods.

The debate over ecclesiastical goods set the stage for a series of conflicts between the French-speaking Calvinists and the Swiss. The Swiss, following Zwingli's lead, understood church and state to be essentially identical, and certainly coterminous. The members of the church, in other words, were by definition the citizens of the Protestant town, and vice versa. For Calvin and his followers, on the other hand, the church, properly understood, was the body of Christ. As such, it certainly was not coterminous with the city, but was a purer society within the city. The true body of Christ had to be kept free of stain, at least as far as was possible given human sinfulness. Hence, the visible church would never be completely free of sin, but it did not include wanton sinners and the utterly incorrigible.[40] This position is most evident in the conflict over ecclesiastical discipline, but it is closely related to the debate over ecclesiastical goods and the power of the ministry as well. In all these conflicts, for the Calvinists, the church was a holy thing, distinct from society at large. Hence,

39 On the debate over ecclesiastical goods, see Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 657–59.

40 For a concise discussion of the differences between Calvinist and Zwinglian ecclesiology, see Robert M. Kingdon, "La discipline ecclésiastique vue de Zurich et Genève au temps de la Réformation: L'usage de Matthieu 18, 15–17 par les réformateurs," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 133 (2001), 343–55; Fritz Büsser, "Zwingli und die Kirche: Überlegungen zur Aktualität von Zwinglis Ekklesiologie," *Zwingliana* 16 (1984), 186–200; Benjamin Charles Milner, Jr., *Calvin's Doctrine of the Church* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); see also Chap. 11 below.

the church's property, pastors, and population were different from those of the city. For the Zwinglians, on the other hand, the identification of church and state made the church a fundamentally civic institution. As such, its finances, personnel, and membership were subject to control by the secular magistrate.

It is important to note here that not all of the francophone pastors subscribed to Calvin's position. Indeed, the Calvinists in the Pays de Vaud may even have been a minority among the pastors. Other leading pastors, such as Thomas Malingre, Antoine Marcourt, and Jean Morand fully supported Bern's position on ecclesiastical goods and on later, related controversies. The great fear about Calvin's position was that it seemed hardly to differ from that of the Catholic Church. If the church, as Calvin argued, is a holy thing, its pastors set apart from the laity, with its own ability, independent of the state, to punish and excommunicate, then how was it any different from Rome? What, in the end, had been "reformed," apart from moving the pope from Rome to Geneva?

The debate on excommunication began soon after that on ecclesiastical goods and would continue through Viret's expulsion from Lausanne and beyond. Fear of an overbearing church constantly wielding the threat of excommunication, as the pope had done for centuries, had led Zurich and the other Protestant cantons to discourage if not altogether ban the practice. The 1532 *Berner Synodus*, for example, said explicitly that excommunication should only rarely be used.[41] The Calvinists, on the other hand, insisted on the church's right of excommunication, to be wielded by the church elders, or consistory. This insistence stemmed from their understanding of the church as the body of Christ. In order to keep Christ's body pure, unrepentant sinners had to be expelled. Between 1542 and 1558, Pierre Viret and his colleagues in Lausanne continually pushed the Bernese for the right of excommunication.[42] Their overtures were repeatedly rejected. In 1558, the Lausanne pastors made one final push, but the church's right to administer excommunication was repeatedly denied. Finally, Viret postponed the administration of the Lord's Supper at Christmas and was consequently expelled from Bern's territory in early 1559.

The understanding of the Lord's Supper and the doctrine of predestination were the other two issues that drove a wedge between the Calvinists and the Swiss in the 1540s and 1550s. The early francophone reformers had generally

41 *Synodus,* 1: 209; Bruening, *Battleground*, 70–72.

42 On the debate over excommunication in the Pays de Vaud, see Bruening, *Battleground*, 179–82, 237–55; idem, "'La nouvelle Réformation de Lausanne': The Proposal by the Ministers of Lausanne on Ecclesiastical Discipline (June 1558)," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 68 (2006), 21–50; Vulleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 659–66.

held a Zwinglian interpretation of the Lord's Supper.[43] Indeed, early Protestant propaganda in the French-speaking territories focused to a large degree on mocking the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and the understanding of the mass as a sacrifice.[44] They repeated *ad nauseam* the Zwinglian line that Christ's physical body was at the right hand of the Father and could not, therefore, also be on the church altar. Along with committing acts of iconoclasm, Protestant agitators would sometimes pass around the Eucharistic host and eat it as common bread. One does not do that unless one is convinced that there is nothing special whatsoever about it.

With Calvin's arrival in Geneva, however, and particularly after his return from exile in Strasbourg in 1541, his followers' views on the sacrament began to shift as well. Calvin had been greatly influenced during his exile by the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer. Bucer, in turn, had spent much of his career trying to find a compromise position on the Lord's Supper that would satisfy both the Lutherans and the Swiss. Just before Calvin's exile in 1538, Bucer had been heavily involved in the negotiations with the Swiss cantons on the Wittenberg Concord.[45] The negotiations were a disaster and ended in the complete vilification of Bucer among the Swiss. This would make Calvin's Bucerian (or "Lutheran," according to the Swiss) doctrine of the Lord's Supper impossible to swallow.

Initially, there was some disagreement among the Swiss themselves. The Baslers were more open to Lutheran ideas, for their geographical position made alliance with the Schmalkaldic League desirable. In Bern, Pastors Peter Kunz and Simon Sulzer leaned more towards Lutheran or Bucerian ideas. It was, in fact, the debates among the Swiss themselves that drew the French-speaking Calvinists into the fray. In 1542, when Bern sought to define the canton's accepted teaching on the subject, Calvin encouraged Viret to object strenuously. Viret's lukewarm response at the time seems to indicate that he was not yet altogether behind Calvin on the issue.[46] He would be later, however, and was nearly expelled from Lausanne in 1548 because of a dispute he had on the issue with the Lausanne arts professor, Andre Zébédée. The Viret-Zébédée dispute had two major consequences in relation to the Swiss. First, it spilled over into the city of Bern and resulted in the expulsion of Viret's supporters there, Sulzer,

43 Elfriede Jacobs argues, however, that Farel's early view was also strongly influenced by Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito; *Die Sakramentslehre Wilhelm Farels* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1978).

44 Bruening, *Battleground*, 111–17.

45 See my discussion in *Battleground*, 72–91.

46 On the Calvinist debates on the Eucharist in the Pays de Vaud, see Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 633–45.

Beat Gering, and Konrad Schmid. Bern's pastorate had been divided between staunch Zwinglians and "Lutherans" (or more properly, Bucerians) since the beginning of the Reformation.[47] The banishment of Sulzer and his colleagues, along with the subsequent call of Johannes Haller to the city from Zurich, left Bern in decidedly Zwinglian hands.

The second major consequence of the 1548 Eucharistic disputes in Bern and Lausanne, however, was a redoubling of the efforts between Zwinglians and Calvinists to come to an agreement on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Here they would be successful. Calvin and Bullinger had been discussing the issue for some time. But the blowup in Lausanne, along with the defeat of the Lutherans in the Schmalkaldic War, lent newfound urgency to the need to come to an agreement; no one wanted a repeat of the quarrels of the 1520s or the disastrous negotiations on the Wittenberg Concord. And so, soon after Viret was summoned to Bern in May 1548, Calvin went to Zurich to defend his friend and to try to resolve their differences on this most contentious of theological issues. The negotiations lasted another year, but in the end, the two churches agreed on the statement known as the *Consensus Tigurinus* (Zurich Agreement).[48] It was an effective agreement, and there were no further major disputes between Calvinists and Zwinglians on the subject during Calvin's lifetime.

No sooner had that accord been signed than another dispute divided the French- and German-speaking Reformed. This time the issue was predestination, and the debate was not so much a theological quarrel as one over pastoral freedom and the wisdom of preaching about predestination. It started with the Bolsec Affair.[49] A former French monk named Jérôme Bolsec publicly accused Calvin of "making God the author of evil" in his doctrine of double predestination. Calvin was outraged and sought support from the Swiss churches to declare Bolsec a damnable heretic. The Swiss generally agreed with Calvin theologically but counseled restraint in dealing with Bolsec. The affair dragged on for longer than the initial episode in Geneva, for Bolsec moved back to the Pays de Vaud, under Bernese protection. There he found support among the old enemies of Calvin, such as Zébédée, and they continued their accusations and counter-accusations for several years.

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47 See Karl Bernard Hundeshagen, *Die Conflikte des Zwinglianismus, des Luthertums und des Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche 1532–1558* (Bern: C. A. Jenni, 1842).

48 See *Cons Tig* and Chap. 11 below.

49 On the Bolsec affair, see Philip Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination, from 1551 to 1555: The Statements of Jerome Bolsec, and the Responses of John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and other Reformed Theologians*, 2 vols. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993); on the impact on the Pays de Vaud, see Bruening, *Battleground*, 214–19.

Calvin was vociferous in his own defense and in his accusations against his enemies. The Bernese finally reached their breaking point with Calvin, whom they also believed to hold undue influence over some of the pastors in their lands. In January 1555, Bern issued a decree effectively banning Calvinism in their lands. Their subjects were not to go to Geneva to receive the Lord's Supper, nor even to receive communion "in the manner of the Calvinists." Preachers were forbidden to preach about predestination. And if any of Calvin's books were found in Bernese territory "contrary to our reformation," they were to be burned.[50]

From this point forward, Calvin himself lost whatever influence he had once had with the Bernese. The Calvinist prohibitions put Viret and his Lausanne colleagues in an awkward position as well. The Bern pastors were now all Zwinglians, and the Bern council had acted definitively to limit Calvin's influence in its lands. It became increasingly clear that Bern's francophone pastors were to take orders, not to push their own separate agenda. In 1558 and 1559, the Bern council acted decisively to ensure that their orders were followed. In early 1558, they banished four pastors from the territory around Thonon for preaching about predestination.[51] Viret's banishment from Lausanne followed a year later.

In the long term, Bern's ban on all things Calvinist marks a turning point in the general relationship between the Swiss and the francophone territories. Even in Zurich and Basel, Calvin's influence had been in decline ever since the signing of the *Consensus Tigurinus*. In both cities, but especially in Basel, Calvin's role in the execution of Michael Servetus had generated further distrust.[52] To be sure, Calvin and Bullinger continued to be on friendly terms, but increasingly in the late 1550s, Bullinger found Theodore Beza a more sympathetic correspondent. After 1555, Calvin would sign no more theological agreements with the Swiss, nor would he even visit a Swiss city for the rest of his life. Calvin turned his sights instead on his native France, and after 1555, Geneva sent an increasing number of missionaries into the country.[53] Calvin's hopes for a unified Reformed Swiss Confederation were dashed. For him, the future lay in evangelization of the francophone world.

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50 Bruening, *Battleground*, 220–21.

51 See Henri Meylan, "L'affaire des quatre pasteurs du Chablais, champions et victimes de la prédestination (1558)," RHV 80 (1972), 15–31.

52 On Calvin's strained relationship with the Baselers, see Uwe Plath, *Calvin und Basel in den Jahren 1552–1556* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1974).

53 See Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France*, 1555–1563 (Geneva: Droz, 1967).

Calvin's marginalization among the Swiss had political consequences as well. At almost the same time as the victory of Calvin's party in Geneva in 1555,[54] negotiations between Geneva and Bern to renew their treaty of *combourgeoisie* fell apart. There were other factors at work in the failure apart from distrust of Calvin, but the religious tensions certainly played a role. Geneva was left without a military protector for two years.

9.8 Theodore Beza and the Rebuilding of Reformed Consensus

The failed renewal of the treaty of *combourgeoisie* together with the expulsion of Viret and his colleagues marked a low point in the relations between the Swiss and the francophone territories. The treaty between Bern and Geneva, however, would be renewed. Efforts to restore religious unity would continue as well, but they would require a new group of actors. Only when the old triumvirate of Calvin, Farel, and Viret was out of the picture could negotiations begin again in earnest. The new champion for Reformed consensus would be Calvin's successor in Geneva, Theodore Beza.

Some of the old Zwinglian-Calvinist theological debates continued to fester, but they were played down rather than highlighted by Beza in Geneva and Bullinger in Zurich. After Calvin's death in 1564, Beza took over leadership of the Geneva church.[55] Long before, he had started a friendly correspondence with Bullinger and had no desire to disrupt the peace between the Zurich and Geneva churches. Beza had also been able to extract himself from Lausanne just before the crisis that had led to the expulsion of Viret. Hence, his relationship with the Bernese, while never as warm as that with the Zurichers, had not been damaged as badly as had Viret's. In this new leadership dynamic, the way was open for renewed effort at unity.[56]

Reformed relations were repaired relatively quickly after Calvin's death with the signing of the Second Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Posterior*).[57] Every Protestant canton and allied francophone territory eventually agreed to it. The confession was the work of Bullinger and was originally intended

54 See William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 167–207.

55 On Beza, see Alain Dufour, *Théodore de Bèze: Poète et théologien* (Geneva: Droz, 2006); Paul-F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1949).

56 Emidio Campi, "Theodore Beza and Heinrich Bullinger in Light of Their Correspondence," in Campi, *Patterns*, 169–183.

57 Text and introduction in RBS II/2, 243–345.

FIGURE 9.3
Theodore Beza (1519–1605). Photo courtesy of the Musée historique de la Réformation, Bibliothèque de Genève

simply to be a personal testimony of Bullinger's faith. Bullinger wrote the text in 1561, but he did not make it public until four years later. In 1565, Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate asked Bullinger for a clear confession of faith. Bullinger sent him his testimony, and the manuscript pleased Elector Frederick so much that he wanted to have it published before the Imperial Diet of Augsburg, scheduled for 1566. At the same time, the Swiss, still reeling from the Zwinglian-Calvinist debates of the 1550s, saw the text as an opportunity to close the rift between them. Beza travelled to Zurich to provide input on the text and ultimately pronounced himself satisfied with the final product. Here at last was a full confession of faith that could be supported by the successors of both Zwingli and Calvin. The other Protestant cantons signed on quickly (except for Basel),[58] as did Geneva and Neuchâtel. As the work chiefly of Bullinger, The Second Helvetic Confession lacks the distinctive hallmarks of Calvinist thought: double predestination, consistorial discipline, and excommunication.

58 Hans Berner, "Basel und das Zweite Helvetische Bekenntnis," *Zwingliana* 15 (1979), 8–39.

Strict Calvinist thought would, of course, continue to be influential in Geneva and within Geneva's expanding sphere of influence (e.g., in Scotland, France, and the Low Countries). For the moment, however, Reformed consensus had finally emerged around Zurich, not Geneva.

Proof that the debates between francophone Calvinists and the Swiss had not been erased by the Second Helvetic Confession emerged two years after the signing. The problem originated in the Palatinate, specifically in Heidelberg, where a bitter conflict broke out in 1568 over church discipline.[59] The dispute chiefly involved Caspar Olevianus and an English student named George Withers on one side and Thomas Erastus on the other. Withers and Olevianus argued in favor of a Calvinist model of consistorial discipline. Erastus argued strongly in opposition for the view that would eventually bear his name ("Erastianism"), namely that all discipline belongs in the hands of the civic magistrate. This was, of course, the view in Zurich, and the debate in Heidelberg soon spilled over into the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Beza and Bullinger both wrote in support of their respective points of view. The conflict clearly echoed the earlier one in the Pays de Vaud over exactly the same issue. Beza and Bullinger had no desire to reopen the old wounds and did not let the dispute tear apart the Zurich and Geneva churches. At the same time, the episode exposed the fact that, despite the agreement on the Second Helvetic Confession, there were still important divisions between the Zurich and Geneva churches that could not simply be papered over.

Bullinger died in 1575, to be succeeded by Rudolf Gwalther as head of the Zurich church. Gwalther's succession boded well for Swiss/Calvinist relations, for Gwalther had a long history of good relations with the French-speaking reformers. He had studied in Lausanne, where he had learned French and became friends with Viret. He continued his friendly relations with Beza, with whom he exchanged over one hundred fifty extant letters.

Things had changed in Bern as well. Johannes Haller died the same year as Bullinger, and Wolfgang Musculus, who had led the charge against Viret's Calvinist understanding of consistorial discipline, had died in 1563. Now almost all of the first and second generation reformers in Switzerland were gone: Calvin, Farel, and Viret, as well as Bullinger, Haller, and Musculus. Beza and Gwalther were the only major figures left who had actually participated in the bitter debates of the late 1540s and the 1550s, and they had no desire to repeat them. In Bern, Abraham Musculus, Wolfgang's son, now played the leading

59 On the Heidelberg debate over discipline, see Charles D. Gunnoe, Jr., *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Chapter 6.

role. Advances toward unity begun by Beza and Bullinger were taken further by the new leaders—Beza, Gwalther, and Musculus—particularly at the 1586 Colloquy of Montbéliard and the 1588 synod of Bern.

Montbéliard has a long and difficult history throughout the era of the Reformation.[60] A French-speaking territory ruled by the German-speaking dukes of Württemberg, the area had been home to numerous conflicts pitting Lutherans against Calvinists, and occasionally different factions of the Reformed against each other. Another of these disputes arose in late 1585 over the question of whether Huguenot refugees in the territory could receive communion according to the French Reformed Confession. A colloquy was called the next year to debate primarily the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, although many other issues arose in the course of the debate.[61] The principal representative of the Reformed side was Beza, who was joined by Abraham Musculus from Bern; no one from Zurich was present. On the Lutheran side, Jacob Andreae, editor of the *Book of Concord*, led the debate and was joined by Lucas Osiander. Beza and Andreae did the majority of the talking, and, not surprisingly, found little common ground. What is most notable about the colloquy for our purposes is that the Reformed side seems to have stuck together on all issues, even when the Lutherans forced discussion of the doctrine of predestination. Well aware of the earlier conflicts among the Reformed on the question, the Lutherans no doubt were hoping to expose a rift between Beza and his colleagues from Bern. The attempt was unsuccessful. Beza argued forcefully for the doctrine of double predestination, and the Bernese delegation was content to let him do so.

The tacit agreement on predestination was made explicit two years later at a synod in Bern. Although the Bernese delegation to Montbéliard had not objected to Beza's exposition on predestination, at least one pastor back home did. Samuel Huber, pastor at Burgdorf, accused Musculus of having subscribed to a novel doctrine contrary to the Second Helvetic Confession. A synod was called in Bern to be held in April 1588.[62] Delegates were summoned from all of canton Bern, as well as from Geneva and the Protestant cantons; nearly everyone came, including Beza, Wilhelm Stucky from Zurich, and Johann Jacob Grynaeus from Basel. It was the largest and most diverse meeting of Reformed pastors in Bern since the beginning of the Reformation. Of vital importance at

60 John Viénot, *Histoire de la Réforme dans le Pays de Montbéliard depuis les origines jusqu'à la mort de P. Toussain*, 2 vols. (Paris: Fischbacher, 1900).

61 On the Colloquy of Montbéliard, see Jill Raitt, *The Colloquy of Montbéliard: Religion and Politics in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); see also Chap. 3 above.

62 On the 1588 Synod of Bern, see Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 2: 130–34.

the synod was that Stucky had received word from Zurich that he was to support Beza's doctrine as being the same as that of Bullinger; hence, Musculus had subscribed to an orthodox doctrine not at all contrary to the 1528 Bern Disputation or the teaching of the early Bernese reformer Berchtold Haller.

With the support of Zurich, Beza—and thus the Calvinist doctrine of election—emerged victorious at last in Bern, and indeed among all the Protestant cantons and in the francophone territories. Huber was banished from Bern. It was "the definitive triumph of Calvinist orthodoxy" in Reformed Switzerland that would last until the 18th century.[63] Differences remained between the French-speaking Calvinists and the Swiss on the question of ecclesiastical discipline, and those would never really be resolved. But after years of debate, conflict, and efforts towards unity, finally in 1588, the Swiss Protestants and their francophone allies came as close together theologically as they had ever been.

9.9 Political Developments, 1558–1603

The return to power of the duke of Savoy dominated diplomatic relations between the Swiss and their French-speaking allies in the second half of the 16th century. In 1557, Duke Charles III's son, Emmanuel-Philibert, rose to prominence by leading a successful attack on Saint-Quentin for King Philip II of Spain in his war against France. Philip then supported Emmanuel-Philibert in the latter's quest to recover his ancestral lands lost to the French and the Bernese. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) restored to Emmanuel-Philibert the Savoyard lands taken by the French in 1536. After years without a territory, the duke of Savoy was back.

The lands taken by Bern in 1536 were still safely in Bernese hands, but the duke's return, coupled with his strong alliance to Spain and the support of the inner Catholic cantons, placed both Geneva and the Pays de Vaud in considerable jeopardy. Emmanuel-Philibert wasted no time trying to get them back. The Bernese realized the relative weakness of their position and decided to bargain with the duke. They would give back to the duke the lands in the Pays de Gex and the Chablais in return for his acknowledgment of their right to the Pays de Vaud. The deal was struck in the Treaty of Lausanne (1564).[64] The duke also agreed in this treaty to leave Geneva in peace, at least temporarily. This was an important clause, for the return of Gex and the Chablais left Geneva

63 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 2: 134.

64 Text in EA 4.2, 1477–1508.

far more exposed to attack. Bern's control of those territories had meant that Geneva was entirely surrounded by an ally. Now, by contrast, the city lay exposed to attack on all sides. But by the time the truce with Geneva expired, the French king had been brought into alliance with Geneva. Although in the midst of religious wars against Calvinists at home, the king feared that Spanish domination of Geneva would lead to easier troop movements from Italy and Savoy into France. The combination of French and Bernese support kept the duke of Savoy at bay.[65]

Emmanuel Philibert died in 1580 and was succeeded by his ambitious son, Charles Emmanuel I. Almost as soon as the new duke took over, he made clear his desire to retake Geneva, but he was thwarted in his efforts by French and Bernese troops. The renewed attempt on Geneva led to a special alliance between Bern and France to secure both Geneva and the Vaud, and in 1584, Zurich joined as well.

Fears of the duke's designs on the Pays de Vaud were confirmed a few years later, with the discovery of a pro-Savoyard conspiracy in Lausanne. Former burgomaster Isbrand Daux was discovered to have colluded with several others to help the duke of Savoy launch an attack against Lausanne and from there against the rest of the Vaud.[66] It was the first serious threat by Savoy to retake the Vaud, and it led the Bernese to guard that territory more closely against attack. Thwarted in Lausanne, the duke did not give up on Geneva. On 21 December 1602, he secretly landed a force outside Geneva and launched a surprise attack at night. The attackers were spotted early, however, and on the night of the famed *Escalade* the Genevans repulsed the attack unaided by Bern or France. The following year, the duke of Savoy was forced to acknowledge Geneva's independence and was forbidden to build any fortress or bring any troops within four leagues of the city.

9.10 Conclusion

Two signal events towards the end of our period mark the end, in a sense, of the Reformation as it pertains to the Swiss Protestants and their French-speaking allies. First, a large degree of theological unity was achieved at the 1588 synod

65 For a detailed account of Geneva's relationship with Savoy during the latter half of the 16th century, see Lucien Cramer, *La Seigneurie de Genève et la maison de Savoie de 1559 à 1605*, 4 vols. (Geneva: A. Kündig, 1912–1958). For a shorter overview, see Louis Vulliemin, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, 2 vols. (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1879) 2: 126–36.

66 See Maxime Reymond, "La conjuration d'Isbrand Daux," RHV 24 (1916): 43–59, 65–76, 337–41, 359–75; 25 (1917): 1–21.

of Bern, where the Calvinist doctrine of predestination was accepted by all sides. Second, the 1602 *Escalade* in Geneva brought an end to the duke of Savoy's serious efforts to take the city. These are convenient stopping points rather than ends in any absolute sense. Theological disagreements continued in the following centuries, and the dukes of Savoy would never really give up their designs on Geneva and the Vaud. Still, by the time of the *Escalade*, the religious and political affairs of the Protestant cantons and their French-speaking allies were in a new era. The theological conflicts that had plagued Calvin, Viret, and the Bernese had come to an end by the more temperate handling of Beza, Bullinger, Gwalther, and Abraham Musculus. Moreover, the threat of Savoy, which had defined the diplomatic relationship of the Swiss cantons with their Francophone neighbors for well over a hundred years, had finally come to an end. The international scene had changed dramatically as well. Henri IV's accession to the French throne and the Edict of Nantes ending the Wars of Religion in that country also helped to relieve religious tensions that had spilled over into the Confederation. Philip II died in 1598, and Elizabeth I of England would follow in 1603. The balance of power in Europe was shifting. Soon, the Thirty Years War would engulf the continent, and the new theological battles among the Reformed would spread far beyond the Confederation to be settled not in Geneva or Zurich but in the Netherlands. Finally, Theodore Beza would die in 1605. The passing of the last of those who had fought on Calvinism's first battleground, and who had done so much afterwards to heal the wounds from those fights, truly marks the end of an era.

CHAPTER 10

The Swiss Anabaptists

Andrea Strübind

10.1 Introduction

The essential character of the Anabaptists at the beginning of the Reformation in Switzerland is revealingly illustrated by the interrogation in August 1525 of Jakob Hottinger. Hottinger was an outspoken and biblically literate peasant from Zollikon who, like his brother Claus, was a leading member of the Anabaptist movement. Jakob Hottinger had been called before the council repeatedly to answer for his involvement in acts of iconoclasm, offensive statements in the dispute over the mass, and disruption of preaching. Under interrogation he acknowledged that his obedience to the council was dependent on its resolutions "being in keeping with the inviolable Word of God." He spoke with assuredness on the role of the authorities and on their supposed responsibility, legitimized by the reformers, to lead the reform of the church: "Concerning the civil authority, whether it can control his [words] and the Word of God, he said that he thinks that the lords and their preachers grant more to the civil authority than they should; that no authority has the right to control the Word of God by force, for that same ought to be free."[1]

While Zwingli had recognized the right and responsibility of the secular authorities to protect the Word of God, and therefore the process of reform itself, with political measures or even military means, Hottinger rejected this view entirely. For Hottinger, the freedom of the Word meant also freedom for those who on account of their beliefs distanced themselves from the official church and therefore from the protection of the secular authorities. Hottinger expressed a highly individualized understanding of personal faith and an early plea for freedom of religion and freedom of conscience: "And requested the lords that they not force him from his resolve and faith, but rather leave him as he is, so that he will act and live with every Christian in a way that is friendly and brotherly, and offend no one, as each Christian is obligated to do to

1 QGTS 1: 1, no. 101: "Von wegenn einer oberkeit, ob die sin und das wort gotes hanndhabenn sölt, seit er, das er vermeynt, wie min herrenn und ire predicanten der oberkeit me zu gebint, als aber sin solte; dann dheiner oberkeit zûstannde, das gots wort mit irem gwalt zû handhaben, diewil doch dasselbig fryg sige."

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another."[2] The freedom of the Word, therefore, also meant freedom of belief for the individual.

Within Anabaptist circles, Hottinger's daughter Margret, who had been baptized during the early weeks of the nascent movement, was considered a gifted prophet.[3] When the town council failed to provide her with solid scriptural evidence for infant baptism, she refused to recant her convictions and she was imprisoned from November 1525 to May 1526. In 1530 she and her father were planning to flee to Moravia, where religious exiles could benefit from the religious tolerance of the local nobility,[4] but she was arrested and sentenced to death by drowning. Her execution was interrupted in order to give the wrongdoer one last chance to recant. Condemned to death, she is said to have responded to her executioner, "Why did you draw me out [of the water]? The flesh was almost vanquished!"[5] Margret Hottinger was one of many women and men who stood by their religious convictions in the face of persecution, even to death.

What gave Jakob Hottinger such self-confidence that he could resist the weight of the authorities? What was the freedom of the Christian (*Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*) that so characterized this Anabaptist movement, to which many members of his family belonged? What was this spirituality that empowered these lay people to stay true to, and even die for, their beliefs? This chapter will consider the origins and development of Swiss Anabaptism within the geographical area of Switzerland today, with Zurich and the surrounding area often central. The discussion will focus in particular on the early years of the Anabaptist movement. We still await studies of Swiss Anabaptism with a wider sweep, but they would surely confirm that the early and intense persecution of the movement gave it an interconnected geography that transcended cantonal borders. Anabaptist movements that reflected distinct experiences

2 Ibid.: "Unnd bit min herrenn, da sy in nit von sinem fürnemen und gloubenn trängen, sonders darby plibenn lanssenn wellint, so welle er mitt einem yeden christenn gern früntlich und brûderlich wanndlen und lebenn und niemans durhächtenn, wie dann ein christ dem andern zethûnd schuldig sig."

3 *Profiles of Anabaptist Women. Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers,* (eds.) C. Arnold Snyder and Linda Huebert Hecht (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 49.

4 Martin Rothkegel, "Die Austerlitzer Brüder oder Bundesgenossen—Pilgram Marpecks Gemeinde in Mähren," in *Grenzen des Täufertums / Boundaries of Anabaptism. Neue Forschungen,* (eds.) Anselm Schubert, Astrid von Schlachta, and Michael Driedger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009), 232–70, here at 245; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2003).

5 QGTS 2: 587.

developed in Waldshut and Nikolsburg around Balthasar Hubmaier,[6] and in southern Germany, where they were identified with Anabaptists leaders Hans Hut, Hans Denck, and Pilgram Marpeck.[7] These complex and transregional developments remain to be traced.

10.2 The Origins of the Anabaptist Movement in the Zurich Reformation

Historians agree that the origins of Swiss Anabaptism are to be found within the circle that formed around Zwingli as the reform movement took shape in Zurich, and that Anabaptism is a product of the pluralistic character of that early reform in Zurich and the surrounding area. Consensus on the timing of the establishment of a distinct group or faction within the Zwinglian reform movement and on its theological character, however, is not so easily found.[8] For what might be termed the "normative" strand of Anabaptist research, which very largely has Mennonite roots, the birth of Anabaptism was marked by the first believer's baptisms in 1525 and the founding of the first community of Anabaptists, in Zollikon.[9]

My research on the earliest phase of the Zurich Reformation has provided a rather different picture: a proto-Anabaptist movement that was integrated into the Zwinglian party can be identified as early as 1522/23 through its specific activities, such as the rejection of fasting.[10] By tracing the activities of

6 Torsten Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier. Seine Stellung zu Reformation und Täufertum* (Kassel: J.G. Oncken, 1961); C. Arnold Snyder, "The Birth and Evolution of Swiss Anabaptism (1520–1530)," MQR 80 (2006), 501–645, here at 555–64; idem, "Swiss Anabaptism. The Beginnings," in Roth/Stayer, *Companion,* 45–81, here at 69–74.

7 Gottfried Seebaß, *Müntzers Erbe. Werk, Leben und Theologie des Hans Hut* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002); James A. Stayer, "Swiss-South German Anabaptism, 1526–1540," in Roth/Stayer, *Companion,* 83–117; Mathias Gockel, "A Reformer's Dissent from Lutheranism: Reconsidering the Theology of Hans Denck (ca. 1500–1527)," ARG 91 (2000), 127–48.

8 See the fundamental contribution by Johann Friedrich Gerhard Goeters, "Die Vorgeschichte des Täufertums in Zürich," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie der Reformation. Festschrift für Ernst Bizer,* (eds.) L. Abramowski and J.F.G. Goeters (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 239–81; C. Arnold Snyder, "Birth," 501–645; idem, "Swiss Anabaptism," 45–83.

9 Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel, c. 1498–1526. The Founder of the Swiss Brethren, Sometimes called Anabaptists*, 2nd ed. (Scottdale, Penn.: Herald Press, 1971), 246; Ekkehard Krajewski, *Leben und Sterben des Zürcher Täuferführers Felix Mantz. Über die Anfänge der Täuferbewegung und des Freikirchentums in der Reformationszeit*, 3rd ed. (Kassel, J.G. Oncken, 1962), 72–85.

10 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 125–29.

a number of individuals, we can locate the beginnings of the later Anabaptist movement more accurately within the radical wing of the circle around Zwingli.

In the early years of the Reformation, disagreement with Zwingli's reformed preaching was played out in public in dramatic statements in which fasts were broken and preaching disrupted.[11] Such highly demonstrative violations of ecclesiastical and public order forced discussions of Zwingli's teachings onto the agenda both within both the public sphere in Zurich and the council, with significant results.[12] Only by destroying or denigrating the outward signs and practices of a church that was thought to be in such need of reform could the laity put into practice their newfound convictions, won from reformed preaching. A slew of artisans who later became Anabaptists likewise participated in the symbolic *Wurstessen*, or sausage eating, at the home of printer Christoph Froschauer, an event that is integral to the cultural memory of the Swiss Reformation; they included Heini Aberli, Claus Hottinger, and Lorenz Hochrüthiner, whose subsequent anticlerical and iconoclastic activities are also a matter of record.[13] In summer 1522 the range of conflicts related to calls for reform expanded to include disruption of preaching by Catholic clergy in the town's monasteries as well as refusals to pay the tithe in rural communities. Amongst the protagonists we can identify numerous individuals who would later become members of the Anabaptist movement. The sources do not suggest, however, that the refusal to pay the tithe was strategically organized as part of the rural communities' attempt to increase their autonomy.[14]

Empowered by their newfound authority as scripturally informed laity, Zwingli's radical followers were now ready to challenge the clergy of the city and the members of the council if they believed the progress of the Reformation was at risk. In this early period their prophetic sense of mission became increasingly evident. The crossover between those involved in reform-related anticlerical and iconoclastic activities and those who would later be Anabaptists can also be found in other locations.[15]

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11 Gäbler, *Zwingli*, 52–9; Goeters, "Vorgeschichte," 241.

12 Walton, *Theocracy,* 59–75.

13 AZHR, 72–3, no. 233. A similarly demonstrative refusal to fast, on Palm Sunday 1522, was the work of Wilhelm Reublin, who had been elected parish priest (*Leutpriester*) by the parishioners of St. Alban at Basel and who would also later become an Anabaptist; Hanspeter Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte," BZGA 80 (1980), 26; see also Chap. 4 above.

14 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 147–65.

15 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 31.

10.3 Reading Circles and the Emergence of Anabaptism

In the early years of the Reformation, so-called "Bible circles" (*Bibelkreise*) formed in Zurich and St. Gallen.[16] These groups, which provided an opportunity for the reform-minded to come together, were essentially lay, for they were founded on the initiative of lay people and had a lay membership. The participants, who were largely artisans, met within this communication space to receive instruction and read the Bible together. They were led by the more expert among them, largely educated laity who were designated as "readers" (*Leser*).[17] These freestanding Bible circles—there were three in Zurich alone[18]—would prove of vital significance for the later Anabaptist movement and the formation of its ecclesiology. Contemporary opponents identified these reading circles as the Anabaptists' point of origin. The steps taken by the authorities in January 1525 against the Anabaptist movement also provide evidence that the relevant parties within the church and the magistracy recognized the import of the separatist Bible circles. The sources tell us that the unconventional nature of these self-organized conventicles led to confrontations with the broader population, who responded with suspicion.[19]

The model for these Bible circles—initially characterized by engagement with reform and subsequently distinctly Anabaptist in nature—can be found in the humanist sodalities of which Zwingli and his followers were members.[20] Here, then, is an explanation for their supra-regional character and organizational flexibility.[21] The sense of community that was typical of the sodality had its parallel in the church-based fraternity, whose purposes included

16 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 129–46. The Basel Anabaptist movement seems also to have emerged from a reading circle, which was a product of and shaped by Lorenz Hochrüthiner's personal connections with Anabaptists in Zurich; Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 35–40.

17 QGTS 2: 586–87.

18 See the circle around Konrad Grebel (QGTS 1: 11–12, No. 13; QGTS 2: 602), the Castelberg reading circle, and a circle that met in the house of Felix Manz's mother.

19 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 143–44.

20 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 135–48; Gerhard Hummel, *Die humanistischen Sodalitäten und ihr Einfluss auf die Entwicklung des Bildungswesens der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig: A. Edelmann, 1940). The sodalities were voluntary gatherings of educated clergy and laypeople who met to discuss the political issues of the day, literary works, and research projects, but who also relished their bonds of friendship and enjoyed the convivial time spent together.

21 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 129–30; this character included the contact established with radical reformers and their transregional membership.

the honoring of the saints and the communal expression and experience of piety.[22] The independent organization of the sodalities—which had no institutional ties, bridged social divides,[23] and were transregional in character—corresponded to social developments in education.

Like the members of the sodalities, the proto-Anabaptists gathered around a teacher, or "reader,"[24] in private homes made available by the host. The primary purpose of these gatherings was for individuals to come together to hear biblical texts read and gain through this process greater theological competency. The term "reader" as used to designate the leader of the group is illustrative of this idea of collective Bible study.

The designation of the teacher in the various Bible circles as "reader" can also be found in polemical texts on the emergence of Anabaptists.[25] The ideals of the sodality could be found within these circles in a number of forms: in the discussion of a text that was read out, in the friendships amongst the members, and in meals enjoyed together, for example. Similarly the lay, anti-hierarchical, and as a result egalitarian character of these groupings also corresponded with the model provided by such scholarly gatherings.[26] As far as we know, the Bible circles discussed only religious issues. Their subject matter was therefore different from that of the sodalities, redirected away from classical learning and to the interpretation of Scripture alone, primarily the New Testament. As ecclesiological forms of self-organization, such conventicles can be identified as important for the later development of Anabaptism, particularly in times of persecution.[27]

Sources indicate that these Bible studies were extremely popular, as is evident from the growing number of participants, which meant that in both Zurich and St. Gallen the locations for the gatherings had to be repeatedly changed. In both cases, members of the laity had evidently recognized a need for instruction in scripture that was independent of traditional institutionalized education centered on the church. In response to reformed preaching, they launched their own form of organized gathering, which included selecting their teacher themselves and the participation of those present in discussions about the Bible. The growing self-consciousness of the laity, already evident in the flagrant breaking of fasting obligations on the basis of appeal to

22 Hummel, *Sodalitäten*, 48, n. 38.

23 Wolfgang Hardtwig, *Genossenschaft, Sekte, Verein in Deutschland. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur französischen Revolution* (Munich: Beck, 1997), 206.

24 Heinold Fast, "Zur Überlieferung des Leser-Amtes bei den oberdeutschen Täufern," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 54 (1997), 61–8.

25 QGTS 2: 58–67; Hermann Miles, *Auszüge aus der Chronik*, QGTS 2: 703.

26 AZHR 276–78, no. 623.

27 Rothkegel, "Die Austerlitzer Brüder," 235.

scripture and in heated disputes with the clergy, can also be read clearly from these so-called "Bible schools of the common man."[28] The scriptural authority proclaimed by the reformers and integral to the idea of the priesthood of all believers was realized in these Bible circles, where the laity acquired both the ability and the self-confidence to find their own answers to doctrinal questions. The ecclesiology of the later Anabaptist movement would be deeply shaped by the egalitarian experiences of the reading circles.

10.4 The Demand for the Creation of a "Separated Church"

The process of Reformation in Zurich can be divided into three overlapping phases. In the first phase, the anticlerical acts of reform-minded and proto-Anabaptist forces, who had been inspired by humanist and reforming preaching, forced the city authorities into action in order to maintain peace and order in the city. The second phase, in which the Reformation broke through in the wake of disputations called by the council concerning contested theological issues (the first disputation was held in January 1523, the second disputation was held in October that year), was followed by the third phase, in which measures dictated by the secular authorities, in partnership with the reformers, institutionalized and anchored the Reformation.

In the course of the second phase, in the summer and early autumn of 1523 and therefore before the second disputation, prominent proto-Anabaptists (Konrad Grebel, Simon Stumpf, and later also Felix Manz) and their supporters called on Zwingli for a decisive and demonstrative step that would force the separation of those who kept the old faith and the adherents of reform, an action that would lead to the establishment of a "separated" church.[29] As the political activity against the church provoked by the authors of this plan showed, this "church of our own" was not viewed as a conventicle for a social minority but intended rather for the majority of the population. For the

28 "Bibelschule des gemeinen Mannes," a term used by Harold S. Bender, cited in Werner O. Packull, "Die Anfänge des Schweizer Täufertums im Gefüge der Reformation des Gemeinen Mannes," in *Anabaptistes et dissidents au XVIe siécle. Actes du Colloque international d'histoire anabaptiste du XVIe siécle tenu à l'occasion de la XIe Conférence Mennonite mondiale à Strasbourg, Juillet 1984*, (eds.) Jean-Georges Rott and Simon Verheus (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1987), 53–64, here at 54.

29 Zwingli, "In catabaptismarum strophas elenchus," of 31 July 1527, Z 6/1: 1–196 (Engl: ZSW 123–258); Z 4: 168–75; Z 3: 404. QGTS 1: 120–22, no. 120. Discussion of the creation of a "separated church" is often lacking from accounts of Anabaptist history, but not from the more recent work of Snyder; see his "Birth," 520–24.

proto-Anabaptists, this new church, which they believed to be both fitting and scriptural, was the obvious outcome of the transformations wrought by the demands for reform, demands in which they believed themselves still to be in agreement with Zwingli and Leo Jud. They sought the creation of a "separated church," a gathering of the faithful in accordance with the gospel that would be distinguished by a model ethical lifestyle and at the same time independent of the traditional system of benefices. The proto-Anabaptists called on the leading reformers to decide in favor of those who called for reform, a decision that would, they believed, enable the church of the faithful to become a reality.[30]

The second disputation and the policies of the council that followed, tolerated by Zwingli as an evolutionary process of reform, meant that the increasing alienation felt by some of those in Zurich who were seeking reform now became a decisive split within the reform party.[31] In proto-Anabaptist circles the retention of the status quo on the issues of images and the mass and the punishment of the so-called iconoclasts (including Lorenz Hochrüthiner) and their radical supporters (including Simon Stumpf) were like waving a red flag to a bull, especially as these political measures were contrary to the theological outcome of the second disputation. Behind the conflicts over images and the mass, which had been the central themes of the second disputation, lay the still unresolved question of the identity of the legitimate bearer of reform: the town council in cooperation with the parish priests (*Leutpriester*) or the local congregation (*Ortsgemeinde*), that is, the gathering of the faithful. Even at this stage the difference between the ecclesiological concepts of the proto-Anabaptists and those of Zwingli, the principal reformer, was very evident and should be borne in mind when considering the subsequent development of the teachings of the Anabaptist movement. With the second disputation, the reform movement spread more widely within Switzerland, with such events often the established means of decision-making and with decisive contributions from individuals such as Sebastian Hofmeister from Schaffhausen, Joachim Vadian from St. Gallen, Christoph Schappeler from Memmingen, and Balthasar Hubmaier from Waldshut.[32]

30 Snyder, "Birth," 523. In his comparison of the plan for a "separated church" with the reforms of Balthasar Hubmaier in Waldshut, Wilhelm Reublin and Hans Brötli in Hallau, Konrad Grebel in Grüningen, and Hans Krüsi in Tablat, Snyder comes to a similar conclusion.

31 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 193–202; Snyder, "Birth," 513: "Zwingli's public support for a centralized, government-led reform marked a key divisive moment within the reform movement, separating the populist reforming group from the more conservative, elitist movement led by Zwingli and controlled by the council."

32 Bernd Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen. Studien zur Kirchengründung in den Städten der frühen Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 22, 51–2.

The campaigns of 1523, including the plan for a separatist church, were largely focused on realizing a visible church of the faithful that would regulate its own rites and administration. In the course of the second phase of the Reformation in Zurich, which in effect delayed the reform of worship until spring 1525, proto-Anabaptist circles became increasingly distanced from the secular authorities—in this instance the town council—which were evidently no longer recognized by the radicals as an authority in issues of belief that were pertinent to the reform of the church. This tendency was strengthened by the autocratic decision made by the council in 1524 against delayed baptism (*Taufaufschub*), a decision that was taken, unlike in previous instances (on images and the mass), without theological consultation in the form of a public disputation.

10.5 Proto-Anabaptist Contact with Other Radical Reformers (The Müntzer Letter of 1524)

A product of Reformation preaching and independent Bible study, the debate over baptism gained growing prominence in proto-Anabaptist circles.[33] As reservations about infant baptism grew, on several occasions in spring 1524 parents in Witikon and Zollikon refused to have their newborn children baptized.[34] The council forbade the deliberate postponement of baptism, under threat of punishment, and the parents were ordered to have their children baptized without delay. The council, a secular authority, made a ruling on a central ecclesiastical issue of its own accord, without establishing a theological commission or holding a disputation, as had been the case for the issues of the mass and images. At this point the proto-Anabaptists established contact with protagonists of the radical reformation such as Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt and Thomas Müntzer.[35]

In October 1524 the proto-Anabaptist circles made direct contact with Karlstadt.[36] They were aided by Andreas Castelberg, who as a printer and

33 AZHR 246, nos. 566 and 567; QGTS 2: 602.

34 AZHR 246, nos. 566 and 567; QGTS 1: 10–1, nos. 11 and 12.

35 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 203–13. Although in his retelling of the beginnings of Swiss Anabaptism, Snyder places the establishment of contact with Müntzer and Karlstadt in the context of the peasant unrest or of a potential rural revolt against Zurich's dominance in questions of reform of the church, I am aware of no clear evidence that supports this connection; Snyder, "Birth," 520.

36 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 206–12.

publisher was acquainted with the works of Karlstadt and was also on good terms with Karlstadt's brother-in-law Gerhard Westerburg.[37] Westerburg, an academic and jurist from Cologne who had experience of the implementation of reform from Wittenberg in 1522 and from Karlstadt's activities in Orlamünde,[38] traveled to Zurich at the request of his brother-in-law specifically to establish closer ties with the proto-Anabaptists, with whom he discussed Karlstadt's writings intensively. We can therefore assume that later correspondence was based on solid knowledge of the positions Karlstadt had adopted, which would doubtless have included the rejection of infant baptism, which Karlstadt had already ended in Orlamünde in favor of the postponement of baptism, a practice that was proving popular in villages around Zurich. Working with Westerburg and Lorenz Hochrüthiner, who had emigrated, Felix Manz and Andreas Castelberg subsequently sought to have Karlstadt's treatises published in Basel and popularized in Zurich and Switzerland more broadly.[39] For unknown reasons, a meeting with Karlstadt in person did not result in the continuation of the closer association that had been foreseen. Through his writings, however, and especially in his particular understanding of the principle of *sola scriptura*, Karlstadt left his mark on the embryonic Anabaptist movement, whose teaching on the issue of baptism, for example, was essentially shaped by a reading of Karlstadt.[40] In light of their constant referencing of the principle of *sola scriptura* as normative for the reform of the church and their biblical hermeneutics, the proto-Anabaptists were identified by their opponents as followers of Karlstadt ("Karlstadtians").[41]

Thomas Müntzer was known to the proto-Anabaptists circles only through individual texts to which they were given access by Hans Huif, an artisan from Halle who was personally acquainted with Müntzer. Where the connection with Karlstadt had been personal, the literary links and the parallels between the fate of the proto-Anabaptists and that of the radical reformer who was so strongly condemned by Luther were only indirect.[42]

37 Russell Woodbridge, *Gerhard Westerburg* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2012), 5–8.

38 Russell Woodbridge, "Gerhard Westerburg: A Genuine Anabaptist?" MQR 83 (2009), 133–51, here at 134–36.

39 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 19–20; Calvin A. Pater, *Karlstadt as the Father of Baptist Movements: The Emergence of Lay Protestantism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 159–60.

40 On Karlstadt's text on baptism, Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 296–305.

41 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 339.

42 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 212.

The letter to Müntzer,[43] frequently referred to as the Grebel letter,[44] has a collective authorship that is reminiscent of an apostolic epistle. Other than in a few lines toward the end of the letter, it uses the first person plural throughout, an expression of the agreement among those who put their name to this text. It can therefore be taken as an expression of the common aspirations of the nascent proto-Anabaptist movement, with its authors evidently resolute in their determination to use this opportunity to separate themselves from the official and magisterial Reformation.[45] Although subsequent actions in the context of the peasant uprisings by those who subscribed to the letter have been interpreted as a refutation of its pacifism in particular, in my opinion those events should not be understood as a real corrective to the idealism of its fundamental premises. Revisionist Anabaptist research[46] has given greater weight to accounts of the actions of individuals drawn from very varied sources (chronicles, some of which were by opponents who had been expelled from the movement, trial records, witness statements, interrogation transcripts) than to the proto-Anabaptists' intentional writings and to the attitudes they portray, even though the very purpose of these latter works was to give an account of the proto-Anabaptists' position.

The content of the collective letter to Thomas Müntzer, in which the authors addressed individual doctrinal matters, makes evident that this document was the product of a specific moment; the letter was not conceived as a comprehensive theological statement. The authors addressed topics such as liturgical reform, the Lord's Supper, the tithe, ecclesiology and church discipline, and

43 The letter, which supports a variety of readings, has been the principal focus of various interpretations of early Anabaptism in Switzerland; Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 213–215.

44 On the versions and editions of the letter, Siegfried Bräuer, "'Sind beyde dise Briefe an Müntzer abgeschikt worden?' Zur Überlieferung der Briefe des Grebelkreises an Thomas Müntzer vom 5. September 1524," in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 55 (1998), 7–24.

45 This interpretation runs counter to that of Snyder, "Birth," 526, who seeks to attribute individual passages in the letter to Grebel and Manz alone. This attribution of the text, which seeks to put on one level the passages on pacifism, a separatist ecclesiology, and reform of worship according to scripture, cannot, however, be sustained by the sources. For Snyder this coauthored text contains a "mulligan stew of views." It is remarkable that the significance of the first decidedly theological text by an emergent group of proto-Anabaptists is downplayed in order to support a questionable thesis concerning two distinct phases of Anabaptism. The interaction with the peasants' unrest is seen as more significant and more historically relevant than the deliberate coauthoring of a text by a group who apparently wished to convey their position and their theological convictions to Müntzer.

46 This term covers the particular interest in social history that has dominated the study of Anabaptism since the 1970s.

baptism in light of their current understanding of the issues involved. The intention behind this letter, and also behind the efforts to make personal contact with Karlstadt and other radical reformers[47] who up until this point had been known to the proto-Anabaptists only through their writings, lay in the desire to create an active cross-border consensus among advocates of reform who in the face of opposition from society and the church remained eager to see a speedy and scripturally founded renewal of the external forms of worship and the church. In accord with the understanding of *sola scriptura* adopted from Karlstadt, which required worship and sacramental practices to respect the laws of God—in other words, to be reformed according to scripture—the text of the letter suggests practical changes that should be introduced in the cause of reform. As yet there was no fully developed ecclesiological concept, but embryonic ideas raised in the debates with Zwingli are developed further within the letter, and as a result the constitution of an ecclesiastical model based on a "pure" and scripturally faithful community of believers can be detected.

From the conviction that the true church could be created sprang a fierce insistence on concrete reform of the externals of the church. As a result the proto-Anabaptists distanced themselves from their former teacher Zwingli, who sought an evolutionary process of reform that would take place in close cooperation with the magistrates. We cannot draw a systematic doctrinal understanding of baptism from the Müntzer letter, however. The anti-sacramental character of baptism, the separation of internal and external baptism, the ethical accents drawn from the statements on baptism in Romans 6, and the rejection of infant baptism certainly were all constitutive elements of a theological schema, but there was no concomitant and similarly intensive engagement with the exegetical and systematic foundations of believer's baptism.

Much effort has been dedicated by both traditional and revisionist research to revealing the ecclesiological paradigm on which the Müntzer letter is founded. The result has been a tendency to see the limited discussion of ecclesiology in association with the specific reading of the sacraments as not intended for a church whose membership was made up of all the population, a territorial church, in effect. Rather, we find here early evidence of the conceptual foundations of an autonomous community of believers, independent of the magistracy. The ecclesiology's discernable focus on the idea of the visible community suggests a distancing from the idea that the church was demarcated spatially.

47 A number of authors are specified by name in the letter, their positions having been discussed by the group and in part accepted. Balthasar Hubmaier, however, is not mentioned. No parallels are drawn with his fate, although the similarities with the experiences of Karlstadt and Müntzer are noted.

Influenced conceptually by the ideas of an internally and externally reformed church, proto-Anabaptists were fighting for a theological, or Christological, communal reformation (*Gemeindereformation*).

10.6 The Protestation of Felix Manz

Autumn 1524—only shortly before Anabaptism was established, in January 1525, and therefore a vital period during the incubation of the movement—saw both the military conflict over the town of Waldshut and its reformer Balthasar Hubmaier and the beginnings of the peasants' revolt.[48] Since 1523 at the latest, Hubmaier had been caught up in Swiss efforts at reform. He was personally acquainted with Vadian, Oecolampadius, and Zwingli and had taken part, as a preacher who was not from Zurich, in the second disputation, where he met and acted as a respondent for Konrad Grebel.[49] His own program of reform for Waldshut, which could be found in the eighteen Articles (*Schlussreden*) published in summer 1524, had many parallels with that of Zwingli and lacks evident links to the positions adopted by the proto-Anabaptists.[50] Although Zurich had officially agreed to remain neutral, in October 1524 a small group was sent from Zurich to the contested town of Waldshut to provide military assistance. The group's contact in Zurich was Heini Aberli, who was sympathetic to proto-Anabaptist ideas and had been one of the signatories of the letter to Münzer.[51] In addition, the leader of the troops was a personal friend of Konrad Grebel. Hubmaier, who was in Schaffhausen at the time, repeatedly denied any involvement in raising these mercenary troops. We cannot know for certain what role Aberli played in the whole affair and what impact these events had in proto-Anabaptist circles. Certainly, however, the population of Zurich was well informed about the escalating situation in Waldshut, in which they would have identified not just a quarrel over political autonomy but a challenge to the Reformation and therefore to "freedom of belief." Hubmaier's writings composed in Schaffhausen make no reference to the proto-Anabaptists but do mention Zwingli, and in particular Zwingli's clash with Johannes Eck.[52] Hubmaier's return to Waldshut after the relaxation of the military tensions and the introduction of wholesale church reform under his leadership must

48 Snyder, "Birth," 529–31.

49 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 108–19.

50 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 131–2.

51 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 204–5; Snyder, "Birth," 530.

52 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 181–86.

FIGURE 10.1 *Balthasar Hubmaier* (*ca. 1480–1528*)
PHOTO COURTESY OF EUROPEANA COLLECTIONS

have had an effect on developments in Zurich and should be placed within the contemporary political and ecclesiastical context. Only for January 1525, however, do we have evidence of direct links between Hubmaier and the proto-Anabaptists, who looked favorably on his new position on baptism, which was not in accord with that of Zwingli.[53]

The proto-Anabaptists' dealings with Zwingli at the end of 1524 and in early 1525 led to further refinement of their understanding of baptism, although the possibility that baptism might need to be repeated—in other words that an adult needed to undergo believer's baptism because his or her baptism as a child

53 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 251–58.

was invalid—was not yet at the forefront of the debate. One particularly important testimony from this period of debate is the *Protestation* (*Schutzschrift*) of Felix Manz, which was submitted to the Zurich council as a statement of the proto-Anabaptist position.[54] In interpreting this text, we must bear in mind the aborted discussions with Zwingli that had been intended to resolve their differences on baptism, discussions that had taken place out of the public eye. Manz's intention was to go through and refute, point by point, the evidence in favor of infant baptism that had been presented in the course of these discussions, held between mid-October and December 1524.[55] Manz drew on the principle of *sola scriptura*, which the council itself had declared the basis for church reform, as one by one he rejected Zwingli's arguments on the basis of scriptural evidence that he deemed conclusive. Manz's principal concern was not to make a case for his own position on baptism but to disprove Zwingli's.

In his *Protestation* Manz used only arguments that could refute the Zwinglian position on baptism or that had already proved able to carry weight in this discussion. We must therefore recognize that this text too was very much a product of a specific moment; it was not a programmatic statement of proto-Anabaptist doctrine. Following on from the so-called "Tuesday discussions" (*Dienstagsgespräche*) and while seeking to counter Zwingli's arguments, Manz provided the first scripturally founded explanation of the concept of believer's baptism as proposed by the Anabaptists, with the literal meaning of scripture his guiding principle. He drew on the crucial scriptural passages that laid down a sequence that for proto-Anabaptists—and for later Anabaptism—was irreversible: preaching of the gospel was followed by faith, and faith was followed by baptism.

The *Protestation* contained a range of further arguments that would frequently be employed by opponents of infant baptism. Alongside the oft-repeated popular assertion that infant baptism was a creation of the pope, three points focused on the scriptural evidence: (1) Christ neither taught nor commanded that children be baptized; (2) the baptisms of both John and Jesus required a personal statement of a desire to receive baptism in which there was evidence of readiness to repent and improve; (3) external baptism was only a demonstration of what internal baptism, which was the work of God, had already achieved. For the first time great emphasis was laid on Matthew 28:19 and Mark 16:16, texts that would also be fundamental to the later Anabaptist

54 QGTS 1: 23–8, no. 16; Engl: Michael G. Baylor, (ed.), *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 95–100.

55 Martin Haas, "Täufertum und Volkskirche. Faktoren der Trennung," *Zwingliana* 13 (1970), 261–78, here at 267.

movement. Numerous parallels can be found between Manz's *Protestation* and the doctrinal understanding of baptism that appears in the Müntzer letter, as, for example, in their common ethical interpretation of Romans 6. Particular prominence is given to the desire to receive baptism and to the individual's personal conduct after baptism. This ethical aspect was the prime feature of the doctrine of baptism that emerged from the protestation. It also drew a line in the sand between Zwingli and his former followers, who would see their former teacher condemn their wish for baptismal practice to follow scripture and deliver them up to the very authorities that were persecuting them.

10.7 Early Anabaptism in Zurich

By early 1525 the debate over baptism could no longer be quietly dealt with through unofficial discussions, as had originally been planned. Deliberate agitation by the opponents of infant baptism had made the issue again a matter of popular interest. The council therefore arranged for a disputation to be held, as a result of which it officially rejected the postponement of baptism and issued a mandate that made the deliberate postponement of baptism punishable under law.[56] Additionally, infant baptism was made compulsory. No further disputations were to be held on this subject, bringing to an end this innovative means of harnessing and directing calls for reform that had been so characteristic of the Reformation in Zurich and further afield.[57] An additional resolution by the council was designed to destroy the proto-Anabaptist movement entirely, with its leading members either ordered under threat of punishment to remain silent (as was the case for Felix Manz and Konrad Grebel, who were both citizens of Zurich) or exiled (as was the case for Wilhelm Reublin, Hans Brötli, Andreas Castelberg, and Ludwig Hätzer, who were not natives of Zurich). The organizational foundations of the movement, the reading circles—the "special schools" (*bsondern schulen*)[58]—were also forbidden. The threat to the reform movement had come from within its own ranks, but the magistrates had resolved to protect their protégé by decree.

Three factors in particular characterized the proto-Anabaptists' situation on the cusp of the introduction of believer's baptism. First, the radicals were utterly convinced that infant baptism was an "anti-Christian" practice. Second,

56 QGTS 1: 34–5, no. 24.

57 On the role of disputations in the processes of reform, see Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen*, 177–96.

58 QGTS 1: 35–6, no. 26.

the most recent discussions with the reformers and the outcome of the January 1525 disputation had made the division within the reformed camp very evident. With the mandates of 18 and 21 January 1525, the proto-Anabaptists were expelled from the "Christian community" that set the terms of reform. Finally, with the criminalization of their cause by the mandates issued by the council, the proto-Anabaptists faced all-out persecution by the authorities. The wholesale destruction of the proto-Anabaptist camp was to be achieved by disbanding the Bible circles and reading groups, from which their beliefs had emerged, and forcing the leaders of the movement into exile.

On 21 January 1525 and in the days that followed, the first believer's baptisms took place in Zurich and surrounding areas, although the dating, the events themselves, and their significance all remain contested.[59] In studies of Anabaptism, the practice of believer's baptism has traditionally stood as the foundational act of the movement and as a sign that a church that was distinct from Zwingli's reformation was established very deliberately.[60] More recent research on Anabaptism also holds that the baptisms of January 1525 marked not only a deliberate turn away from the territorial or urban reformation but also the founding of autonomous communities, based on voluntary membership, in which authority rested with the congregation.[61] That assessment can also be found in recent textbooks of church history and in general histories of the Reformation,[62] even though since the 1980s social historians have been increasingly critical of this interpretation.[63] These historians have proposed that the baptisms be read as an act of resistance or anticlerical protest, or as a

59 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 351–61.

60 Fritz Blanke, *Brothers in Christ. The History of the Oldest Anabaptist Congregation, Zollikon, near Zürich, Switzerland* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1961), 20; John Yoder, *Täufertum und Reformation in der Schweiz* (Karlsruhe: Schneider, 1962), 42–3; Krajewski, *Leben und Sterben*, 73; John Christian Wenger, *Die Dritte Reformation* (Kassel: Oncken, 1963), 18–9; William R. Estep, *Anabaptist Beginnings* (*1523–1533*) (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1976), 2.

61 Hubertus Lutterbach, *Der Weg in das Täuferreich von Münster. Ein Ringen um die heilige Stadt* (Münster: Dialogverlag, 2006), 110–1.

62 Bernd Moeller and Heribert Smolinsky, "Das Zeitalter der Reformation," in *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2: *Vom Hochmittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit,* (eds.) Thomas Kaufmann and Raymund Kottje (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 283–84. "Die neue Kirche als Gemeinschaft der wahrhaft Glaubenden war konstituiert" (ibid., 284); See Thomas Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Reformation* (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2009), 547–52. Kaufmann identifies the practice of believer's baptism as the issue around which separatist communities crystalized (ibid., 552).

63 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 353–56.

gesture intended to symbolize separation from the official magisterial reformation, but they do not see in this baptismal activity the deliberate founding of a new church.[64] As the expanding Anabaptist movement with its roots in Zurich became intertwined with peasant unrest, these baptisms, it is suggested, came to form above all an anti-clerical statement that gave the demands of the peasants concrete form within the rituals of the church. Yet this interpretation is not true to the sources and must also in turn be examined with a critical eye.

We have no direct source for the first believer's baptism in Zurich, only subsequent commentaries and interpretations. We know for certain, however, that it took place at an evening gathering of the reading circles at a time when their very existence was threatened by the resolutions of the council. And we know also that it proved a fundamental religious experience for those who took part, motivating them to launch intensive missionary activity, to which the subsequent Anabaptist movement and its very rapid spread in the rural areas around Zurich bear witness.

In Zollikon, gatherings in private homes, which the sources portray as an analogue of the established, but now forbidden, reading circles, were the setting for the first communal celebrations of the Lord's Supper and baptism.[65] The reform of sacramental practice was not limited to baptism but also concerned the Eucharist. Although the communal character of the celebration of the Supper ("the meal of unity," *Mahl der Vereinbarung*) was vital, accounts of the first weeks of the Anabaptist movement, during which numerous spontaneous baptisms took place, do not provide any sense that a distinctive ecclesiology was associated with the gathering of baptized believers or the orderly admission of members. Rather, evidence clearly indicates that brotherly love was the sole criterion for participation in the Supper and reception of baptism, with the individual who had been baptized expected to adopt an ethical lifestyle.[66] Only those were baptized who personally and publically requested it, thereby

64 "With the decision to baptize adults, the first baptizers in Switzerland took an independent reforming path; but they had barely begun the process of discerning and putting into practice ecclesiological models that would correspond to adult baptism." Snyder, "Birth," 539.

65 QGTS 1: 38, no. 29; Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 363–82.

66 In his portrayal of the beginnings of the Anabaptists movement in Zollikon, Snyder insists that in the first weeks the ban (see Matthew 18:15–18), to which extensive attention was given in the Müntzer letter, played no role, and therefore cannot be an indication of a separatist ecclesiology. Unfortunately he fails to take note of the many references to the "love of Christ" or to "brotherly love" which were the *conditio sine qua non* for the celebration of the Supper and for baptism. To my mind, Synder fails to pay sufficient attention to the criteriological character of the "Koinonia," from which the disciplinary measure that was the ban emerged.

acknowledged their faith. As a result of their experiences in the reading circles and in light of the threat they faced from the mandates issued by the council, formerly enthusiastic followers of Zwingli now took reform of the sacraments and the church into their own hands, citing the principle of *sola scriptura* and strengthened by the spiritual fortification that accompanied their activities. The *ius reformandi* now rested with the assembly of the faithful and those called to be messengers of the charism, who believed they were acting in obedience to the directives of scripture. In this respect the early Anabaptists drew parallels between their own situation and early Christian missionary activity, with the separatist question initially remaining in the background.[67] According to the sources, within only a few days thirty-five believer's baptisms had taken place in Zollikon.[68]

The events in Zurich and Zollikon should therefore no longer be interpreted as evidence of the deliberate creation of a "voluntary church" or of a church to which a distinct and separate minority belonged. They are rather to be viewed as the expression of a movement with inherent separatist and congregationalist tendencies that were a product of the communally minded reform of the sacraments, of the adoption of responsibility for administration of the church by lay people who felt called to this task, and of the associated distancing from a magisterial reformation that was held to be inconsistent.

In spring 1525 the Anabaptist movement spread from its first bases in Zurich and Zollikon to Basel, Bern, St. Gallen, Hallau in the canton of Schaffhausen, and Appenzell, driven on by individuals banished from Zurich. The introduction of believer's baptism as a spiritual event launched a campaign to win over as many supporters as possible by harnessing the new enthusiasm for missionary work.

May 1525 saw the publication of Zwingli's *On Baptism,* in which he addressed the discussions, interrogations, and events in which the Anabaptists had been involved since the first believer's baptism.[69] Although this text must be read critically, it is a very useful witness to the early Anabaptist movement. Zwingli tackled the Anabaptists' biblical hermeneutic, which had been so instrumental in gathering support amongst the laity. Six months after the Anabaptists had taken sacramental reform into their own hands, Zwingli focused his criticism of their theology on their deliberate separation and their understanding of the church as exclusive.[70]

67 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 362–82.

68 Blanke, *Brothers*, 41.

69 Z 4: 206–337; Engl: Z&B, 119–75.

70 It is striking that little attention is paid in current research to Zwingli's observations. For analysis of the baptism book, see Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 424–6.

10.8 Excursus: The Anabaptist Reformation in Waldshut under Balthasar Hubmaier and the Zurich Anabaptist Movement

Both traditional and revisionist accounts have tended to make a sharp distinction between the urban reformation with its distinct Anabaptist traits in Waldshut and the Anabaptist movement in Zurich and Zollikon.[71] On one hand, we have Balthasar Hubmaier, who in the spring of 1525 took on the role of leading Anabaptist theologian by publishing numerous defenses of believer's baptism and whose high profile reform of the church in Waldshut was carried out with the agreement of the town council and the majority of the population; on the other hand, we have the separatist Anabaptism of Zurich.[72]

In a number of recent publications, Snyder has sought to overcome the isolation of Hubmaier and the events in Waldshut by directing attention to Konrad Grebel's influence on Hubmaier, which Snyder believes to have been substantial.[73] For Snyder, Grebel is no longer a coauthor of the pacifist and separatist passages in the Müntzer letter, which should be attributed to Felix Manz alone; Grebel is rather a highly engaged campaigner for the exhaustive reform of whole communities according to the principles of Anabaptism. Snyder also holds that historians have given too much weight to the Müntzer letter, ascribing it a relevance that is not faithful to historical circumstance. Grebel's missionary activities in the spring and summer of 1525 appear to him to have been the immediate inspiration for Hubmaier's concept of a majority church of the faithful, which was to be realized under the protection, even the armed protection, of the magistracy. Unfortunately, Snyder has no direct evidence from Grebel to support this interpretation and instead extracts his argument from the sources for the peasants' revolts and for the intertwining of those events with Anabaptist missions in various regions (Grüningen, Hallau, Schaffhausen, Tablat etc.). He also detects the marked influence of Grebel and the Anabaptist movement in Zollikon in Hubmaier's works written in the summer of 1525, particularly in what he has identified as a common understanding of baptism, the high value placed on an ethical lifestyle, and the links between receiving the Lord's Supper and church discipline (the ban) in Hubmaier's treatise *Summary*

71 A summary of the research can be found in Snyder, "Birth," 555–9.

72 This distinction led me to exclude Hubmaier from my own published research on early Anabaptism; moreover, Waldshut lay beyond my geographical area of interest. Now, however, I hold the inclusion of Hubmaier to be both enlightening and productive.

73 Snyder, "Birth," 558–64; Snyder, "Swiss Anabaptism," 69–73.

of the Whole Christian Life.[74] In his painstaking analysis of the same text, Windhorst has found no clear links to Grebel but many analogies with Zwingli. To my mind, the related central idea of the act of justification as "act of healing" cannot be traced back directly to the theology of the Zurich movement, and additionally the analogies presented are far too sweeping. Rereading this text in light of potential commonalities across the early Anabaptist movements in both Waldshut and Zurich is undoubtedly a creative idea, although it leads Snyder to draw conclusions that claim too much and advance opinions that must remain speculative. The theological distinctions between Grebel and Manz, for which there is no evidence at all in the sources, are neither illuminating nor convincing.

Hubmaier's biographer Torsten Bergsten has shown that Hubmaier sought to maintain a relationship with the principal reformers in Switzerland and southern Germany for as long as possible, requesting both by letter and in his published texts that they explain their position on infant baptism and repeatedly inviting them to disputations that would address baptism.[75] From autumn 1524 Hubmaier dedicated a great deal of his attention to the issue of baptism, in particular by entering into a substantial exchange with Oecolampadius in Basel on the legitimacy of infant baptism. As Bergsten has shown, Hubmaier's critical attitude made his relationship with the Zurich reformers, with whom he was also in correspondence, increasingly tense. By January 1525 Konrad Grebel had already identified Hubmaier as a sympathizer and advocate, in light of his attitude toward infant baptism.[76] In the course of the missionary peregrinations that followed the expulsion of the Anabaptists from Zurich, Wilhelm Reublin and one other member of the Anabaptist community in Zollikon[77] arrived in Waldshut only a few days after the first baptisms, which had taken place in January 1525, and they baptized several members of the local population. Hubmaier himself was only baptized on a later visit, at Easter 1525.[78] In the first months of 1525 his primary intention was to achieve agreement within the Reformation camp on the question of baptism. In January 1525 Anabaptist calls for reform had produced real results in Zurich and

74 Snyder, "Birth," 559–61. See also the interpretation by Christof Windhorst,*Täuferisches Taufverständnis. Balthasar Hubmaiers Lehre zwischen traditioneller und reformatorischer Theologie* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 22–37.

75 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 212–6, 262–8.

76 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 252.

77 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 254: Merger am Balgrist, the son of Heini Merger.

78 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 254, where Bergsten describes Hubmaier's turn to Anabaptism in detail.

Zollikon but had also brought about confrontation. Hubmaier, however, still placed his faith in a policy aimed at consensus, as his continuing respect for his theological colleagues in Basel, Zurich, and Strasbourg indicates.

The political campaign for autonomy and ecclesiastical reform by the town of Waldshut brought a sense of solidarity with the rebellious peasants, and while the sources do not indicate that Hubmaier was directly involved in the composition of the peasants' demands, they do suggest that he had sympathy for them and understood their position. On several occasions after January 1525, Hubmaier met with Anabaptists from Zurich or Zollikon, including Konrad Grebel and Jakob Hottinger, as he later attested during interrogation in Zurich.[79] The thorough ecclesiastical reform according to Anabaptist principles led by Hubmaier in Waldshut after 1525 was initiated by his baptizing and was closely linked with Reublin's impact. Hubmaier, who was already the leading reformer within the town, became the leading force behind the baptisms that now took place: in only a few days more than three hundred people from Waldshut, both male and female, were baptized.[80]

It is often stated that Hubmaier, unlike the Anabaptists of Zurich, believed it the duty of the Christian magistracy to oversee the process of ecclesiastical renewal. For Hubmaier the concept of the visible church of the faithful, constituted by those who had undergone believer's baptism, was linked to the responsibly of the authorities to accompany and protect such reform. The *ius reformandi*, he believed, should be practiced through cooperation between community and magistracy, and as Snyder has correctly noted, faith of a certain form was not made compulsory in Waldshut. Those who did not wish to leave the old faith, or at least the minority of the population who did not wish to undergo baptism, were permitted to remain within the town.[81] The distinction between the Anabaptist movements in and around Zurich and that in Waldshut is, however, largely an artificial creation, and cannot be sustained in light of the numerous individuals with links to both.

Yet Hubmaier retains a prominent position among the Anabaptists of this early period as an original and educated theologian who laid the systematic groundwork for the Anabaptist doctrine of baptism and for Anabaptist ecclesiology. Hubmaier believed himself to be a leading light of the reformation movement, a role he was not eager to abandon in exchange for stronger ties to the radical Anabaptists. The sources do not suggest that Hubmaier's dependence on or ties with Grebel were greater than those of Anabaptists from

79 QGTS 1: 194, no. 179.

80 Bergsten, *Balthasar Hubmaier*, 306.

81 Snyder, "Birth," 556.

Zurich and Zollikon, in particular Felix Manz. In promoting the links between Hubmaier and Grebel, Snyder has had to introduce a level of historical speculation that requires drawing on fragmentary sources, interrogation records, and chronicles to create a picture of the Anabaptist movement. In so doing, he neglects the far more intentional personal accounts by Anabaptists themselves (the Müntzer letter, for example, or the *Protestation*, Schleitheim Confession, communal ordinances, and letters of Anabaptists missionaries). In terms of both their purpose and content, the sources used by Snyder to support his argument are now being treated with far greater suspicion.

10.9 Anabaptism in Zurich, 1525–1527

Despite strong repression, the early Anabaptist movement grew. That expansion is often mentioned in the same breath as the peasant unrest of 1525, for the missionary character of the Anabaptist movement and the peasant demands proved complementary and, in many ways, each was an inspiration for the other.[82] From this association emerges a picture of a communal- and reformation-minded mass movement that set itself against the magisterial reformation and against the hegemony of Zurich. This view is contradicted in particular by Christian Dietrich, who comes to the conclusion that 1524/25 saw in effect the internal consolidation of town and rural communities in Zurich as a defence against external pressure from the Catholic Confederates.[83] Rural communities such as Zollikon or Höngg, which were both very significant for the Anabaptist movement, did not allow themselves to be drawn into the conflicts between peasantry and town, or very pointedly adopted the resolutions of the Zurich council. Additionally, individual uprisings in early autumn 1525, such as the storming of the monasteries, were resolved peacefully, using established institutionalized mechanisms to regulate the relationship of town and rural communities. Yet even with these necessary reservations in mind, we must

82 James M. Stayer, "Anabaptists and Future Anabaptists in the Peasant's War," MQR 62 (1988), 99–135; idem, *The German Peasants' War and Anabaptist Community of Goods* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Aufständische Bauern und Täufer in der Schweiz," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 46 (1989), 90–112; reprinted in idem, *Radikalität der Reformation. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 323–42; Matthias Hui, "Vom Bauernaufstand zur Täuferbewegung. Entwicklungen in der ländlichen Reformation am Beispiel des zürcherischen Grüninger Amt," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 46 (1989), 113–44; Snyder, "Birth," 550–55.

83 Christian Dietrich, *Die Stadt Zürich und ihre Landgemeinden von 1489 bis 1525* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1985), 250.

also recognize that in the first months of its existence, the Anabaptist movement was highly successful in the rural areas of Zurich and in other non-urban areas in which peasant unrest took hold, such as Hallau and Schaffhausen.

Events in the Grüninger Amt have repeatedly been cited as an example of the intertwining of the peasant uprising and the spread of Anabaptism.[84] The missionary activity of leading Anabaptists such as Grebel, Blaurock, and Manz in the Grüninger Amt is used as evidence that the peasant movement flowed easily into the Anabaptist movement. Certainly, as the numerous overlaps in personnel make evident, the Anabaptist movement found many new followers in the Grüninger Amt during the period of peasant tension and unrest.[85]

Through the second half of 1525, both the Anabaptist movement and the social-political demands of the peasants lost significant support from the majority of the population, who were more concerned to find a way forward with Zurich. In spring 1525 Grebel, Manz, and Blaurock were preaching Anabaptist ideas and seeking followers for the Anabaptist movement, and Grebel for one incorporated a separatist sense of community into his preaching: "Concerning the church, he says that whoever is a broker, usurer, gambler, or doing anything other than what scripture prescribes should never to be among Christians, but should be excluded with the ban."[86] We have, however, no direct evidence that the Anabaptists explicitly supported the peasants' demands. Certainly at times the Anabaptists were aided by a large number of sympathizers and protected from detention in conflicts with local clergy. Konrad Grebel and Marx Bosshard, who were both from Grüningen and worked together to gain support for Anabaptism in the Oberland, exhorted the assembled audience to convert and lead a life guided by scripture.[87] Grebel spoke out on volatile political issues, such as the legality of the tithe, but he cannot be identified as either the initiator or leader of unrest. The emissaries of Zurich Anabaptism were well received, however, which even meant that for many months Felix Manz was kept hidden from the authorities pursuing him.[88]

In a revealing submission to the *Landtag* in 1527, the Grüninger Anabaptists were particularly concerned to explain their theological position on baptism and the nature of the church.[89] The case they laid out has many analogies with

84 Hui, "Vom Bauernaufstand zur Täuferbewegung," 117–19.

85 Armin Sierszyn, "Zur Täuferbewegung im Grüninger Amt," *Zwingliana* 34 (2007), 37–60, here at 39.

86 QGTS 1: 124, no. 122.

87 AZHR 446, no. 938.

88 Sierszyn, "Zur Täuferbewegung," 56.

89 QGTS 1: 236, no. 212.

the doctrinal forms of the Zurich Anabaptists.[90] The ecclesiastical model that emerges clearly is of a visible community of the faithful who prove their faith though their ethical lifestyle and maintain the purity of the community with the ban. The scriptural basis for believer's baptism is at the forefront of their statement, and there are no references to the peasants' revolt or peasant demands. Close links between the peasant uprisings and Anabaptism are not immediately apparent in this text.

A survey of the published sources for the period 1525 to 1527 uncovers many examples of the perseverance of central Anabaptist theological positions. Letters that provide deliberate testimony, interrogation records, and the statements of witnesses reveal within the Anabaptists' self-conception a consistency in their understanding of baptism and ecclesiology, and especially the insistence on an ethical lifestyle that required the use of the ban.[91] As a result of the persecution they faced, Anabaptists, both male and female, were also increasingly prepared to face martyrdom, replicating an attitude they found in scriptural accounts of the early church.[92]

Evidence of all the major Anabaptist theological topoi that characterized the early years of the movement—baptism, baptismal practice, the Lord's Supper, interpretation of scripture, ecclesiology, involvement of the laity, the holding of property in common, the ethical emphasis of the kerygma, pacifism, willingness to undergo martyrdom—can also be found in earlier Anabaptist testimonies. The chief accusation Anabaptists faced under interrogation was that they were sectarian, that they planned to construct their own church. Evidently aware of Zwingli's verdict on the Anabaptist movement, the sources often corroborate his view that the Anabaptists sought to form a separate community.

One practical result of this new understanding of what it meant to believe was that Anabaptists no longer attended church, justifying their refusal on the basis that the preaching was unscriptural.[93] Non-attendance at church coincided with attendance at Anabaptist gatherings in private homes, a practice that was a continuation of the reading circles, which meant that Anabaptists were increasingly separated from village and parish communities. A council mandate of March 1526 recorded that attendance at a traditional worship service within one's local community could be taken as evidence of separation from the Anabaptist movement.[94] As early as spring 1525, onlookers had

90 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 435–39.

91 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 444.

92 QGTS 1: 36–7, no. 27; 1: 174–7, no. 170.

93 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 450.

94 AZHR 445, no. 937.

identified the Anabaptists as a movement with a distinctive group identity, as the universal use of the term "Anabaptist" (*Täufer*) suggests. The Anabaptists, however, understood themselves as a community of brothers and sisters linked across regional boundaries.

10.10 The Confession of Schleitheim

The Confession of Schleitheim of 1527 has traditionally been interpreted as the normative confession of early Anabaptism across a large area and was thought to have unified and bound together the various Anabaptist groups, unsettled by repression, the Peasants' War, and both spiritual and libertine doctrinal developments, in a consensus on both teaching and practice.[95] In recent decades, however, this interpretation has faced substantial criticism that has strongly questioned the extent of the reception of this "agreement" and has sought to expose the interpretation of the confession as the fundamental text of Anabaptist teaching as a fiction.[96] More recent accounts of the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland make no mention of the Schleitheim Confession because it is seen as a product of the later and distinct era of Anabaptism that followed the defeat of the peasants. Urs B. Leu and Christian Scheidegger have provided a new edition of the Schleitheim articles, with commentary and an extensive account of the text's reception.[97] According to their account, handwritten copies of the Schleitheim articles were in circulation within only a few weeks of the work's composition. The response of Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and later also Calvin, who saw the Confession as the fundamental statement of Anabaptism and countered it repeatedly in print, raised its status further. The history of the various editions of this work, which often included a letter by Michael Sattler or a report of his martyr's death,

95 John Yoder, "Der Kristallisationspunkt des Täufertums," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 24 (1972), 35–47; Arnold Snyder, "The Influence of the Schleitheim Articles on the Anabaptist Movement: An Historical Evaluation," MQR 63 (1989), 323–44, here at 323–25; even Stayer, in his well-known study of the use of the sword, emphasizes the great significance of the Schleitheim articles for the normative pacifism of the Anabaptists; James M. Stayer, "Noch einmal besichtigt. Anabaptists and the Sword. Von der Radikalität zum Quietismus," in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 47/48 (1990/1991), 24–37, here at 26; for the history of research on this issue: Gerald Biesecker-Mast, "Anabaptist Separation and Arguments Against the Sword in the Schleitheim Brotherly Union," in MQR 74 (2000), 381–402.

96 Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Zwischen Zwietracht und Eintracht: Zur Zweideutigkeit täuferischer und mennonitischer Bekennntnisse," *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 43 (1986/87), 16–46, here at 23–5.

97 *Bekenntnis*.

reveals the lasting significance of this early source for various forms of Anabaptism that took root in different locations.[98]

We do not know much of the specific circumstances that produced the Schleitheim Articles: neither the reason for the gathering, nor the names of those who participated, nor the processes involved in coming up with the final version of the text are clearly noted in the sources. Certainly one cause is likely to have been the increased repression by the civil authorities and with it the execution of Felix Manz in January 1527, which traumatized the movement. Konrad Grebel, who had also been an integrating presence, had died in autumn 1526. With these leading figures gone, there was significant danger that the movement would implode or at least become increasingly polarized on doctrinal issues.[99] The historical context for the meeting was also shaped by the defeat or appeasement of the peasants, which had implications for the Anabaptists' own sense of identity. Although little light can be shed on the details, the contribution of Michael Sattler is well established as an author of the articles, the chair of the gathering, and a dominant presence in the discussion.[100] The seven themes addressed (baptism, ban, Lord's Supper, separation, the office of pastor, civil authority, and oaths), from which vital topics such as justification and Christology are missing, are a sign of the specific circumstances from which the articles sprang and reflect contemporary challenges and debate. The greeting at the start (*Proömium*), which is modeled on the New Testament epistles, speaks of the faithful who are living in an unchristian time: in the face of persecution, they need comfort and strength from God. The address identifies the recipients of this letter as communities suffering eschatological tribulation.

In the accompanying letter on "fraternal union" (*brüderlichen Vereinigung*) and through the very use of the term "union" (*Vereinigung*), the intention behind the text is made apparent: the reunion, and in some cases first union,

98 *Bekenntnis*, 20–22. Here the authors note versions printed in Worms (1527/1529) and Strasbourg and consider the publication of the text during the 16th century in the Netherlands and through to the Amish movement. The publication history also provides evidence of the reception of the Articles by the south German Anabaptist movement and their use by Anabaptists during and after religious discussions.

99 John H. Yoder, *The Legacy of Michael Sattler* (Scottdale: Herald, 1973), 27.

100 Yoder, *Legacy*, 30; George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation,* 3rd ed. (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 1992), 288; Hans Stricker, "Michael Sattler als Verfasser der 'Schleitheimer Artikel,'" in *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* 21, n.s. 16 (1964), 15–8; *Bekenntnis*, 25–9. From December 1526 Sattler was in Strasbourg, and in a letter to Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito he took up the case of the imprisoned Anabaptists. His argumentation has multiple analogies with the Schleitheim Articles, which suggests his involvement in their composition. For the biography of Michael Sattler, see C. Arnold Snyder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler,* 3rd ed. (Scottdale: Herald Press, 2002).

of divided groups or single communities. One such result can already be reported, for the beginning of the text notes that those who have gathered in Schleitheim are united on doctrinal questions:

> Dear Brothers and Sisters, we who are assembled in the Lord at Schleitheim are making known through a series of articles to all who love God that, as far as we are concerned, we have agreed that we will abide in the Lord as obedient children of God, sons and daughters, and as those who are separated from the world—and who should be separated in all that they do and do not do. And may God be praised and glorified in unity, without any brother contradicting this, but rather be happy with it.[101]

In the accompanying letter the participants sharply distance themselves from the enthusiasm of Anabaptist groups in Appenzell, who were criticized in particular for their libertine lifestyle and their aberrant sexual practices, which had become public knowledge. The agreed text followed a format that was typical of confessions, based on statements of what was accepted and what rejected. The article on baptism has clear parallels with the understanding of baptism adopted by the Zurich Anabaptists (including the ethical interpretation of Romans 6, the constitutive sequence of faith and baptism, the citation of Matthew 28:19 and Mark 16:16, and infant baptism as an invention of the pope), using only tried and tested arguments for believer's baptism that had already been aired in the course of Anabaptist missionary activity.[102] Church discipline is allotted a high profile for it immediately follows the discussion of baptism, with the idea of mutual oversight by its members given noticeable weight in the discussion of the covenant community. As also in earlier sources, discussion of "the meal of unity" (*Mahl der Vereinbarung*) brings to the fore the commemorative and communal character of the Lord's Supper, although in the Schleitheim Articles particular emphasis is placed on the exclusive nature of the Eucharistic community. Only those who have made their membership in the Christian community evident through believer's baptism and at the same time rejected a worldly—understood as contrary to God—existence (1 Corinthians 10:21) are to participate in the Supper. But the most detailed of the confession's articles, and clearly of central significance, is the highly prominent fourth article, which addresses "separation" (*Absonderung*).[103]

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101 QGTS 2: 27–8, no. 26; *Bekenntnis*, 35; Engl: Baylor, *Radical Reformation,* 173.

102 *Bekenntnis*, 36. For interpretation of the article, see Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 552–68.

103 *Bekenntnis*, 37.

A genuine separatist tendency can be identified in the (proto-) Anabaptists' ecclesiological concept of the visible community of the faithful and in their later practice, but that character gained added potency under the pressure of magisterial persecution so extreme that even martyrdom was possible. While earlier practices and attitudes had certainly contained a latent assumption of the need for separation, an awareness of the apocalyptic division of the world now became central to the persecuted Anabaptists' understanding of community. Apocalyptic thinking and concepts run throughout both the introductory letter and the articles themselves. The "office of shepherd" in the fifth article is not presented as the counterpart to community but rather emerges as part of the fraternal community. The responsibilities of the pastor are related to the experiences of the reading circle: the "shepherd in the community" is to read, admonish, teach, and reprimand, and to lead in prayer and the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In keeping with their understanding of the church, the Anabaptists had thus adopted a radically new understanding of the relationship of pastor and congregation. The pastor (shepherd) was called by the community, who also paid him; he even was to be disciplined by the community if accusations made against him could be substantiated. He was to carry out the responsibilities of his office in close association with the community. The sixth article, which was the longest, tells of the relationship of the Anabaptists to secular authority. From within a dualistic apocalyptic understanding of the world, the article explains why Christians should not hold any secular office (for example, as a soldier, judge or lay judge, mayor, or member of a town council) that involved the use of coercion. In adopting this position the Anabaptists deliberately rejected social convention and separated themselves from the communities formed by village and town, which their contemporaries understood as institutions that protected their inhabitants, for whom they provided legal guarantees. And they refused to swear oaths on the basis of the Sermon on the Mount (see Matthew 5:33–37); this refusal was presented in the confession as binding for all Anabaptists. This appears to have been an innovation of the Schleitheim Articles, for we know of no earlier refusal to swear an oath on theological grounds by Anabaptists in Zurich or the surrounding area.[104] Edmund Pries has noted that with their separatism, pacifism, and refusal to swear an oath the Anabaptists created an unbridgeable gulf between themselves and contemporary society.[105]

104 Edmund Pries, "Oath Refusal in Zurich from 1525 to 1527. The Erratic Emergence of Anabaptist Practice," in *Anabaptism Revisited,* (ed.) Walter Klaassen (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1992), 85–97.

105 Pries, "Oath Refusal."

The Schleitheim Articles of 1527 are to be understood not as a comprehensive Anabaptist confession of faith but rather as a product of immediate concerns raised at a local Anabaptist synod and designed to provide consensus on debated doctrinal issues. In the themes the text addresses, it is far closer in character to a church ordinance than to a statement of faith. For the Anabaptists gathered in Schleitheim the concern was not so much doctrinal correctness (orthodoxy) as behavior that was in accordance with scripture (orthopraxis).

If we set to one side the refusal to swear an oath, there are many parallels between this text and earlier Anabaptist writings and testimony. Additionally, the text agreed upon and drawn up at Schleitheim employed forms of argumentation and biblical proof texts that had also been used by the Anabaptists of Zurich (teaching on baptism, the Lord's Supper, church discipline, office holding, pacifism). In the prominence given to separation and the characterization of the role of the pastor, however, the Schleitheim Articles presented a new theological emphasis that was very much a product of the situation and times in which they were drafted. Also a marked innovation is the dualistic understanding of all anthropology and ecclesiology. The Schleitheim Articles should not be taken, however, as the reorientation of a previously social revolutionary movement that had seen church and state as coterminous. Rather they represent a reworking of the theological foundations of Anabaptism within a specific context, with a marked emphasis on an apocalyptic dualism. The normative function of the articles and their role in generating an Anabaptist identity are evident in the authors' wish that failure to abide by the articles should be grounds for the exercise of the ban in individual communities and groupings.

In a letter published along with the Schleitheim Articles—the letter was addressed to the Anabaptist community in Horb and dated to March/April 1527—Michael Sattler raised again the apocalyptically rooted exhortation to separation.[106] His ecclesiology, which was explicitly separatist, was to be realized by the constitutive use of church discipline and distancing from "unbelievers:"

> Thus you will present yourself before God, your heavenly Father, as a pure, godly, and sincere church of Christ, which is purified by his blood and thereby made holy and blameless before God and humankind and freed from all false worship and abomination, in order that the Lord of Lords can dwell within you and that you will be a temple.[107]

In Sattler's letter, the image of the pure community is associated with instructions to remain firm and to be prepared to undergo martyrdom, a commitment

106 *Bekenntnis*, 48–56.

107 *Bekenntnis*, 74.

that Sattler believed could only be met by a minority. He makes an extensive appeal for the members of the persecuted community to love one another and remain loyal to the community. It is poignant that from the experience of imprisonment and torture, this Anabaptist theologian could leave as what was in effect his testament an exhortation to the community to remain united, to guard against false teaching, to live according to the gospel, and to retain their resolve. The letter ends with an apocalyptic view of the community of the saved:

> Flee from the shadows of this world. Rise up and stand and see at the Table of the Lord all those who have been sealed. Those who have turned away from the shadows of the world have received magnificent garb from the lord. Receive, Zion, your number, and surround those clothed in white who have fulfilled the law of God.[108]

10.11 The Emergence of Anabaptism in Other Regions

10.11.1 *Eastern Switzerland: St. Gallen and Appenzell*

Although much source material for Anabaptism in eastern Switzerland (St. Gallen, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, and the surrounding areas) has been edited and published, theological texts are lacking, including the small book on baptism by Hans Krüsi and the letters of the Anabaptist missionaries Johannes Brötli und Wilhelm Reublin.[109] Revisionist historians of this regional form of Swiss Anabaptism have identified here a model of Anabaptism that is diametrically opposed to the version found in Zurich, which tended towards separatism and pacifism.[110] Yet the origins of Anabaptism in St. Gallen had close ties, both personal and ideological, with Zurich.[111] As in Zurich, in St. Gallen a reading circle provided the launching pad for both the Reformation and the

108 *Bekenntnis*, 78.

109 QGTS 2; Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 471–545.

110 James M. Stayer, "Anfänge schweizerischen Täufertums im reformierten Kongregationalismus," in *Umstrittenes Täufertum. Neue Forschungen,* (ed.) Hans-Jürgen Goertz, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 19–49, here at 41; idem, *Anabaptists and the Sword,* 3rd ed. (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1979), 112; idem, "Anabaptists and Future Anabaptists in the Peasant's War," MQR 62 (1988), 99–139, here at 116; Martin Haas, "Der Weg der Täufer in die Absonderung. Zur Interdependenz von Theologie und sozialem Verhalten," in Goertz, *Umstrittenes Täufertum,* 50–78, here at 63–5.

111 Heinold Fast, "Die Sonderstellung der Täufer in St. Gallen und Appenzell," *Zwingliana* 11 (1960), 223–40, here at 225.

later development of Anabaptism.[112] The first disputes over baptism, in which Lorenz Hochrüthiner took a leading role, played out within reading circles that grew in number and were highly sympathetic to the Reformation, with the issue of baptism even dividing their membership.[113] The Anabaptist movement in St. Gallen was initiated by an acquaintance of Grebel who was in close contact by letter with the Anabaptist circle in Zurich. Eventually Grebel himself travelled to St. Gallen, and as a result of his involvement the Anabaptist movement there reached what Fast has termed its "highpoint."[114] Other prominent figures from the Anabaptist movement in Zurich (Manz, Blaurock) were also active in St. Gallen in 1525/26, with great success.[115]

One particularly important member of the Anabaptism movement in St. Gallen was Wolfgang Ulimann, formerly a member of a religious order and the son of a St. Gallen town councilor, who was one of the founding members of the reading circle.[116] Ulimann appears in the sources as a talented speaker and preacher who reached a growing audience with his reformation message and played a decisive role in its reception by the town population. He was introduced to the teachings of the Anabaptists by Lorenz Hochrüthiner.[117] According to Keßler's chronicle, after receiving instruction from Grebel, Ulimann was immediately baptized in the river Rhine according to the practice recorded in the New Testament.[118] After his baptism by Grebel, which Ulimann described publicly as a particularly significant experience for his faith and calling, the reformation movement in St. Gallen went in two directions. Anabaptist activities, including the celebration of the Lord's Supper and baptisms, now took place in private houses or outdoors, on the grounds that the participants wished to avoid the images that were still displayed within the churches themselves.[119] Within the reformatory camp, this relocation was subsequently taken as a deliberate

112 Fridolin Silcher, "Aus seiner Chronik," QGTS 2: 585–587; Johannes Keßler, "Auszüge aus den Sabbata," QGTS 2: 590–604; see Chapter 6 above.

113 QGTS 2: 602–3.

114 Fast, "Sonderstellung," 226. On the disputed dating of his stay in St. Gallen, see QGTS 2: 373, n. 3, no. 438, where Fast portrays the extensive debate.

115 See, for example, QGTS 2: 423–26.

116 Fast, "Sonderstellung," 229; Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*, 110; idem, "Anfänge schweizerischen Täufertums," 44–5; QGTS 2: 596.

117 QGTS 2: 604; Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 194–6.

118 QGTS 2: 604. The New Testament analogy for this baptismal practice by traveling missionaries is drawn from Acts 8:26–39.

119 Kessler's report is to be used with some caution as he draws on Zwingli's baptism book for the interpretation of the Anabaptist movement.

act of separation initiated by Ulimann.[120] Others who followed Ulimann included Beda Miles, who was involved earlier in provocative acts in St. Gallen in the cause of the Reformation and who was the middleman between Grebel and Vadian, and Gabriel Giger, who had also been baptized by Grebel in Zurich and was present during the early stages of the Anabaptism movement in Zollikon.[121]

Sometime in March or April 1525 the circle around Ulimann became an independent Anabaptist community on the model of those in Zurich and Zollikon. In a later justification, Ulimann accounted for the introduction of believer's baptism with evidence and arguments drawn from scripture (the constitutive sequence of faith and baptism drawn from Matthew 28:19, infant baptism as an invention of the papacy, the ethical implications of baptism according to Romans 6), which had marked parallels with the Müntzer letter, the *Protestation*, and Grebel's position.[122] Keßler's chronicle recounts that on 4 April 1525, which was Palm Sunday, Grebel finally came in person to St. Gallen and on this occasion baptized all those who were opposed to infant baptism.[123]

Ulimann's open conflict with the local parish priest of Teufen in June 1525 is a telling indication that, on one hand, he no longer believed the authorities were empowered to carry out reform of the church and, on the other hand, he had the support of sympathizers who were ready to use force.[124] Subsequently Ulimann would prove particularly obstinate, refusing to abandon his commitment to the Anabaptism movement or end his missionary activity despite being banished repeatedly, detained, and sentenced to weeks-long imprisonment.[125] His martyr's death, while living in exile in Moravia, brought to an end his final efforts to rescue Anabaptists in his native land.[126] During its first months in St. Gallen and Appenzell, Anabaptism found broad support and many joined the movement. Accounts of hundreds of baptisms could be

120 QGTS 2: 605.

121 QGTS 1: 49, 73, 75, nos. 41, 64, 66. Further members of the Anabaptist movement were Sebastian Rugglisberger, former prior of the monastery of Sion in Aargau; Jakob Schnider, a former priest; Hans Krüsi, a teacher; Niklaus Guldin, who like Giger was a weaver; and furriers Antoni Roggenacher and Eberli Bolt.

122 QGTS 2: 379, no. 444; QGTS 1: 18, no. 14.

123 QGTS 2: 605. The date of Grebel's stay is disputed. The interrogation records suggest strongly that baptism was already an issue before Grebel's visit, as Ulimann had already been baptizing on his own account.

124 QGTS 2: 395, no. 465. The text does not make clear whether Uliman had ousted Schurtanner from his position as pastor. A single scandalous act would seem to me more likely. See ibid., 396, n. 10.

125 QGTS 2: 400, 401, 405, 406, nos. 469, 473, 478, 481.

126 QGTS 2: 636.

sent to Zollikon, which had symbolic status as the home of the first Anabaptist community.[127] The reporting of these events to Zollikon underlines the close relationship between these two centers of the early Anabaptist movement.

Christian Scheidegger recently identified what he believes to be the oldest instructional letter of Swiss Anabaptistism, written in late autumn 1526 and sent to the Anabaptist community in St. Gallen. He has also identified Ulimann himself as the author.[128] The introductory and concluding greetings and numerous similarities with passages in the New Testament suggest that the letter was modelled on the apostolic epistles. The letter addresses issues that were of concern to the Anabaptist church in St. Gallen. The relationship of its author to that church has many parallels with the Apostle Paul's understanding of his role, in which he sent instructions to the newly founded churches during his absence and sought to encourage them to live out their faith. At the start of the letter, the members of the church are reminded of the beginnings of the baptismal movement, characterized both by the acknowledgement of sins and a confession of faith that preceded baptism and by the obligation of that baptism to lead a life in accordance with the gospel.[129]

This understanding of baptism is fully in accord with that of earlier Zurich Anabaptism and also with the ecclesiastical concept of the visible church of the faithful, who are to prove themselves the successors of Christ through a life of ethical obedience: "so that it presents a glorious church that does not have a stain or wrinkle or anything, but that is holy and blameless, Ephesians 5 [:27]." One of the central themes of the text concerns the life that is a consequence of baptism, presented as an external baptism through water and an internal baptism by the "internal baptizer" Jesus Christ. The use of a large number of biblical proof texts and references is indicative of a Bible-reading movement that had radicalized the reformation concept of *sola scriptura*. Though an extensive and at times redundant listing of evidence drawn from the New Testament, the church was to be shown how important it was to adopt a lifestyle pleasing to God, a compliance that was given extra weight by the decidedly apocalyptic understanding of the present. As the use of Anabaptist concordances demonstrates,[130] the compilation of passages drawn from scripture

127 QGTS 2: 75, no. 66. Letter of Gabriel Gigers dated 25 May 1525 to the brothers in Zollikon.

128 Christian Scheidegger, "Ein unbekannter Brief eines Täuferlehrers (1526) und ein neuer Blick auf die frühe Täuferbewegung in der Schweiz," Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 273–296. The article contains the text of the letter in full.

129 Scheidegger, "Ein unbekannter Brief," 292.

130 Joe Springer, "General Introduction," in *Biblical Concordance of the Swiss Brethren, 1540*, (ed.) C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press, 2001), VII–XXII. The introduction

could prove a very effective resource for churches that were forced to defend their position on faith and baptism, although this possibility is not made specific in the letter.

The text is an important source for understanding both the theology of the early Anabaptist movement and the identity adopted by the Anabaptists. We can identify principal themes in the focus on a rigorous moral lifestyle and its impact on Anabaptist ecclesiology. Particular prominence is also given to the work of the Spirit in the life of the church and in relation to baptism and the life of faith that was to follow.

Hans Krüsi, a teacher, also did much to shape the character of the Anabaptist movement in St. Gallen. Krüsi emerged from his participation in the reading circle and his subsequent meeting with Grebel, which culminated in his baptism, as an Anabaptist missionary.[131] He was first active in the community of Wil and then became a preacher and reader in St. Gallen.[132] He described his missionary activities in his confession, recording that he had worked together with Ulimann and Sebastian Rugglisberger, with the men instructing each other and winning over many new converts as adherents of the movement.[133]

Adding to Grebel's biblical concordance for faith and baptism, Krüsi composed his own book on baptism, a text that provided many Anabaptists with argumentation they could use both in missionary work and when forced to defend their position.[134] The first part, which gives an extensive account of how faith can be acquired and of its existential aspects, can best be described as providing instruction in the reformation understanding of faith and provided a vital tool for evangelism and catechizing. The second part, a compilation of passages from scripture related to baptism, contains texts that had almost all already appeared in the earlier discussions of baptism. The baptismal book ends with the much-cited proof text for the legitimacy of "rebaptism" found in Acts 19:1–5, which also appears in other concordances and played a decisive role in the introduction of believer's baptism in January 1525. The collection appears to have been used first as a source on which to draw when defending Anabaptist teachings and then as a form of missionary catechism for the

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provides an overview of the most important Anabaptist concordances and their significance for the movement, which was largely established by lay people.

131 For biography, Heinold Fast, "Hans Krüsis Büchlein über Glauben und Taufe," *Zwingliana* 11 (1962), 456–75; QGTS 2: 265, no. 354.

132 Fast, "Hans Krüsis Büchlein," 459; QGTS 2: 263, no. 354.

133 QGTS 2: 265. The deliberate analogies with early Christian mission should be noted.

134 For a comprehensive commentary on the baptism book, see Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli,* 485–509.

different Anabaptists. Later similarly structured concordances are known to have been employed for apologetic purposes. It certainly seems possible that this small work on baptism was based on a collection by Grebel that Krüsi now extensively revised and expanded as a result of the discussions of baptism, the introduction of believer's baptism, and the first legal steps against the early Anabaptist movement.

Recent interest in Krüsi has been stimulated in particular by the scandal caused by his preaching and his "election" as pastor in Tablat in June 1525.[135] Krüsi was also active as a preacher, missionary, and reader in St. Georgen, near Tablat, where there had been social unrest and rioting that challenged the authority of the abbot. A public sermon given by Krüsi led to a confrontation between the abbot's military forces and the peasants and citizens who had gathered. According to Keßler's account, on 6 June 1525 Krüsi was as a result accepted (elected) by "the whole community" (*ainer gantzen gemaind*) of Tablat to baptize, read, and celebrate the Lord's Supper.[136] Yet Keßler does not write of Krüsi's being "elected as pastor": the description of Krüsi's role is in accord with that designation, but Keßler avoided using the name of the office. Even when Keßler's report is weighed against the records of Krüsi's interrogation, it remains unsure whether these events should be understood as the orderly election of a pastor by the political commune or whether a heterogeneous gathering that comprised individuals from various village communities and St. Gallen had elected Krüsi as their spiritual leader.

The arrest of Krüsi and his transfer to Lucerne were accompanied by guarantees of support from his armed sympathizers.[137] The fact that Krüsi's Anabaptist or reform-minded followers were prepared to use force should not be read as an indication of the presence of aberrant theological views within the Anabaptist social ethic that can be traced back to Krüsi himself.[138] We might well suspect, however, that Krüsi used the peasants' discontent for his own protection. His teachings on authority and their reception by the peasants were particularly prominent at his trial.[139] When we compare the accusations made in the course of preliminary investigations with his confession, however, we

135 QGTS 2: 251–3, no. 349; Stayer, "Anfänge schweizerischen Täufertums," 45; Haas, "Der Weg der Täufer in die Absonderung," 51–2.

136 See also QGTS 2: 252, no. 349.

137 QGTS 2: 256–257, nos. 351–52.

138 In his response to criticism of his study of the use of the sword, Stayer accepted that he had too readily assumed the opinion that appears in the writings of the reformers to be one with the diffuse attitudes of a number of groupings. See Stayer, "Noch einmal besichtigt," 25.

139 Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, 527–35.

may well suspect that the accusation that he had rejected magisterial authority, with the implication that obedience to magisterial authority was no longer required, was related not to political principles about the nature of society but rather to reform of the sacraments and the autonomy of the community in matters relating to faith. The ethical understanding of baptism (Romans 6), which since the Müntzer letter had been a particularly characteristic motif of Anabaptist teaching on baptism, was also very prominent in Krüsi's interrogation. On 27 July 1525 Krüsi was burnt at the stake in Lucerne as a heretic.[140]

And finally, one more dominant presence in the Anabaptism movement in St. Gallen was Eberli Bolt, a peasant (or boatman) from Lachen in the March district of Schwyz, who proved to be a charismatic, talented, and popular preacher in St. Gallen, where, after his baptism in spring 1525, he was active as an Anabaptist missionary.[141] Anabaptists had insisted that preaching should no longer take place in the traditional church space, and Bolt preached outside the town, on the Churzenberg, as it is known today, where a large audience—according to Keßler, "almost the whole town"—gathered.[142] During Easter, his preaching produced something close to an Anabaptist mass movement in St. Gallen and was reported to the community in Zollikon as a particular mission success.[143] In Bolt, who had a good knowledge of scripture and a popular touch and who proved to be an inspirational preacher, we have a clue to the rapid spread of the Anabaptist movement in St. Gallen and Appenzell, and also to its reception among both the peasant and urban populations. Bolt was burnt at the stake as a heretic in Schwyz on 29 May 1525 and can therefore be termed the first Anabaptist martyr.[144]

10.11.2 *Basel*

As in St. Gallen, so also in Basel the emergence of the Anabaptist movement was closely associated with the activities of Lorenz Hochrüthiner, a weaver who became a citizen of Basel in June 1524.[145] In late autumn that year, Felix Manz and Gerhard Westerburg stayed with Hochrüthiner while they were in the city planning the publication of a number of works by Karlstadt. Jecker

140 QGTS 2: 583.

141 Fast, "Sonderstellung," 228–30; QGTS 2: 377, n. 1, no. 443.

142 QGTS 2: 606. According to Keßler, during Easter Bolt also preached in the town every day in the so-called "Metzge," a guildhall with space for an audience of more than one thousand.

143 QGTS 1: 162, 165–7, nos. 66, 75; for the broader context see Chap. 4 above.

144 QGTS 2: 607, n. 4, no. 443.

145 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 40–42.

has demonstrated further interconnections, through humanist educational networks and circles of friendship, among men such as Conrad Grebel, Simon Stumpf, Balthasar Hubmaier, Michael Sattler, Wilhelm Reublin, and Johannes Brötli, at a time when Basel was a bastion of humanism.[146] In this city, too, a reading circle was the point of origin for the first Anabaptist community, which makes its first appearance in the sources in August 1525—it would surely have been in existence for some time by then—meeting at the house of Michel Schürer, a weaver.[147] The first artisan Anabaptists in Basel had all moved to the city from elsewhere, and only some of them had acquired citizenship.[148] Hans Denck, a prominent theologian among south German Anabaptists, was in Basel in the summer of 1525 for a short time. Although we know he made contact with the Anabaptists, including Hochrüthiner, Nikolas Guldin, and Martin Bomgartner,[149] the nature of his influence on the emergent Anabaptist community cannot be established.

Johannes Oecolampadius, the principal reformer of Basel, recounted in a treatise that in August 1525 he was visited by a group of Anabaptists who asked why he and other preachers taught against them publicly and accused them of being sectarian.[150] Oecolampadius claimed that up until that point he had been unaware that there *were* Anabaptists in Basel; in his sermons he had simply been adding his voice to the criticism of Anabaptism by other reformers. His account of his conversation with the Anabaptists is a revealing record from the era of early Anabaptism that, surprisingly, has been overlooked in more recent accounts of the beginnings of the Swiss Anabaptist movement and even for developments in Basel as a whole.[151]

At the outset of their discussion, Oecolampadius accused the Anabaptists of having separated themselves from the Christian church. The Anabaptists responded that they recognized only the authority of scripture and the model of the apostles and would no longer be bound by traditions of the church.[152]

146 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 21.

147 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 36.

148 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 41. Jecker identifies four men and five women as members of this first circle.

149 QGTS 2: 402ff, no. 476.

150 Johannes Oecolampadius, *Ein gesprech etlicher predicanten zu Basel gehalten mitt etlichen bekennern des widertouffs* (Basel: 1525), (publication of ULB Sachsen-Anhalt: urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-252766). For interpretation of this treatise, Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 43–7.

151 Snyder, "Birth;" idem, "Swiss Anabaptism;" Stayer, "Swiss-South German Anabaptism," 83–118.

152 Oecolampadius, *gesprech,* 7.

Thereupon Oecolampadius presents in his text a short account of the church fathers Augustine, Origen, and Cyprian, all of whom accepted infant baptism as a legitimate practice. He could not understand, he wrote, why on account of their beliefs the Anabaptists wanted to separate themselves from the majority of Christians who, since that time, had been baptized as children. The Anabaptists pointed out that together with the other reformers and with reference to scripture, Oecolampadius had himself been highly critical of the practices of the old faith. Oecolampadius sought to separate out the issue of infant baptism, which was not forbidden in scripture (hermeneutical principle) and whose continuation was not contrary to faith and love.[153] Rituals associated with baptism, such as exorcism and anointing with oil, which had been criticized by the Anabaptists, he deemed adiaphora, in which plurality of practice was completely possible. Oecolampadius also sought to show that infant baptism was scriptural by recalling that the Acts of the Apostles recount that whole households were baptized. Oecolampadius countered the Anabaptists' niggling—or biblicistic—concern that no single child is specified by name in this passage by pointing out that neither was any woman.

To explain their teaching on baptism, the Anabaptists primarily used references drawn from the Acts of the Apostles, which provided evidence that the constitutive order in the early church had been proclamation of faith, followed by receipt of faith, followed by baptism.[154] Children could not understand the sermon and therefore could not grasp all the dimensions of what it was to believe. Their interlocutor responded by pointing to the promise of participation in the kingdom of God that in the gospels was specifically directed at children.[155] The Anabaptists then brought into the debate Mark 16:16, which was one of the central proof texts for the irreversible ordering of faith and baptism.[156] Oecolampadius's response to the citation of this passage, which he acknowledged to be the foundation text for the Anabaptist position, was to provide extensive evidence that children had been part of the people of the first covenant and by analogy were also part of the Christian community. As the discussion continued, the Anabaptists established clearly "now we bind ourselves in baptism and believe we will no longer sin."[157] Just like the Anabaptist circle in Zurich, the Anabaptists in Basel also saw the ban as a means

153 Oecolampadius, *gesprech,* 9.

154 Acts 8:26–40; Acts 10.

155 Mark 10:13–16 (par.).

156 Oecolampadius, *gesprech,* 11.

157 Oecolampadius, *gesprech,* 15: "Nun verbinden wir uns do jm touff und globen nit mer zesünden."

of securing the purity of the community, declaring that "they had the power to discipline one another and would otherwise not know who was a brother and who was not."[158] Oecolampadius concluded from this statement that the Anabaptists believed that they alone were Christians. The Anabaptists then again insisted that they were not practicing "rebaptism" but rather a "first" baptism, for infant baptism was not a real baptism.

Oecolampadius's treatise makes evident that as early as summer 1525 the Anabaptists already had a distinct theological position on baptism and on the associated concept of the church and that they could cite scripture in support of their position. Believer's baptism and the related concept of a binding fellowship that exerted self-discipline by means of the ban are clearly identifiable as fundamental positions.

Until summer 1526 Anabaptism was able to maintain its presence in Basel with relatively few challenges, for after the first banishments of Anabaptists, the attention of the council was turned entirely to the peasant unrest and to the public conflict between the reform party and those who remained Catholic. A decisive contribution to the further development of Anabaptism in Basel was made by Hans Pfistermeister from Aarau, who had been baptized in Zollikon in summer 1525, and from around spring 1526 was active in Basel and the surrounding areas.[159] In summer 1526, Felix Manz, a leading member of the Zurich community of Anabaptists, was also present in Basel. The banishment and imprisonment of these Anabaptist missionaries and the first general sanctions issued by the council are an indication that Anabaptist circles continued to thrive and sought to bring in new members. Jecker's work on the early phase of Anabaptism in Basel has led him to conclude that its leading protagonists had already endowed it with a distinct separatist character even before the gathering at Schleitheim.[160]

Interrogation records tell us that immediately after the conclusion of the meeting at Schleitheim, the articles drawn up there had found their way to Basel, where they were well received; the Basel Anabaptists were also actively involved in their distribution in other regions.[161] The interrogation records of the Basel Anabaptists arrested in May 1527 who had been in close contact with the movement in Zurich (they included Wolfgang Ulimann, Hans Altenbach, Karl Bennwald, and Hans Pfistermeyer) makes evident that the theological

158 Oecolampadius, *gesprech,* 15: "Sy hetten macht einander zustraffen und wißten sunst nit wölche brieder weren oder nit."

159 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 52.

160 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 69.

161 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 74.

direction adopted at Schleitheim, particularly in relation to separation and the swearing of oaths, was largely accepted in Basel Anabaptist circles.[162] Brennwald's public defense given at the Basel city hall on 25 June 1527 provides clear evidence that he endorsed the Schleitheim articles, which he cited at points word for word.[163] The leading Anabaptist preachers appear then to have been banished, although we have no direct evidence of this event. On 6 July 1527 the first mandate against the Anabaptists came into force.

10.11.3 *Bern*

Anabaptism in Bern has a complex prehistory that is closely tied to the spread of the Anabaptist movement from Zurich but also integrates influences from the Anabaptist reformation in Waldshut.[164] The first contact with Anabaptism appears to have come though Hans Pfistermeier from Aarau, who was baptized in Zollikon in 1525 and subsequently was active as a missionary in Basel.[165] Aarau's early reception of the Reformation can be attributed to the town's parish priests (*Leutpriester*), who were in contact with Zwingli and Hubmaier.[166]

Other individuals from Aarau were also involved in events associated with the early Anabaptist movement in the area around Zurich, although the sources do not record their names.[167] In Aarau too, support for Anabaptist ideas emerged within a reading circle, which the sources tell us was meeting under Pfistermeyer's leadership in Aarau as early as June 1524.[168] Pfistermeyer was to be allowed to continue holding the gathering in his home, but he was to permit no public readings, "on the streets," to take place. We know from a resolution issued on 18 May 1524 by the council in Bern that such "free gatherings"

162 Yoder, *Täufertum und Reformation in der Schweiz*, 110–1; idem, *Täufertum und Reformation im Gespräch. Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung der frühen Gespräche zwischen den schweizerischen Täufern und den Reformatoren* (Zurich: EVZ Verlag, 1968), 190–1. Both of these works are included in the English translation, *Anabaptism and Reformation in Switzerland: an Historical and Theological Analysis of the Dialogues between Anabaptists and Reformers* (Kitchener, Ont.: Pandora Press, 2004).

163 Jecker, "Das Basler Täufertum," 83, 85; Scheidegger, "Ein unbekannter Brief," 289.

164 Martin Haas, "Die Berner Täufer in ihrem schweizerischen Umfeld I: Gesellschaft und Herrschaft," in *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich. Berner Täufer in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* (eds.) Rudolf Dellsperger and Hans Rudolf Lavater (Bern: Simowa, 2007), 1–28.

165 Martin Haas, "Profile des frühen Täufertums im Raume Bern, Solothurn, Aargau," *Zwingliana* 36 (2009), 5–33, here at 7. On the baptism of Pfistermeier, see QGTS 1: 106, no. 104.

166 Hans Rudolf Lavater, "Die Berner Täufer in ihrem schweizerischen Umfeld II: Theologie und Bekenntnis," in Dellsperger and Lavater, (eds.), *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich*, 57.

167 QGTS 1: 128–9, no. 126.

168 QGTS 3: 2.

had been taking place, at which the primary activity had been the public reading of works related to the reformation.[169]

The character of such reading circles and private meetings is evident from an appeal to the council in Bern made by Rudolf Senger, town secretary of Aarau, whose wife and son were members of the Anabaptist movement. Senger sought to disprove that his family had been actively involved in forbidden gatherings at which the Lord's Supper was celebrated. He assured the council that the gathering of which his son had been part had been simply an innocuous get-together of neighbors and not a meeting at which there had been either singing or reading.[170] And to exonerate his son, Senger reminded the council that reading was permitted:

> […] and also my son, who has not attended school, that he has been reading in his house—that is allowed all of us, that a citizen may read the New and Old Testaments and the Bible and that a person with his brethren can improve himself.[171]

Senger thus put particular emphasis on the moral worthiness of such Bible-reading circles.

During Pfistermeier's absence, from summer 1525 to spring 1527, Niklaus Guldin from St. Gallen took over the leadership of the reading circle, which eventually became an Anabaptist congregation.[172] A decisive role was played by Jakob Groß, a known Anabaptist who had fled Waldshut after the suppression of the Anabaptist-related reformation there. On 6 January 1526 Groß was present at a celebration of the Lord's Supper at a reading circle that was uncovered by the authorities.[173] Reporting on his early involvement in Aarau, Groß acknowledged that he had taught the Word of God to Senger's wife at her request when she was very ill and then celebrated the Lord's Supper with her. Although the record does not state that the invalid was baptized, in light of the theological ordering of believer's baptism and reception of the Lord's Supper, it seems likely that this was the case. We have no evidence of specific links between the Anabaptist movements in Aarau and Bern,[174] although in

169 Lavater, "Die Berner Täufer," 58.

170 QGTS 3: 17, no. 30.

171 QGTS 3: 19.

172 Lavater, "Die Berner Täufer," 60.

173 Lavater, "Die Berner Täufer," 62.

174 Haas, "Die Berner Täufer," 4.

November 1525 Berchtold Haller sent to Vadian in St. Gallen a brief account of the beginnings of Anabaptist circles in Bern.[175]

Only on 25 April 1527 did the Anabaptist community in Bern make its first appearance in a letter sent by Berchtold Haller to Zwingli.[176] Research has repeatedly uncovered the strong influence of the Basel Anabaptist movement, and even Berchtold Haller, the contemporary reformer of Bern, traced their origins back to Anabaptists from Basel.[177] The first Anabaptist martyrs in Bern, executed in 1529, came from Basel.[178] In April 1527, in the course of a search of a house associated with the Anabaptist community, both a copy of the Schleitheim Articles and "the ordinances of an Anabaptist community" were uncovered; Haller immediately sent the former to Zwingli.[179] These two works are among the very few intentional witnesses to the early Anabaptist movement in Bern.

The ordinance begins with a preamble that emphasizes the apocalyptic reckoning of this "most dangerous time" and with it the proper proclamation of the Word of God from which comes the call through Christ to fellowship.[180] Unity and love within the brotherly and sisterly community emerge as motifs in the ordinance that follows. The first article states that brothers and sisters are to come together three or four times each week, to become practiced "in the teachings of Christ and his apostles and to exhort each other in the Lord to remain constant in what they have promised."[181] In this statement we can recognize the central values of an intensive communal life to which the members had publicly (by baptism) committed themselves. The early Christian community described in Acts 2 is easily recognized as a model. The second article lays down the form each gathering was to take, mirroring accurately the reading circles, but with analogies also to 1 Corinthians and specifically to the instructions for worship found in Chapters 12–14 of that epistle. The passages read out were to be interpreted by knowledgeable participants, while all others were to listen and remain silent. The egalitarian tendencies of the gathering were made explicit in the references to "sisters and brothers" throughout the text.

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175 QGTS 3: 136, no. 317.

176 QGTS 3: 144, no. 330; see also Chap. 3 above.

177 Haas, "Die Berner Täufer," 4.

178 QGTS 3: 202–8, no. 394–9. Hans Hansmann and Hans Treyer were from Basel; Heini Seiler was from Aarau.

179 Lavater, "Die Berner Täufer," 34; QGTS 3: 487–8, no. 1049.

180 QGTS 3: 487, no. 1049.

181 QGTS 3: 487: "in der ler Christi und siner apostel und einander hertzlich ermanen am herren, wie sy gelobt hand bestendig zu beliben."

In a further article the exemplary conduct of the members of the community was prescribed, in part as an essential element of their fellowship, but with one eye also on the impact on the broader public (the "heathen").[182] Church discipline is central to the fourth article, based on the interpretation of Matthew 18:15–20, as we have seen also in the case of the Müntzer letter. The fifth article addresses the holding of property in common, which was to be introduced in keeping with the early Christian ideal found in Acts 2:44–49. From the brief discussion we can see, however, that communal ownership was primarily understood in light of the provision of support for the needy within the community. The drawing of models from the age of the apostles is a leitmotiv of all the articles. The next section calls for restraint in eating and drinking and condemns all material wastefulness. The seventh article presents the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in which the commemorative and communal nature of the sacramental act are given particular prominence. Recalling the act of salvation in the present will help prepare the individual to imitate Christ and to give her or his own life for the brothers and sisters in the community.

This church ordinance paints a picture of a very close community of sisters and brothers that is strongly modelled on the early Christian community, proves itself through ethical obedience, and is characterized by a solidarity evinced in a duty of mutual responsibility that extends even to laying down one's life for the community.

The relevant literature provides an account of the Anabaptist movement in Upper Aargau, which appears in the sources for the first time in October 1529 and which was also much influenced by evangelism from Basel.[183] An Anabaptist disputation was held in Zofingen in 1532, which suggests that the Anabaptist movement already had a substantial presence in the Bernese Lower Aargau and in neighboring lands by that date; the disputation seems to have done little to dent its growth. Persecuted Anabaptists, both women and men, sought asylum in the border regions, which were less closely overseen by the authorities.[184] Clandestine gatherings saw up to two hundred Anabaptists come together, which was interpreted by the regional authorities as a significant potential threat. The sources make clear that these Anabaptist gatherings continued in the Upper Aargau until the late 1530s.

182 QGTS 3: 488.

183 Hans Rudolf Lavater, "… nienen böser, dann zu Rockwyl … Die Anfänge des Täufertums im Oberaargau 1527–1542," *Jahrbuch des Oberaargaus* 50 (2007), 145–83.

184 Lavater, "Anfänge," 152.

10.12 The Further Development of Anabaptism

In accordance with the mandates of January 1525, systematic persecution of the Anabaptist movement was introduced, climaxing in a mandate published on 7 March 1526 in which the practice of believer's baptism was made punishable by death.[185] This resolution was supplemented by a further mandate of 19 November 1526, which declared that the death penalty could also be applied for Anabaptist preaching and participation in Anabaptist gatherings.[186] The first executions, of Eberli Bolt and Hans Krüsi, had already taken place in 1525.[187]

On 5 January 1527 Felix Manz was drowned in the river Limmat in Zurich. Manz was the first Anabaptist martyr to be condemned to death by a reformed government.[188] In August of that year Zurich approached Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, Chur, St. Gallen, and Appenzell to agree on the details of a gathering, to be held from 12 to 14 August, to coordinate their actions against Anabaptism.[189]

FIGURE 10.2 *The drowning of Felix Manz in the Limmat River, from Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

185 QGTS 1: 180–1, no. 172.
186 QGTS 1: 210–1, no. 192.
187 For Eberli Bolt, QGTS 2: 607, n. 4, no. 443; for Hans Krüsi, QGTS 2: 583.
188 QGTS 1: 224–6, no. 204.
189 QGTS 1: 254, no. 226; Haas, "Die Berner Täufer," 20.

Their mandate summarized the repressive policies against the Anabaptists that had been launched to date, with accusations of sectarianism and separation at the forefront.[190] Further accusations concerned gatherings in private home and preaching without permission, along with failing to participate in the traditional practices of the church. The mandate made broader reference to libertine and enthusiastic nonconformity, condemned religious practices (including supposed branding) and denounced Anabaptist attitudes toward the possession of weapons, the tithe and the charging of interest, and communal ownership.[191] The refusal to swear oaths and the idea that no Christian could hold a position of authority were seen as further indications of the threat posed by the movement, "all to the dishonor and belittlement of Christian and regular authority, brotherly love, and the common peace."[192] In the substantial morals mandate of 26 March 1530, the council specifically affirmed that criminal procedures could be used against Anabaptists, whose harmful impact was summarized as "the breakdown of all authority and good regiment."[193] A whole series of mandates followed, intended to ensure a common front against the Anabaptists. Even in 1585 the prime concern remained not Anabaptist teachings, but rather the potential for insurrection they appeared to contain.[194]

The development of Anabaptism and its later presence in Switzerland has all too often proved something of an afterthought for historians.[195] The persecution mandated by the magistracy meant that the movement was marginalized even at an early date,[196] and its survival after 1530 depended on its ability to form what was in effect an underground church or network of church-like communities.[197]

The border areas of the various political units became favored locations where Anabaptists, both male and female, established relatively secure bases

190 QGTS 2: 2, no. 1.

191 QGTS 2: 3–4.

192 QGTS 2: 4: "alles zu schmach und verdruckung christenlicher und ordenlicher oberkait, bruderlicher lieb und gemains fridens."

193 QGTS 1: 339, no. 312.

194 Christian Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat zur Zeit Heinrich Bullingers," in Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 67–116, here at 111.

195 Hanspeter Jecker, "Das Schweizerische Täufertum. Forschungsstand und Forschungsaufgaben," in *Schweizer Kirchengeschichte neu reflektiert. Festschrift für Rudolf Dellsperger zum 65. Geburtstag* , (eds.) Ulrich Gäbler, Martin Sallmann, and Hans Schneider (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 193–210, here at 203.

196 Urs B. Leu, "Huldrych Zwingli und die Täufer," in Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*, 15–66, here at 48–53.

197 Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat," 67–85.

FIGURE 10.3 *A secret meeting of Anabaptists held near Zurich on 5 September 1574, stormed by the police, from the Wickiana Collection*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

in which they could survive and at the same time maintain their convictions or hold Anabaptist gatherings.[198] Many Swiss Anabaptists fled to areas where religious non-conformists found a degree of tolerance or at least were safe from persecution, in particular in Bohemia and Moravia. Yet Anabaptism survived in the Swiss Confederation—largely in the distinct confessional form of the "Swiss Brethren"—with the authorities responding with continued persecution, but also with periodic disputations.[199]

Disputations or religious colloquies were a tried and true means of disciplining and publically discrediting Anabaptism, which survived in various regions despite such substantial persecution.[200] Among the various disputations,

198 Leu, "Huldrych Zwingli und die Täufer," 65–6.

199 Jecker, "Das Schweizerische Täufertum," 198; in their study of Zurich Anabaptism, Urs B. Leu and Christian Scheidegger describe developments up to the beginning of the 18th century, entering previously unexplored territory.

200 Martin Haas, "Einleitung," in QGTS 3: IX-XII; Yoder, *Täufertum und Reformation in der Schweiz*, idem, *Täufertum und Reformation im Gespräch*; Hanspeter Jecker, "'Biss das

historians consider those held in and around Bern in 1531, 1532, and 1538 to have had the most substantial content and most fundamental theological debate.[201] In terms of the theological loci discussed, the oath, relationship to secular authority, the Anabaptists' sense of self and of their mission, the concept of office, ecclesiology, and baptism were the central themes. In a comparison with the early period of the movement, the records of the Bernese Anabaptist disputations, which have been published in part, reveal numerous parallels with the theological positions adopted by Anabaptism in Zurich. At the Disputation of Zofingen, for example, the Anabaptists insisted that they had established the true church according to the model of the early Christian apostles, with "separation" emphasized as a mark of the church.[202] The characteristic sign of this Anabaptist church was the visible gathering of the faithful, who had undertaken to lead a repentant life of obedience and had received entry into the community through the witness of baptism. Church discipline was used, explained the Anabaptists, to maintain the purity of the community.[203] They believed that the traditional church had disavowed itself by its involvement with secular government. Most decisive for the Anabaptists at the disputation was the identification of their church with the ideals of the age of the apostles.[204] In numerous ways, including the biblical proof texts cited, the records of the various contributions made to the disputation paint a picture of a morally obedient community that had deliberately separated itself from the world. In their doctrinal formulation of baptism the Anabaptist disputants used now-typical argumentation (Matthew 28:19; Mark 16:16), and in light of Romans 6, the locus classicus of Anabaptist baptismal teaching, they insisted on the ethical consequences of baptism:

> I confess that such work of baptism is nothing other than that those who have been baptized or let themselves be baptized are renewed in Christ in the churches of the fellowship of the children of God, henceforth no longer to live in sin, but rather to give themselves over

gantze Land von disem unkraut bereinigt sein wird'—Repression und Verfolgung des Täufertums in Bern. Ein kurzer Überblick zu einigen Fakten und Hintergründen," in Dellsperger and Lavater, *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich*, 97–132; Philipp Wälchli et al., (eds.), *Täufer und Reformierte im Disput. Texte des 17. Jahrhunderts über Verfolgung und Toleranz aus Zürich und Amsterdam* (Zug: Achius, 2010).

201 Haas, "Einleitung," IX–X, XVIII.

202 QGTS 3: 94.

203 QGTS 3: 98.

204 QGTS 3: 99.

> to obedience to God, henceforth to live for God in a new life and no longer in unrighteousness.[205]

The consistency of the arguments put forward by the Anabaptists, which can be attributed above all to the broad reception of the Schleitheim Confession, is particularly remarkable in light of the earlier ongoing development of doctrinal positions.

In Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger proved an eager successor to Zwingli in holding the front against Anabaptists and other religious nonconformists (in particular Caspar von Schwenckfeld).[206] Bullinger led a rigorous campaign against Anabaptism in both word and action, a campaign that he continued even long after persecution had taken from the movement much of the relevance it had enjoyed in several territories in its early phase. The *spiritus rector* of the mainstream reformation in Zurich consistently opposed any leniency in dealing with the Anabaptists and continued to make a case for the use of the death penalty.[207] His resolve was only strengthened by a reinvigoration of the Anabaptist movement in other areas (for example in Grüningen and Solothurn) and by the tension between the Catholic and Reformed members of the Confederation. The scandal associated with the creation of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster also influenced the future treatment of Anabaptists within the Swiss Confederation.

In his writings against the Anabaptists, Bullinger emphasized that the magistrate's exercise of authority was theologically legitimate and that within a community governed according to Christian principles, it was the magistrate's responsibility to counter religious plurality and dissent by all possible means, including armed force. In a report from 1535,[208] he justified his unflinching stance, which would have a lasting impact on the response of both magistrate and church to Anabaptism,[209] by referring to the successful defence against heresy in the Old Testament.[210] He ascribed to the secular authorities particular responsibility for protecting the church from false doctrine. Above all, he accused the Anabaptists of having separated themselves from the church of the majority, on which they had firmly turned their backs, as their refusal to

205 QGTS 3: 232.

206 Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat," 81–104.

207 Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat," 85–6.

208 Urs B. Leu, "Gutachten Bullingers und der Pfarrerschaft über die Bestrafung der Täufer (Mai 1535)," *Zwingliana* 30 (2003), 103–126.

209 Leu, "Gutachten Bullingers," 116–7, on the impact of the report.

210 Leu, "Gutachten Bullingers," 120.

follow traditional practice in attending church testified.[211] His condemnation of the Anabaptists was also strongly influenced by their refusal to hold civil office or to swear oaths and their critical attitude toward the charging of interest and payment of the tithe, which was a consequence of their deliberate isolation from the rest of society.

Bullinger gradually developed an international reputation as an expert on things Anabaptist. He gathered and responded to information about Anabaptism that flowed to him via his extensive network of correspondents.[212] He drew together his knowledge, experience, and the many reports he had received when he composed a polemic against Anabaptism that found its way into many hands and had significant impact on many leading political and ecclesiastical figures, with very negative results for the Anabaptists.[213] His central point of criticism concerned Anabaptist ecclesiology, whose separatist and, in Bullinger's opinion, sectarian character he believed could destroy the established ecclesiastical and political order.[214]

Yet repression of the Anabaptists within the Swiss Confederation was certainly not unwavering. Periods in which the mandates against Anabaptism were implemented harshly alternated with more tempered phases of greater tolerance. For all the repression, as the sources relate, Anabaptists remained a religious minority in many regions, able to reestablish and grow even despite persecution.[215] On one hand, conflict seems to have been the order of the day

211 "Demnach, so ir leer unnd widertouffenn enntlich uff ein trenung unnd absünderung von der rechtenn kilchen zuo einer verwöhnten falschenn kilchenn gewenndet unnd gericht ist, das es, so veer innen ires rottierenns gestattet, umb die rechten kilchenn gethon ist […]," Leu, "Gutachten Bullingers," 125.

212 Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat," 89. The author refers to the meticulously researched dissertation by Heinold Fast on Bullinger's attitude toward the Anabaptists, a work that is now a classic: Heinold Fast, *Heinrich Bullinger und die Täufer. Ein Beitrag zur Historiografie und Theologie im 16. Jahrhundert* (Weierhof: Mennonitische Geschichtsverein, 1959).

213 Heinrich Bullinger, *Der Widertäuffern Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1560). On that text, see Urs B. Leu, "Heinrich Bullingers Widmungsexemplare seiner Schrift 'Der Widertoufferen Ursprung…' von 1560. Ein Beitrag zur europäischen Wirkungsgeschichte des Zürcher Antistes," *Zwingliana* 28 (2001), 119–63. Leu notes that through this text, Bullinger's distorted picture of Anabaptism—he proposed, for example, causal links for Zurich Anabaptism with Thomas Müntzer—spread throughout all Europe (ibid., 162).

214 Scheidegger, "Täufer, Konfession und Staat," 98.

215 Urs B. Leu, "Täuferische Netzwerke in der Eidgenossenschaft," in Schubert, *Grenzen des Täufertums*, 169–85; For an account of where research currently stands, see Jecker, "Das Schweizerische Täufertum," 203–10.

for the Anabaptists, as is attested in reports of arrests, trials, and roundups.[216] On the other hand, however, magisterial persecution forced Anabaptists to form "underground churches" for their own protection, where, bolstered by internal migration between town and country and by migration to border regions or areas where authority was disputed, their survival was possible. We know that secret gatherings still met at the turn of the century and in a small number of cases even into the mid-18th century.[217]

Through his analysis of interrogation records, Leu has been able to provide a picture of the secretive "community life" of persecuted Anabaptists, men and women, in both urban and rural networks.[218] The continuing movement was characterized by weekly gatherings in private home or out of doors, in woods or caves, and by communication and decision-making networks that linked communities but were not known to the broader public. Studies of these later developments of the Anabaptist movement are a more recent phenomenon.[219] For an example of the impact of such ecclesiastical networks we can turn to David Joris, an Anabaptist theologian who in the aftermath of the defeat of the Anabaptist Kingdom of Münster (1534/35) worked first in northern Germany and the Netherlands to achieve a new orientation of the Anabaptist movement without the use of force. He continued to advocate pacifism in Basel from 1544, where he lived under the assumed name Johan van Brugge. To that end he organized a network of literary connections with his supporters that spanned Europe and had an ecclesiological character.[220]

In the second half of the 17th century, the persecution and stigmatizing of the Anabaptist movement was joined with similar treatment of emergent Pietism. The various migrations of Anabaptists of Swiss origin to Bohemia and Moravia and also to Anabaptist settlements in the North American colonies are topics that have been addressed by illuminating studies.[221] As a result of

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216 Sierszyn, "Zur Täuferbewegung," 44.

217 Sierszyn, "Zur Täuferbewegung," 46.

218 Leu, *Netzwerke*, 174–76.

219 For Basel: Jecker, *Ketzer*; for Zurich: Leu/Scheidegger, *Täufer*; for Bern see the various contributions in Dellsperger and Lavater, *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich*.

220 Samme Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meyndertsz. Van Blesdijk* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983), 5–19; Paul Burckhardt, "David Joris und seine Gemeinde in Basel," BZGA 48 (1949), 5–106; Mirjam van Veen, "'Ontallijcke brieven van eenderley materie' De propaganda van David Joris," *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, n.s. 32 (2006), 39–74; Jecker, *Ketzer*, 46–48.

221 Martin Rothkegel, "Kollektive Zucht und individuelle Heilsgewissheit. Zur Emigrationswerbung der Hutterischen Brüder," in *Migration und kirchliche Praxis. Das religiöse Leben frühneuzeitlicher Glaubensflüchtlinge in alltagsgeschichtlicher Perspektive*, (eds.) Joachim Bahlcke and Reiner Bendel (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 133–44; Michel Ummel, "'…sonder

harsh persecution, some Swiss territories appear, as far as we are aware, to have had no Anabaptist population at all. Further research into Anabaptism after 1550 remains, however, a desideratum of research.

A number of aspects of and approaches to Swiss Anabaptism that are deserving of further attention can be outlined here. As church history has returned to its sources with an eye for issues of gender, in recent years the role of women within the Anabaptist movement has been highlighted.[222] As the interrogation records make evident, women played a constitutively large part in the early Anabaptist movement, supported by the egalitarian structures of the developing communities and circles.[223] In addressing brothers and sisters or siblings, many sources and theological texts use language that today we might term gender sensitive.[224] We know that Margret Hottinger had a role as a spiritual leader that was attributed to a godly call.[225] In times of persecution that required a clandestine existence, women continued to participate, sometimes very fully. They were particularly often to be found as missionaries, evangelizing very actively and very successfully amongst their friends.[226] The comparatively high number of female Anabaptist martyrs is testimony to the intensive identification of women with Anabaptism and its teachings.[227]

Martyrdom has also been a focus of research but remains a topic deserving of further attention, in particular in relation to its role in generating a confessional identity and in creating a culture of martyrdom for Swiss

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den ausser ir statt und and weisen.' Exil, Auswanderung und Deportation im 16. bis 21. Jahrhundert," in Dellsperger and Lavater, *Die Wahrheit ist untödlich*, 133–56. For further literature see Jecker, "Das Schweizerische Täufertum," 205.

222 Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 19–23 (on Anabaptist women in Switzerland); Marion Kobelt-Groch, *Aufsässige Töchter Gottes. Frauen im Bauernkrieg und in den Täuferbewegungen* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 1993), 147–63; Katharina Reinholdt, *Ein Leib in Christo werden. Ehe und Sexualität im Täufertum der Frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).

223 Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 44.

224 "Schleitheimer Bekenntnis" and "Sendschreiben von Michael Sattler an die Gemeinde in Horb," in *Bekenntnis*, 34.

225 Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 49.

226 Snyder and Hecht, *Profiles*, 21. Margaret Hellwart was chained to the floor of her house to prevent her from continuing her successful missionary activity.

227 Nicole Grochowina, "Von Opfern zu Heiligen. Martyrien von Täuferinnen und Täufern im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Vorbild—Inbild—Abbild. Religiöse Lebensmodelle in geschlechtergeschichtlicher Perspektive,* (eds.) Peter Burschel and Anne Conrad (Freiburg/Br.: Rombach, 2003), 121–50.

Anabaptism.[228] The commemorative culture of early Anabaptist martyrdom developed quickly after 1525 among Anabaptists in the Swiss Confederation, southern Germany, and Bohemia and Moravia, as is indicated by the inclusion of the account of the execution of Michael Sattler along with the Schleitheim articles.[229] Even in its early days, Anabaptism found important leitmotivs in suffering and a willingness to die for one's faith.[230] The deliberate portrayal of Sattler as like an early Christian martyr is an indication of the significance attached to memorialization in the development of Anabaptist identity.

10.13 Conclusion

Anabaptism in the Swiss lands was a genuinely *religious* movement that grew out of and separated from early Zwinglianism. Fundamental to this process of confessional emergence and development were theological disagreements over a radical understanding of the principle of *sola scriptura*, with its implications for concrete reform of the sacraments and the church, and over the ecclesiastical concept of the visible church of the faithful, which was formed by believer's baptism and controlled by church discipline. The religious character of the movement can be discerned from the enthusiasm of the first Anabaptists, an expression that under the pressures of a repressive age gave way to greater routine, as is evident in the emphasis on separatism, the particular understanding of office, and the dualist worldview of the Schleitheim Confession.

Swiss Anabaptism propagated and practiced the equality of believers, a reductionism in ritual that was drawn from scripture, and a spiritual experiential piety. All these characteristics spoke to the religious and existential desires of a population who no longer found their needs met by the traditional ecclesiastical organization. Their new understanding of the Christian community revolutionized the traditional role of the church and its practices. Scheidegger was correct to write of a church "without walls and without benefices."[231] Church

228 Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake. Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), 197–249; Peter Burschel, *Sterben und Unsterblichkeit. Zur Kultur des Martyriums in der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2004), 117–57; Ursula Lieseberg, *Studien zum Märtyrerlied der Täufer im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1991).

229 *Bekenntnis*, 27–8; Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 199–200.

230 Gregory, *Salvation at Stake*, 202, where we can read Blaurock's moving testimony that he was willing to become a martyr "for his sheep" (QGTS 1: 125, no. 123).

231 Scheidegger, "Ein unbekannter Brief," 281.

happened for Anabaptists, male and female, within their own walls, in shared Bible study, in communal participation in the bread and wine, and in the mutual care extended to the spiritual and practical wellbeing of members in their daily lives. For generations to come, this Anabaptist vision of an ecclesiastical fellowship of equal brothers and sisters who in obedience to scripture and free of secular authority or any church hierarchy regulated their own affairs would find resonance among dissenting and non-conformist communities.

Jecker has identified other elements of Anabaptist teachings and practice that are especially deserving of consideration in light of their ability to explain the continuing interest in and adoption of such teachings and practices within the Swiss context and also further afield.[232] Among these traits is the voluntary character of membership of the Anabaptist community, which was related to the individual's ability to make decisions based on faith and conscience, with that individual's church membership no longer simply a gesture of social loyalty or the duty of a subordinate. The autonomous understanding of community was a rejection of the close ties between secular authority and ecclesiastical institution. The orientation of doctrine toward everyday experience, demonstrated through ethical obedience and "discipleship," had a credibility that convinced even critics. The emphasis on the individual as a valued member of the brotherly and sisterly fellowship was another factor that explains the initial broad appeal of the movement. That emphasis on the individual also relativized the authority of office holders and others involved in the exercise of hierarchical authority. And at the same time the increasingly dualistic worldview and the exclusive understanding of community, which was increasingly perfected through legalistic forms of social control, led to the social isolation of the Anabaptists. The liberating message of the gospel could seem to be reserved only for a faithful elite. The Anabaptists' dualistic social ethic and their unwillingness to compromise excluded the possibility of any constructive engagement of secular authority and church. The Anabaptist communities clearly saw themselves as standing in contrast to the established church and established social structures. The combination of this self-imposed identity and the social stigma that they received made the Anabaptists into notorious religious outcasts.

According to Sierszyn, emotional and cultural factors can help explain why even as they faced continuous persecution, Anabaptists in the Swiss lands could still attract sympathy. He has noted that in their speech, comportment, and dealings with others, Anabaptists were often rough, even harsh, yet they

232 Jecker, *Ketzer*, 596–602, 609–10.

combined this manner with a certain mysticism, a sense of awe, and respect.[233] The Anabaptist movement's ability to convince others was in no small part due to the impression left by its members' own convictions. For these men and women, it was not their physical lives, their church institutions, or their status in society, but only the truth that was "immortal"—*untötlich* (Balthasar Hubmaier).

233 Sierszyn, "Zur Täuferbewegung," 52.

PART 3

Outcomes

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CHAPTER 11

Theological Profile

Emidio Campi

11.1 Introduction

The Swiss Reformation was part of the larger Reformation movement that swept across Europe over the course of the 16th century. It had many commonalities with other countries, such as dissatisfaction with the Roman hierarchy and its fiscal abuses, criticism of the church and its ceremonies, spreading of a new religious message, and zeal for the renewal of church and society. Nevertheless, the Swiss Reformation was different in some ways from its European counterparts. These similarities and differences become particularly evident when looking at its theological development as it took place in the period between 1519 and 1619.

11.2 Myths and Half-truths

11.2.1 *Political Activism and Theological Weakness*

The theological output of the Swiss Reformation is by no means a settled matter and in addition has been peculiarly myth-ridden. It is therefore worth looking briefly at some typical but faulty interpretations. The first myth tends to overemphasize the importance of Zwingli's political activism on behalf of reform in the Confederation, thereby lessening from the very beginning the depth and range of his theological thought. This myth was constructed by friends and opponents alike after the reformer's death on the battlefield of Kappel and survived well into the 19th century, as the iron statue portraying him with Bible and sword behind the Wasserkirche on the Limmat River eloquently shows.[1] In Albrecht Ritschl's influential work *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (1870–74), Zwingli is quite meaningless as far as his theology is concerned, except for the mention of his "peculiar views" on the sacraments and original sin, two topics that did not help his reputation as a reformer.[2]

1 Gottfried W. Locher, "The Change in the Understanding of Zwingli in Recent Research," *Church History* 34 (1965), 3–24; Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli im 20. Jahrhundert. Forschungsbericht und annotierte Bibliographie 1897–1972* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975).

2 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 11, 378.

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Immensely fashionable among academic theologians and historians until the end of World War I was also Adolf von Harnack's dictum that "in the treatment of the history of dogma from a universal point of view Zwingli may be left out of account."[3]

This image of the reformer underwent a profound and far-reaching change in the forties and fifties of the 20th century as scholars paid greater attention to theological issues. Prerequisite for the new approach was the enormous quantity of source material made available at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries by Emil Egli. Those who followed him as editors of the standard critical edition of Zwingli's works—Walther Köhler, Oskar Farner, Fritz Blanke, Leonhard von Muralt, Joachim Staedtke, and Fritz Büsser—provided along with Arthur Rich, Rudolf Pfister, Jacques Vincent Pollet, and Fritz Schmidt-Clausing the intellectual impetus to new directions of research. Most notable was Gottfried W. Locher, who fleshed out the theological distinctiveness and coherence of Zwingli's teachings.[4] This eminent Swiss scholar not only freed him from Luther's unmitigated accusation of being a "heathen" whose doctrines were destructive of Christian faith[5] but also assured him a significant place in the pantheon of the magisterial reformers. Locher's seminal work has stimulated a wide variety of specialized research at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries. The results of these studies have refined and added substantial precision, but not significantly modified this new image of the Zurich reformer.[6]

11.2.2 *Zwinglianism*

Another myth takes exactly the opposite view. It claims in fact that the extraordinarily varied theological, ecclesiastical, and social output of the Swiss Reformation originated from a single source, subsumable under the somewhat loose term "Zwinglianism" or the even more nebulous label "late Zwinglianism." Few would deny that Zwingli's charismatic personality and his distinctive theology

3 Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1896–1905), 7: 268, n. 1.

4 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation.*

5 Luther, *Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis* (1528), WA 26: 342.21–23: "Jch bekenne fur mich, das ich den Zwingel fur einen unchristen halte mit aller seiner lere, denn er helt und leret kein stueck des Christlichen glaubens recht."

6 E.g.: W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Walter Ernst Mayer, *Huldrych Zwinglis Eschatologie* (Zurich: TVZ, 1987); Hamm, *Freiheit*; Biel, *Doorkeepers*; Gordon, *Discipline*; Campi, *Maria*; Martin Sallmann, *Zwischen Gott und Mensch: Huldrych Zwinglis theologischer Denkweg im "De vera et falsa religione commentarius," 1525* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Bolliger, *Contemplatio*.

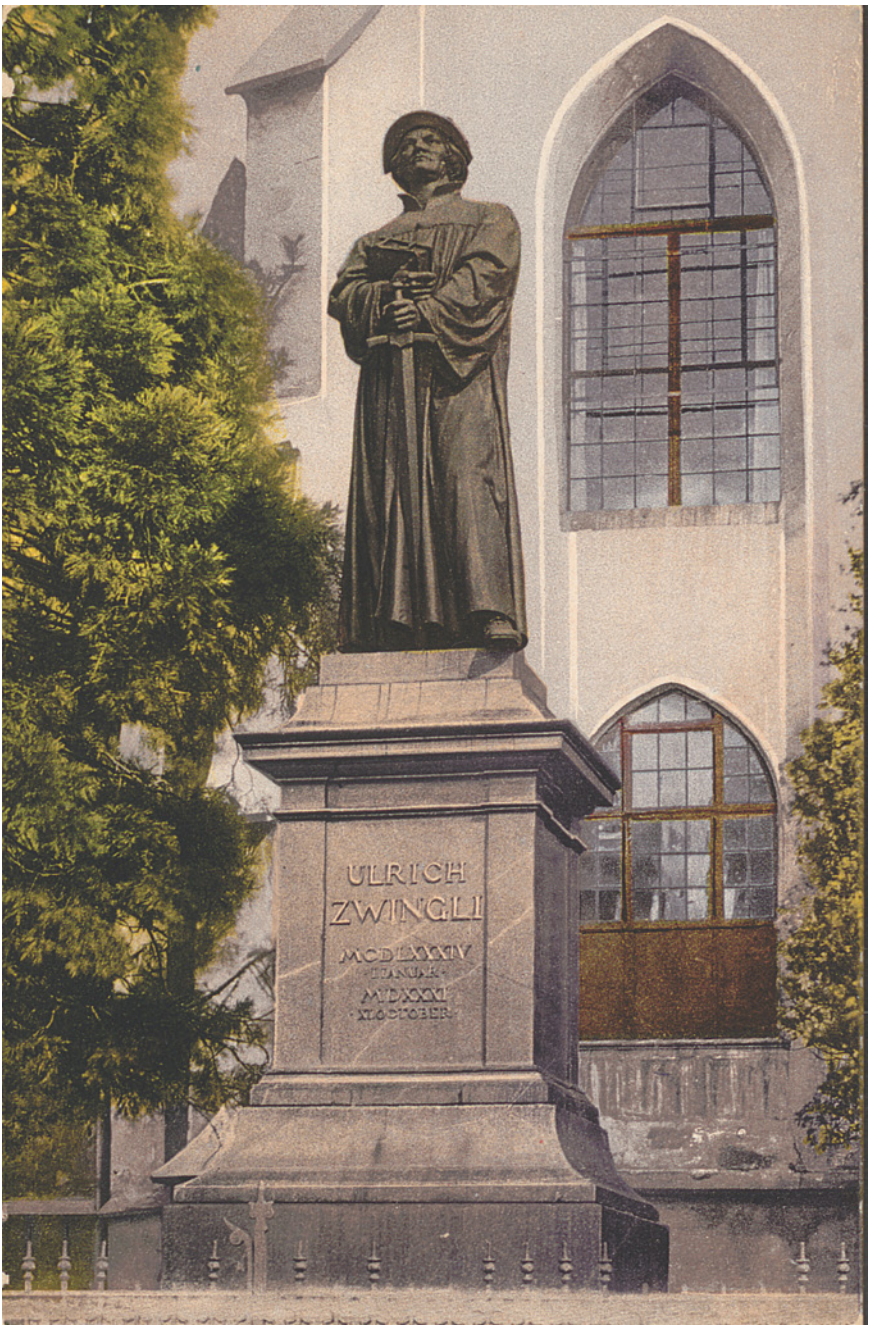

FIGURE 11.1 *Zwingli memorial at the Wasserkirche in Zürich. Zwingli is depicted with a Bible under his right arm and a sword in his left hand. The monument was erected in 1885 after much controversy (sculptor Heinrich Natter).*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

shaped the course of the Reformation in Zurich, and in turn that Zurich's commitment to evangelical doctrine enabled other Swiss and Upper German territories to embrace the new faith as well. To describe, however, Oecolampadius, Vadian, Bullinger, Musculus, Bibliander, or Vermigli as "Zwinglians" is a form of forced conversion that obscures rather than clarifies the issue.[7] Delving deeper into the source material, scholars are becoming increasingly aware that in the realm of humanistic scholarship and literary output those reformers stood on their own, their core ideas were parallel but not identical to Zwingli's thought, and in the matter of church discipline or Eucharistic theology they even went their own way.[8] Moreover, the term is clearly at odds with one of the most peculiar features of the Old Confederation, for it consisted of thirteen sovereign *Orte* (cantons) each of which retained the freedom to regulate its own affairs and did not want to waive its sovereign rights. Besides the political, economic, and military, these also included the right to determine the proper forms of religious life. The conception of how the church should be reformed was left up to the individual church, which could decide freely, for example, what particular confession of faith, form of liturgy, catechism, or church discipline it wanted to adopt. The Swiss-wide reformed church that Zwingli envisaged was never a reality. By contrast, there were multiple forms of theological discourse and church organization, each with its distinctiveness according to place and time, albeit with a significant degree of common identity, shared values, and mutual responsibility.

11.2.3 *Calvinism*

A third myth, with momentous results for the future of Reformed Protestantism, posits that although the Swiss Reformation does have theological significance, it is limited to being a kind of precursor to Calvinism whose denouement is ultimately equated with Reformed Christianity.[9] An eloquent

7 Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*, 584–614.

8 On Oecolampadius: Amy Nelson Burnett, "'It Varies from Canton to Canton': Zurich, Basel, and the Swiss Reformation," *Calvin Theological Journal* 44 (2009): 251–62; on Vadian: Rudolf Gamper, (ed.), *Vadian als Geschichtsschreiber* (St. Gallen: Sabon-Verlag, 2006); on Bullinger: Gordon/Campi, *Architect;* HBLTI; Campi, *Patterns*, 57–121, 169–83; on Musculus: Jordan J. Ballor, *Covenant, Causality, and Law: a Study in the Theology of Wolfgang Musculus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); on Bibliander: Christine Christ-v. Wedel, (ed.), *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag NZZ, 2005); on Vermigli: Torrance Kirby et al., (eds.), *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

9 For example, John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), which for decades was considered the standard work on Reformed Protestantism.

proof is the so called "Reformation Wall" in Geneva, the monument erected in 1909 to mark the 400th anniversary of the birth of Jean Calvin and the 350th anniversary of the founding of Geneva's Academy, where Bullinger is ignored and Zwingli is remembered with a rather bizarre plain stone block at the side of the major players.

This shift in emphasis and even content upon Reformed theology has been strongly criticized time and time again on both sides of the Atlantic and by scholars from different trajectories such as Fritz Büsser and Richard Muller, who have also called for an historical revision.[10] Fairly recently, on the occasion of conferences marking anniversaries of Swiss reformers, many critical questions were raised concerning this excessively Geneva-centric approach of scholarship and at the same time the need for a more integral and representative perspective has been emphasized.[11] But this is by no means the entire picture. Scholars from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds are beginning to understand that much of what hitherto has been peddled under the label of "Calvinism" combines various strands of thought and experience.[12] This is not to belittle Calvin's preeminent significance for the Reformed tradition. Rather it is to come to grips with the irony that the myth of the solitary hero is much too shortsighted, not only with regard to Luther and Lutheranism but also to Calvin and Reformed theology, as it overlooks relevant historical connections that are in danger of being hidden away. Current research provides compelling evidence that Swiss Reformation studies take significant steps forward when they become refreshingly free from the idea that Swiss–Upper Rhine and Genevan Reformations belong in "separate spheres"— as has often been the case in the past.

10 E.g. Fritz Büsser, *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich. Zum 500 Geburtstag des Reformators Huldrych Zwinglis* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), esp. 170–177; idem, *Die Prophezei. Humanismus und Reformation in Zürich* (Bern: Lang 1994); Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); idem, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

11 E.g. Christoph Strohm, "Methodology in Discussion of Calvin and Calvinism," in *Calvinus Praeceptor Ecclesiae*, (ed.) Herman Selderhuis (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 65–105; Richard A. Muller, "Reception and Response. Referencing and Understanding Calvin in Seventeenth-Century Calvinism," in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, (eds.) Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 182–201.

12 For an overview see my "Calvin, the Swiss Reformed Churches, and the European Reformation," in *Calvin and His Influence*, 119–43, here at 128–33, and Herman Selderhuis, "Calvinism as Reformed Protestantism: A Clarification of a Term," in *Church and School in Early Modern Protestantism. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Muller on the Maturation of a Theological Tradition,* (eds.) Jordan Ballor et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 723–35.

11.3 Shared Core Beliefs

The theological profile of the Swiss Reformation was distinct from its Lutheran counterpart. Its preeminent representatives had different understandings of anthropology and the doctrine of sin, a different approach to Christology and soteriology, and a different view of the sacraments, in addition to the other personal, cultural and political factors that separated them. But to achieve a proper perspective, it is worth noting that the two wings of the magisterial Reformation had more in common than they themselves liked to admit or subsequent interpreters have thought. Many of the shared core beliefs were articulated by Martin Luther between 1518 and 1521 and then accepted, redefined, or rediscovered by Swiss reformers during the early 1520s. Within the limits of this chapter it is possible to deal only with three of them: scripture, salvation, and the nature of the Church.

11.3.1 *Scripture*

With the appeal to the sole authority of scripture made against Catholic opponents, the early Reformation seemed to have found a unifying principle based on the firm conviction of the clarity of the Bible in matters of doctrine.[13] The unfolding Eucharistic controversy on the one hand and the rise of radical dissent on the other caused some embarrassment to the magisterial reformers and put a damper on their hermeneutical optimism. The interpretation of the Bible became a bone of contention not only between Catholic and Protestant, but also within the Reformation camp itself. Luther, Karlstadt, Müntzer, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and the Anabaptists each had their own opinion and felt compelled to reject dissenting views.

Nevertheless there were also similarities of such proportions as to justify speaking of a common heritage. In the first place, for the reformers *sola scriptura* meant more than a heated hermeneutical debate. Centuries of overuse have made this little phrase a cliché that obscures the vital point that excited the first reformers. Fundamentally, scripture was the manger in which Christ is laid, as Luther put it, and where the good news about the grace and the forgiving mercy of the Good Shepherd could be heard. Furthermore, in adhering to *sola scriptura* the reformers did not mean to assert a mere biblical fundamentalism or to undervalue church tradition, namely the ancient creeds, the decrees of the ecumenical councils, and the writing

13 Jack Rogers and Donald K. McKim, (eds.), *The Authority and Interpretation of the Bible: An Historical Approach* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1979), Chapter 2; Henk van den Belt, *The Authority of Scripture in Reformed Theology. Truth and Trust* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

of the Fathers. While some brands of Christianity might insist that what is not in the Bible is not Christian, the reformers made a fundamental distinction between what was essential and what was allowable. Tradition was not to be rejected as such, but only if it did not align with scripture. One of their rare points of unanimity was the conviction that scripture alone must test any tradition, no matter how ancient or venerable it might seem, and that authority was the Bible, the *regula fidei*, the infallible rule of faith for the Church.

In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* Luther gave full expression to this theme. "The Word of God is incomparably superior to the Church, and in this Word the Church, being a creature, has nothing to decree, ordain, or make, but only to be decreed, ordained, and made."[14] In the same fashion, Zwingli maintained that the church must acknowledge the Word of God as the sole rule of its preaching; human tradition is always subject to the Word of God, so that the "Fathers must yield to the Word and not the Word of God to the Fathers."[15] A similar position was defended at the disputation of Bern in 1528, one of the turning points in the Swiss Reformation, where the evangelical party put forward the thesis: "The Holy Christian Church, whose only head is Jesus Christ, is born from the Word of God, and it ever abides and hears not the voice of strangers."[16] In like manner, notwithstanding his fondness for the ancient Christian authors, Oecolampadius held that scripture alone had divine authority, whereas the Fathers and church councils were *testes veritatis*, witnesses to the truth.[17]

The slogan *sola scriptura* evokes other related areas where commonalities were far more significant than the differences. In Wittenberg, Zurich, Strasbourg, Basel, Bern, and Geneva alike, behind the catchword there was the common concern to master the sacred languages, Hebrew and Greek, so that one could more readily grasp the meaning of the biblical writers. This new kind of biblical scholarship, visibly influenced by Renaissance humanism, went hand in hand with the conviction that the Word of God should be set forth in languages that can be understood by the people. Evidence of this concern is Luther's translation of the New Testament, the *Septembertestament* of 1522, and of the entire Bible in 1534. Exactly the same impetus was behind the translation of the

14 WA 6: 560–1; LW 36: 107.

15 *Der Hirt* (1524), Z 3: 50.8–9; Engl.: *The Shepherd*, HZW 2: 111.

16 Z 6/1: 243.10–12.

17 Eric W. Northway, *The Reception of the Fathers and Eucharistic theology in Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), with special reference to the Adversus haereses of Irenaeus of Lyons,* Durham theses, Durham University, 2008. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1941/.

Zurich Bible in 1531 as well as the Olivétan Bible of 1535, the first French Protestant Bible, whose text served as the basis for Protestant Bible versions for three centuries. It is instructive to read comparatively the prefaces of these works of enduring beauty published at about the same time. Besides the common concern for philological accuracy and the flow of the translation, for theological and pastoral issues, the same certainty shines through as something plain and objective: the scripture's message is, generally speaking, easily apprehended and witnesses to a gracious God who justifies the ungodly on account of Christ. The authority of the Bible is not, as it has been at times for some Protestants, a "formal" principle, a prolegomenon of dogmatics, but it resides in its soteriological content, clearly expressed in the person of Christ and his message of salvation.

Besides promoting translation and circulation of the Bible in the vernacular, *sola scriptura* meant for all magisterial reformers expounding the meaning of the Bible in learned commentaries and experimenting with a new kind of preaching in the pulpits. In Wittenberg, Basel, Bern, Zurich, Lausanne, and Geneva, the Bible was studied and expounded at a breathtaking pace. Commentaries were released and reprinted at a pace that makes comparisons with other times almost unthinkable, but which reflects the urgency of religious education for both clergy and lay people in the age of printing. Besides Bible translations and biblical helps, recovery of the spiritual authority of scripture also concerned the spoken word, the preaching of God's word for the common people. Swiss reformers largely favored systematic exposition, the so called *lectio continua,* preaching on entire books of the Bible, chapter by chapter, whereas Lutherans retained the traditional system of pericopes. Both wings of the magisterial Reformation, however, emphasized the real presence of Christ in the life of the believer through the act of preaching. It is somewhat ironic that Luther inserted this argument in his treatise *On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ – Against the Fanatics* published in 1526 against the "Sacramentarians" (i.e. Karlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius and others). When the Gospel is preached, he argued, Christ is brought into the heart "so that you may form him within yourself."[18] Oecolampadius, the "sacramentarian" (at least, so he seemed to Luther), similarly insisted that when the Word of God is preached, Christ cannot be absent.[19] Bullinger expressed this same point in the *Second*

18 WA 19: 489; LW: 36: 340.

19 Oecolampadius, *Quod expediat epistolae et evangelii lectionem in missa* (Ebernburg: n.p., 1522), B5v: "Ubi verbum dei, ibi abesse non potest Christus. Itaque dum me auditis, non me auditis, sed Petrum vel Paulum vel Ioannem, vel cuius scriptura recitatur, imo non illos auditis, sed in ipsis Christum."

FIGURE 11.2 *The Zurich Bible:* Die gantze Bibel/der ursprünglichen ebraischen und griechischen Waarheyt nach auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet (*Zurich: Froschauer, 1531*).
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Helvetic Confession of 1566 in a famous phrase, "The preaching of the Word of God is the Word of God."[20] These fundamental aspects of the catchphrase *sola scriptura* were not surrendered, whatever concrete interpretations were placed upon them under the pressure of circumstance, and they remain the common heritage of Protestant Christianity until today.

11.3.2 *Salvation*

From the encounter with the Word as contained in scripture came a new understanding of salvation radically opposed to the teaching and practice of the medieval church. It was a turning away from legalism—that kind of quantitative religion based on reward and merit that Erasmus had already attacked with corrosive wit—to the core of the Christian message: the forgiving mercy of God and the undeserved divine favor towards humanity. Central to this insight were the themes of sin, the law, Christ, faith, predestination, and above all justification and sanctification. For the Lutheran Reformation the doctrine of justification was held to be the "first and chief article" and at the same time the "ruler and judge" over all other Christian doctrines.[21] In its broadest sense, it entails two processes. First, sinners are counted or pronounced righteous because the merits of Christ's atoning work are "imputed" to them, and their sins, which deserve God's anger and punishment, are unconditionally forgiven. Secondly, the pardoned sinners are renewed from inside by the power of the Holy Spirit and step-by-step begin to act rightly. The first stage occurs outside the sinner, as an extrinsic or alien process; the second, generally known as sanctification, follows the first as a consequence, but is not a precondition to or a part of justification.

It has been argued that the Swiss reformers, with the notable exception of Vadian, initially demonstrated a near total disinterest in Luther's doctrine of justification and that subsequently their chief concern appears to have been the ethical dimension of faith.[22] This view is somewhat surprising in light of the current blossoming of research on the subject, but it is, of course,

20 RBS 2/2: 273.

21 See the fine treatment of the topic in *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, (eds.) Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel, and L'ubomír Batka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

22 Responsible for this view was Henri Strohl, *La pensée de la Réforme* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1951), 102–9, followed by Christof Gestrich, *Zwingli als Theologe. Glaube und Geist beim Zürcher Reformator* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1967), 181–86; and by Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 2: 33–34; idem, "Justification and the Reformation. The significance of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith to Sixteenth Century Urban Communities," ARG 81 (1990), 5–18.

an excellent proof of the many myths surrounding the Swiss Reformation. The problem is that it has not only flimsy documentary evidence, but it is based on a conception of the Reformation doctrine of justification that tends to overemphasize the bare forensic act. Later Protestants were to draw many charts of the process whereby the godless sinner is justified before God and accepted by God into salvation, yet the reformers were concerned not so much with the employment of the term *justificatio* in its forensic acceptation, but rather with the unconditionality of grace and salvation. Berndt Hamm has emphasized that "this [unconditionality] is the essence of the idea of justification at the heart of every fully developed theological system of the Reformation."[23] For the Swiss reformers, too, this connection between justification and the unconditionality of grace was the optic nerve of the Christian message. Justification was in no way dependent upon the thoughts, words, and deeds of those justified by faith alone in Christ. Justification as perfect righteousness in God's sight was bestowed upon the sinner in advance through Christ and could never be congruent with partial ethical renewal. Rather it was distinct from any inherent morality, like cause and effect, like the immensurable fullness of God and the emptiness of created beings. Although there may not have been terminological agreement between the reformers, there was a common conviction of the predominance of "alien righteousness" (*iustitia aliena*)—and therein lies their fundamental difference from scholasticism.[24]

A carefully nuanced examination of Zwingli's position shows, for example, that the dominant note in his doctrine of justification was the righteousness of Christ that comes to the Christian as a gift of God and has nothing to do with any inner human quality. It is bestowed on us but never exists in us, apart from the faithful acceptance of divine absolution. He expressed this understanding of justification in Anselmian terminology; that is, he believed that by the sacrifice of Christ God does away with our sin, and it is through Christ's righteousness (and not from our own works) that God reconciles us to himself. Zwingli went even further in his *Fidei Ratio,* rooting Christ's redeeming sacrifice in God's election. Thus salvation depends on his will and purpose and has

23 For a discussion of the various Reformation positions on this issue and their common ground, see Berndt Hamm, *The Reformation of Faith in the Context of Late Medieval Theology and Piety: Essays*, (ed.) Robert J. Bast (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 179–215, here 190; David C. Fink, "Was There a 'Reformation Doctrine of Justification'?," *Harvard Theological Review* 103 (2010), 205–35; Jeff Fisher, "Renaissance Humanism and the Justification of John Oecolampadius: His Teaching on the Doctrine and a Revision of McGrath's Portrayal of the Swiss Reformer," *Global Journal of Classic Theology* 9 (2011), 1–27.

24 Hamm, *Reformation of Faith*, 96.

nothing to do with our merit.[25] Unlike Luther, however, for Zwingli righteousness is never simply imputed, but truly imparted to us, so that it is the source of a life that follows the example of Christ. In this way justification and sanctification are closely related in Zwingli's theology.

A similar development can be witnessed in the case of Oecolampadius. As Fisher has convincingly demonstrated, although the chief reformer of Basel did not give the same prominence to the doctrine of justification as Luther did, it cannot be said that Oecolampadius had a moralist approach to justification. Rather there is proof enough that his thought on this subject represents an original voice in the remarkable polyphony of voices of the early Reformation. While he was absolutely uncompromising in stressing the need for sanctification as a life of obedience to the commandments, he was equally unyielding in his opinion that sanctification must be based upon an imputed, perfect righteousness and not an inherent, imperfect righteousness.[26] In short, considering what we have before us, Oecolampadius would seem to rank between Luther and Calvin.

Another *fable convenue* in need of revision is that the theme of justification proved some embarrassment to Bullinger.[27] In fact, the Antistes had no hesitation in acknowledging the forensic character of justification. Justifying righteousness attained solely through faith is, however, always accompanied by sanctifying righteousness and does not obviate the responsibility of Christians to strive after new life in Christ.[28] Justification and sanctification are distinct but interrelated. Bullinger can describe justification both as adoption as children of God (*adoptio*) and as a vivifying power that enables a new life in the Spirit (*vivificatio*).[29]

The same trend is evident in Vermigli's doctrine of justification. He uses justification language in both a strict forensic sense and in a broader moral sense:

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25 Z 6/2: 796.14–30; Engl: ZLW 2: 39–40. See Meyer, *Zwinglis Eschatologie*, 124–35; Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, 154–169; Corneliu C. Simuţ, "Ulrich Zwingli and His Doctrine of Justification," in *Perichoresis* 2 ((2004): 89–95.

26 Fisher, "Renaissance Humanism and Justification," 22.

27 Gustav von Schulthess-Rechberg, *Heinrich Bullinge, der Nachfolger Zwinglis* (Halle a.d.S.-Zurich: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1904), 21.

28 See Mark S. Borrows, "Christus intra nos vivens: The Peculiar Genius of Bullinger's Doctrine of Sanctification," ZKG 98 (1987), 48–69; Peter Opitz, *Theologe,* 256–315; Christoph Strohm, "Frontstellungen, Entwicklungen, Eigenart der Rechtfertigungslehre bei Bullinger," in HBLTI, 2: 537–72.

29 Bullinger, *Decades,* HBTS 3: 69, 32–33: "Ergo est iustificatio vitae absolutio a peccatis, liberatio a morte, vivificatio, seu translatio a morte in vitam."

Luther would have certainly endorsed Peter Martyr's assertion: "This doctrine is the head, fountain, and mainstay of all religion."[30] And perhaps all of the Swiss would have unreservedly agreed with the meek Florentine when in his Romans commentary, with impeccable clarity, he lays out the whole doctrine of justification in just a few sentences. He writes that justification, which is based on the imputed righteousness of Christ alone, is the pillar of our salvation (*columen nostrae salutis*) and produces sanctification or moral transformation in the sinner (*sancte vivendo acquirimus*).[31]

By sampling a broader cross-section of less well known Swiss reformers, one might be better equipped to probe the thesis that despite different nuances there seems to have been an irreducible core of the genuine Protestant doctrine of justification: the basically very simple thought of the ethical renewal of Christian life out of grace. What did, for example, Sebastian Hofmeister, Wolfgang Musculus, Johannes Commander, or Pierre Viret have to say on the subject? This, however, would far exceed the scope of this chapter. It suffices to mention Calvin's lengthy and balanced treatment of the subject in the *Institutes,* which shows a substantial agreement with Luther, although the theological center and the terminology are different. The core of Calvin's soteriology is "union with Christ" (*Inst.*, 3.11.10) and the doctrine of the "twofold grace of God." He carefully and consistently distinguishes between justification by grace alone on account of the redeeming work of Christ and sanctification through the work of the Holy Spirit, but at the same time he emphasizes the fundamental unity of these two facets of God's grace. Because justification and sanctification are coordinate benefits of union with Christ, believers enjoy not only the assurance of salvation, but also the beginnings of a new obedience.[32]

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30 Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Predestination and Justification* (Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 2003), 96. See the lengthy introduction by Frank James III.

31 Vermigli, *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli Ad Rom. Commentarii* [Basel: Perna, 1560], 331: "At Paulus per mortem Christi asserit, nos esse iustificatos: quod primum intelligitur coram Deo per imputationem: deinde etiam, quod indies adiiciatur nova iustitia, quam sancte vivendo acquirimus, per instaurationem virium iam a spiritu sancto perceptarum. Quanquam priori iustificatione tantum nitendum est. In ea enim est columen nostrae salutis. Altera enim iustitiae ratio, cum imperfecta sit, ad tribunal Dei consistere non potest."

32 Cornelis P. Venema, *Accepted and Renewed in Christ: The "Twofold Grace of God" and the Interpretation of Calvin's Theology* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 132–70, here 273–74.

11.3.3 *The Nature of the Church*

The striking differences in matters of church government and discipline, which will be discussed shortly, should not be allowed to obscure the fundamental commonalities between the two strands of the magisterial Reformation in their understanding of the nature of the church.[33] Their leading theologians never thought of themselves as founders of new churches, whether Lutheran, Zwinglian or Calvinist. Rather they confessed the "one holy catholic and apostolic church" of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and shared the certainty that a holy Christian church must be and remain for all time. Furthermore, the reformers had a profound sense of the transcendent nature of the church—it cannot constitute itself, it cannot create and sustain itself. The church cannot do so because it is God's unique work, the most special among God's works, in that it is the creature of God's Word.[34] Fundamentally, they held that the church is the *communio sanctorum,* the communion of saints interpreted in the widest sense to include the whole company of the faithful on earth and in heaven. In this sense, it is a *corpus mysticum*, a mystical body that corresponds to the oneness of the Trinitarian communion and mutual otherness of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It cannot be grasped empirically. It is a mystery, having its course and completion in God.

On the other hand, the reformers did not rest simply upon this extremely spiritualized concept of the church, turning it into an invisible society. They had a clear understanding of the church as an earthly institution, which was the natural development of their Christology and soteriology. Just as God is present in the man Jesus Christ, and just as lively faith is made incarnate in the good works of believers, so also the mystical-eschatological reality of the church must become incarnate in an external-historical form. The church is hidden with Christ in God and yet manifests itself on earth, assuming a human aspect. As Luther put it in a famous saying, "The church does not exist without location and body, and yet location and body are not the church and do not pertain to it."[35]

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33 Gottfried Wilhelm Locher, *Sign of the Advent: A Study in Protestant Ecclesiology* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004); David M. Whitford, (ed.), *Companion to Reformation Theology* (London: T & T Clark International, 2012), Chap. 9; Andrew A Chibi, *The Wheat and the Tares: Doctrines of the Church in the Reformation, 1500–1590* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, [December 2015]).

34 Luther, *Resolutiones Lutherianae* (1519), WA 2: 430,6–7: "Ecclesia enim creatura est Euangelii;" Zwingli, *Christliche Antwort Zürichs an Bischof Hug*o (1524), Z 3: 217.35–218.1: "Denn das gotzwort macht die kilchen, und die kilch mag nit das gotzwort machen;" Z 3: 223.6–7: "Welchs ist aber sin kilch? Die sin wort hört."

35 Luther, *Ad librum … Ambrosii Catharini … responsio* (1521), WA 7: 2–4: "Ita sine loco et corpore non est Ecclesia, et tamen corpus et locus non sunt Ecclesia neque ad eam

This distinction between visible and invisible church, which depends ultimately on Augustine, is common to all of the magisterial reformers, albeit with somewhat different nuances. For instance, although Melanchthon does not use the terms either in Articles 7 and 8 of the Augsburg Confession or in the Apology, his description of the church does correspond to what other reformers simply call the visible and invisible church. In *An Account of the Faith* (1530), a statement of his beliefs presented to Charles V, and in *An Exposition of the Christian Faith*, addressed to Francis I in 1531, Zwingli maintained the two aspects of the church: one invisible, spiritual, and mysterious; the other visible, earthly, and identifiable. Bucer's use of the concepts of visible and invisible church was of great importance for the Strasbourg Reformation. Bullinger distinguished between triumphant and militant church. But the latter, he held, can be thought of in two ways: as the "inward and invisible church of God" that we confess in the Creed, and the "outward and visible church" of the professed Christians, some of whom are unfaithful. Calvin had a vivid awareness of the twofold character of the church as the invisible or holy and spiritual society of the truly faithful, and the visible or earthly and imperfect association of professing Christians.[36] The distinction should therefore not be misunderstood in the sense that there are two churches: one invisible and the other visible, but rather one church simultaneously invisible and visible, divine and human. The invisible church is manifested on earth through a visible church that, though imperfect, shows signs of the invisible church. The reformers insisted emphatically that the two aspects must remain wholly distinct and never be confused, and yet, at same time, that the distinction does not entail separation.

If the church is both visible and invisible, by what marks, then, can the true church be discerned? Luther did not elaborate a systematic and consistent doctrine on this subject, but indicated two unique, most certain signs or symbols. They are the sacraments of baptism and of the altar, and above all the gospel, which he regarded as "the unique, most certain and the noblest symbol," indeed as "the whole life and substance of the church."[37] The Augsburg Confession

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pertinent." See Dorothea Wendebourg, "Kirche," in *Luther Handbuch*, (ed.) Albrecht Beutel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 403–14; David Daniel, "Luther on the Church," in *Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*, 333–52.

36 Theodore G. Tappert, (ed.), *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 169; Zwingli, *Expositio Fidei* (1531), Z 6/5: 108.10–110.9; Engl: ZLW 2: 260–1; Bullinger, *Decades*, HBTS 3: 742–743; Bucer, BDS 2: 111–15; Calvin, *Institutes,* 4.1.2–3.

37 Luther, *Ad librum* […] *Ambrosii Catharini,* WA 7: 721.9–13: "Euangelium enim prae pane et Baptismo unicum, certissimum et nobilissimum Ecclesiae symbolum est […], breviter, tota vita et substantia Ecclesiae est in verbo dei."

of 1530, the foundational document of the Lutheran churches, described the church plainly as the congregation of saints (*congregatio sanctorum*), in which the gospel is purely taught (*evangelium pure docetur*) and the sacraments rightly administered (*recte administrantur sacramenta*), i.e. according to the gospel.

This famous definition exerted powerful influence on the Swiss reformers. The Basel Confession of 1534, the Genevan *Confession de foy* of 1536/1537, the *First* and the *Second Helvetic Confessions* (1536 and 1566), the *Rhaetian Confession* of 1552/1553 all tacitly accepted or explicitly avowed it. Worthy of attention are two modifications. Bullinger distinguished between outward and inward marks, belonging only to the godly. They are "the communion of the Spirit of the Lord, sincere faith, and twofold love."[38] For Calvin it was not sufficient to state that the preaching of the Gospel is a mark of the church, so he rephrased the definition of the Augsburg Confession as follows: "Wherever we see the word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists."[39] The addition emphasizes the importance of people actually hearing what is preached and applying this to their lives both individually and collectively.

The reformers had to defend their understanding of the marks of the church in two directions: against hierarchical Catholicism and against radical exclusivism. They emphatically rejected the charge of having deserted the "one holy catholic, apostolic Church" of the Apostles' Creed. They argued that withdrawal from certain ecclesiastical structures and practices should not be understood as a schism, the splitting apart of the old Church or the bringing into existence of a new Church, but rather as a necessary reformation of the primitive Church. At the same time, the acceptance of the Augustinian understanding of the church as *corpus permixtum*, a mixed body of sinners and saints, determined their ambivalent assessment of the "unreformed" Church of Rome. Their language could hardly be more sarcastic when they lay out historical, theological, and contemporary arguments against the "apostate church of the Antichrist" or "the whore of Babylon" that wants to be called *the* holy catholic, apostolic church. Yet they did not need to be told that as God's creature the church had existed at all times. Its original face had been disfigured in the course of history, but now God has moved his Word to purify and infuse new life into his church. On account of this, they were prepared to concede that the Roman Church had not been altogether destroyed.

38 Bullinger, *Decades,* HBTS 3: 751.22–28. See W. Peter Stephens, "The Understanding of the Church in Heinrich Bullinger's Theology," *Zwingliana* 41 (2014), 57–84.

39 Calvin, *Institutes* 4.1.9.

As Luther wrote in his commentary on Galatians, "in the city of Rome, although worse than Sodom, there still remain baptism, preaching, the voice of the gospel, the Holy Scripture, the ministry, and the name of Christ and the name of God."[40]

On the other side, the reformers also rejected the Anabaptist concept of the church consisting only of regenerate members who willingly embraced a life of discipleship and who should have nothing whatever to do with sinful people. They disapproved of separation from an imperfect church in which, after all, scripture is expounded and the sacraments are administered, on the pretext of zeal for perfection. In response to the ethical rigor of the Anabaptists who regarded post-baptismal sin as unforgivable and thus excluded from fellowship those who had fallen short, the reformers appealed again to Augustine's concept of the church as *corpus permixtum*, composed of both sinners and saints. Quoting the parable of the wheat and tares (Mt 13: 24–30) that are sown together and will not be separated until the harvest, or the parable of the net (Mt 13: 47–50) in which all kinds of fish are taken, but not separated until they are brought ashore, the reformers maintained that the church will remain imperfect until the day of judgement; thus it is vain to conceive of it as altogether free from blemish. In short, the reformers were adamantly opposed to the radicals' principle of enforced purity and through the preaching of the Word and the exercise of discipline, they steered a middle course between antinomianism and legalism.

11.4 Theological Distinctiveness

Having established the points of similarity with the Lutheran wing of the Reformation, it remains to explore the theological distinctiveness of the Swiss Reformation. There are three most pronounced characteristics that have exerted a lasting influence: a new understanding of church government and discipline, the theology of the sacraments, and covenant theology.

11.4.1 *Church Government and Discipline*

The Zurich reformers bequeathed to the Reformed tradition a new organism that they called the synod, in the manner of the ancient provincial and

40 Luther, *Ad Galatas commentarius*, WA 40/1: 69.5–7: "manent in Romana urbe, quamquam Sodoma peiore, baptismus, vox Euangelii, textus, sacra scriptura, ministeria, nomen Christi, dei."

diocesan synods. Although the association of synodal government with reform was well established in the Middle Ages, particularly in the diocese of Constance under whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction the *ecclesia Tigurina* fell, the synod as it came to function in and for the Reformed church of Zurich was something different.[41] By definition, a synod is a formal assembly of the clergy meeting at regular but infrequent intervals. In Zurich, however, it was held twice a year and attended by both the clergy and representatives from the city councils, including the Bürgermeister and the Stadtschreiber, the principal city clerk. In addition, parish churches were invited to send lay representatives. The purpose of this gathering was to exercise legislative authority and jurisdiction in all matters affecting the general interests of the church and to regulate the life and preaching of the ministers. The synod so effectively developed by Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich served as a model for Bern, St. Gallen, Basel, Schaffhausen, the Three Leagues, and other Reformed churches far beyond the boundaries of the Swiss Confederation.

The composition of the synod reflected, undoubtedly, the self-confidence of an urban citizenry, educated burghers and literate artisans, possessing their own independent political traditions, especially the far-reaching power wielded by the magistrates over the affairs of the church. This, however should not obscure the fact that the intention which led to the foundation of the synod in Zurich was essentially theological. The main pillars underpinning the composition of the synod were the concept of the priesthood of all believers and the doctrine of the reformed ministry. It was theologically fitting for laypeople to take in hand the reform of the church, and this in turn was perfectly compatible with concern for the importance and dignity of the pastoral office. Yet to appreciate fully the characteristics of the new institution one must consider especially the dialectic set out in the Bible and well rehearsed in the Christian tradition between spirit and flesh, inner and outward human being, earthly and heavenly city, kingdom of God and kingdom of the world. Luther and his followers jostled these opposing polarities under the broad umbrella of the two kingdoms doctrine. Without entering into the "maze of the doctrine of the two kingdoms" (Johannes Heckel), it is essential to recall that for him although both kingdoms or realms, the spiritual and the secular, are divinely ordained and necessary for human existence, they are completely different in purpose and character. The former is concerned with the relationship between Christ and the believer's soul, the latter applies to all people and deals with the maintenance of external peace and justice. Moreover, for Luther

41 See Chap. 2 above.

it was of utmost importance that the two realms should be kept distinct and absolutely not be confused.

Neither Zwingli nor Bullinger, to mention only two Swiss reformers, formulated their theology in terms of the two kingdoms doctrine. In his treatise *On Divine and Human Righteousness,* Zwingli distinguished between the spiritual and temporal realm in a way that seems at one with the *Zwei Reiche* doctrine, but in fact is quite in contrast to Luther's view, since he emphasized the link between the two kinds of justice rather than their division. Divine righteousness, Zwingli argued, concerns only the inner human being and relates to the spiritual realm. It is in essence perfect conformity with the will of God, the attainment of which only divine grace can make possible and the observance of which only God can judge. Human righteousness pertains only to the outer human being and relates to the temporal realm over which civil government holds sway. It is a purely external righteousness that consists in following the dictates of human law and in refraining from evil actions. At first sight this appears similar to Luther's line of thought. The point at issue and the sharp contrast between the two reformers appear when the Zuricher declares on several occasions that human righteousness is imperfect and therefore must conform in all matters "as closely as possible" (*zum nächsten inen möglich sye*) to its divine counterpart.[42] By so arguing Zwingli betrayed both his preference for the interrelatedness of the two types of righteousness and his distance from Luther, who instead mostly deplored the confusion of the two realms. In a letter written to Ambrosius Blarer but clearly aimed at Luther, Zwingli wrote that "the kingdom of Christ should also be external"—that is, it should apply to the order of secular society.[43] In the commentary on Jeremiah he was even more explicit, asserting "the Christian is nothing else than the faithful and good citizen, and the Christian city is nothing other than the Christian church."[44]

Bullinger seems to widen further the gulf between Wittenberg and Zurich. In the seventh sermon of the Fourth Decade, where he dwells at considerable length upon the issue, he argued that there are not two kingdoms but one which unites in itself a multiplicity of aspects and a true diversity of

42 Zwingli, *Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit* (1523), Z 2: 458–525; Engl.: HZW 2: 3–41. See esp. Z 2: 520.11–13, and the explanations given by Blickle, *Communal Reformation*, 154–59 and Hamm, *Freiheit*, 100–22.

43 Zwingli to Ambrosius Blarer, 4 May 1528, Z 9: 451–67, esp. 454.14: "Christi Regnum etiam esse externum."

44 Zwingli, *Complanationis Jeremiae* (1531), Z 14: 424.19–22: "ut iam dixisse olim non poeniteat, Christianum hominem nihil aliud esse quam fidelem ac bonum civem, urbem Christianam nihil quam ecclesiam Christianam esse."

order under God's governance: "This kingdom of God (he asserted) is verily but only one; for there is but one God only, one King Christ only, one church, and life everlasting."[45] This strong affirmation of God's sovereignty, however, is not intended to suggest that his kingdom is concerned only with immaterial entities. In fact, Bullinger immediately goes on to say that this "one kingdom" encompasses an earthly kingdom of grace (*regnum gratiae terrenum*) as well as a heavenly kingdom of glory (*regnum gloriae coeleste*).[46] Even with this qualification the statement sounds utterly mono-dimensional in contrast with the more dialectical perspectives of other magisterial reformers and seems fairly close to the medieval idea that saw the two divine orders as existing in a hierarchical relationship. Bullinger's intention, however, is not to deny the two realms or dimensions of human life, the vertical relationship with God and the horizontal relationships with other creatures. Rather he places far more emphasis on the Christological unity and integration of the so called "two kingdoms" than Luther, to the extent that he sees them as a totality within which there cannot be different kinds of lordship and of righteousness.

Zwingli's and Bullinger's understanding of the relationship between the spiritual and temporal realm charted a path of great consequence for the interaction of church and civic community. For the two reformers, church and commonwealth are not different entities, two entirely separate bodies based on fundamentally different principles, but rather two elements of the same reality. Although their tasks are separate, they themselves are indivisible and draw on the same model of righteousness. A central aspect of this conception is to secure the distinction of the ministerial and magisterial functions. By virtue of the interrelatedness of the two realms, the civil magistrates have the duty to care for communal well-being, and to protect and cultivate the true religion (*cura religionis*).[47] Bullinger gives them the title of *Elohim*, in order to highlight their particular responsibilities before God.[48] Yet for the same reason, he sees

45 Bullinger, *Decades,* HBTS 3: 648.5–6: " Et hoc quidem regnum dei unicum est. Nam unus modo deus, unus duntaxat rex Christus, una ecclesia et vita aeterna est." Engl: *Decades* 2: 276.

46 HBTS 3: 648: 10–12. Engl: *Decades* 2: 276.

47 HBTS 3: 188–200; Engl: *Decades* 2: 323–344. See Torrance Kirby, "The Civil Magistrate and the 'cura religionis.' Heinrich Bullinger's prophetical office and the English Reformation," in HBLTI, 2: 934–950.

48 Heinrich Bullinger, *Anklag und ernstliches ermanen Gottes Allmächtigen zuo eyner gemeynenn Eydgnoschafft* [n.p., 1525/1528?, HBBl 1, No.3], f. Ajjjj^{r} :"Jr soltend Elohim (das ist Goetter) sin/mine statthalter in gricht unnd gerechtigkeyt." idem., *Decades,* HBTS 3: 568.15–18 (Engl: 2, 134): "Porro plurativam vocem 'Elohim' scriptura non tantum deo tribuit, sed et angelis et iudicibus seu primariis viris, utpote quibus in officio ab ipso

no problem in entrusting the preachers with the *Wächteramt,* the prophetic office of watching over the political community and the magistrates. Just as commonwealth and church are inseparable as body and soul, so there is a reciprocal obligation of magisterial and ministerial office. Thus the composition of the Zurich synod made explicit what had been implicit in the theology of the two reformers. Some years later, in very similar ways, Wolfgand Musculus in Bern taught that the duty and responsibility of the magistrate included the *cura religionis*, although it was not an unlimited or absolute authority; when the magistrate failed, the task fell to the clergy and elders of the people.[49]

This reciprocal relationship between religious and temporal sphere is the theoretical underpinning for the exercise of church discipline.[50] It seems almost a truism to say that the Swiss Reformation was, in contrast to the Geneva Reformation, very reluctant to develop its own church discipline, and left it totally—or at least to a large extent—to the secular authorities. Yet the first to argue for church autonomy in the disciplinary sphere was not Calvin but the Basel reformer Oecolampadius.[51] He was persuaded of the absolute necessity of church discipline, including excommunication, as a means of urging people to piety. The Reformation Ordinance of April 1529, influenced by his thinking, prescribed the holding of semi-annual synods according to the model adopted by Zwingli in Zurich, but in addition introduced church discipline distinct from the civil punishment imposed by the magistrate. It stipulated that sinners should receive "fraternal admonition" before being excommunicated, delegating the authority for this grave act solely to the parish ministers and deacons.[52] But the claim was soon disputed by civic authorities worried about the prospect of ministerial tyranny. The issue was brought up again in Oecolampadius' celebrated address to the city council in May 1530,

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instituto laborantibus praesens adsit et per ipsos operetur, quae vult, hominibusque salutaria sunt." See Campi, *Patterns,* 52–55; idem, "Bullingers Rechts- und Staatsdenken," in *Evangelische Theologie* 64 (2004), 116–126.

49 Ballor, *Covenant*, 183–194.

50 For a sound discussion and multilingual bibliography, see Jordan Ballor and W. Bradford Littlejohn, "European Calvinism: Church Discipline," in *European History Online,* Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz 2013-03-25. URL: http://www.ieg-ego.eu/ballorj-littlejohnw-2013-en URN: urn:nbn:de:0159–2013032507 [2015-08M-22].

51 Olaf Kuhr, *Die Macht des Bannes und der Busse: Kirchenzucht und Erneuerung der Kirche bei Johannes Oekolampad* (*1482–1531*) (Bern: Lang, 1999); Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation,* 67–77; Reinhold Friedrich, "Kirchenzucht und -bann vor dem Hintergrund des Briefwechsels Bucers mit den Basler Predigern im Jahr 1532," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 193–202. See also Chapter 4 above.

52 Text in BSKO, 13–42, no.3, here 25, 32–34.

Oratio de reducenda excommunicatione[53] in which he reasserted the necessity of reintroducing excommunication and proposed a detailed disciplinary system. According to Oecolampadius, church discipline should not be the sole responsibility of the ministers but also involve members of the laity so that both could act for and on behalf of the whole church. To this end he proposed the creation of a twelve-member board of censors (*Bannherren*) composed of ministers and laymen, four of whom were chosen from members of the city council. But the Basel magistrates were reluctant to let the church exercise discipline, and they found allies in other Swiss cities.

Yet while Oecolampadius' quest for autonomous church discipline met defeat in Basel, it was successfully pursued by Martin Bucer in Strasbourg[54] and found unexpectedly a significant convert in Leo Jud, Zwingli's closest ally and disciple in Zurich. The disaster of the Second War of Kappel had changed drastically, albeit temporarily, his view of ecclesiastical polity: Jud wanted to liberate the *ecclesia Tigurina* from the tutelage of the city council. His correspondence with Bullinger in March 1532 is a touching document, since it shows the relationship between two men holding mutually exclusive views, developing into one of close collaboration and then into friendship.[55] But at the same time it reveals an intriguing chapter in Swiss Reformation history whose significance goes far beyond the immediate dispute. Jud argued essentially for the abolition of the legal and financial privileges of the Zurich church, for the introduction of an autonomous church discipline, and for the separation of church and state. Bullinger reminded him of the disadvantages of such a separation, as well as the advantages of an established church, and he contended that a separation would leave gaps in public life that would need addressing; furthermore, invoking the authority of Zwingli, he was adamant that ecclesiastical excommunication is appropriately placed in the hands of the Christian magistrate since it concerns proper public behavior. Leo Jud made it perfectly clear that he was by no means persuaded by the arguments of the newly elected Antistes, but nevertheless offered him assistance in drafting the Synodal Ordinance of 1532, which held the role of the magistrate as decisive in the imposition of discipline in the church—a form of church- state relations

53 Text in B&A, 2: 448–61, no.750.

54 Amy Nelson Burnett, *The Yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline* (Kirksville, Mo: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994).

55 Klaus Deppermann, "Schwenckfeld und Leo Jud – ein denkwürdiger Briefwechsel über Nutzen und Nachteil der Staatskirche," in idem, *Protestantische Profile von Luther bis Francke* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 65–90. See also Heiko A. Oberman, "Europa Afflicta. The Reformation of the Refugees," ARG 83 (1992), 91–110.

that would last until 1803. The *Berner Synodus*, as implied by its name a confession of faith approved by the synod of Bern in January 1532, reproduced the Zwinglian-Bullingerian theory, placing the bulk of ecclesiastical authority firmly in the hands of the Christian magistrate.[56]

It is worth noting that, some years later in Zurich, Vermigli was clearer and even more emphatic than Jud in considering discipline, which he called *Evangelii regula de correctione fraterna,* as the third mark of the church.[57] On the other hand in Geneva Calvin, although firmly pursuing a disciplinarian ecclesiology, did not follow Oecolampadius, Bucer, Jud, and Vermigli as did the Reformed tradition generally. He retained the two essential *notae ecclesiae* and distinguished carefully between marks and discipline. The marks, which he called the "saving doctrine of Christ," constitute the life of the church, whereas discipline, which he compared to the sinews that hold the body together, pertains to the organization. Only the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments give the church its character of the body of Christ; discipline, however important, is "like a bridle to restrain and tame those who rage against the doctrine of Christ."[58]

At any rate, the quest for autonomous church discipline met defeat in the Swiss Reformed churches. With the sole exception of Basel and few nonconformist voices in the Three Leagues, the Zurich and Bern view prevailed: the synod and other structures of the church charged with exercising discipline were to provide information and guidance, while the magistracy had to apply it. Cooperation between the two bodies in implementation varied greatly from place to place and according to circumstances. In general there were large areas of consent as well as potential for recurrent discord. Officially, churches had no reason to complain. They had willingly surrendered the exercise of discipline to the magistrate. Moreover, in their collaborative work to discipline ministers and laity, churches and councils had developed an efficient system that enjoyed considerable success.[59]

This model clearly rejected the Anabaptist view that the Christian community should be radically separate from the secular sphere or that the individual should remain apart from all offices. Even more momentous for the Reformed churches would be the contrast with Calvin's striving for the independence of the church in arranging its own affairs. Indeed, the territory of Vaud after the Bernese conquest in 1536 became the battlefield over these two contradictory

56 Partial print in RBS 1: 508–548, here at 518–520. See Bruening, *Battleground*, 65.

57 Campi, *Patterns,* 225–37.

58 Calvin, *Institutes* 4.12.1.

59 Gordon, *Discipline,* 211.

conceptions of church-state relations, and a similar conflict on the matter of church discipline arose in the Palatinate during the 1560s.

Calvin's view was certainly more biblical in a New Testament vein and less hazardous than the model of reciprocal relationship of the two orders based on the pattern of Old Testament kingship and, in the long run, it was more influential both spiritually and politically. The Swiss reformers did not seem to have recognized the danger of political tutelage of the church or of clerical theocracy. However, it should be noted that the handing over of church discipline to the magistrates did not hinder their preeminent representative, Heinrich Bullinger, from differentiating in principle and in practice between magisterial and clerical competencies. The Antistes was equally anxious to impress on the secular authority the *cura religionis* as he was zealous to preserve the autonomy of the church from the intermingling of the "godly magistrate." Moreover, the peculiar custom of the *Fürträge*, the formal memoranda to the city authorities inaugurated by Bullinger and kept well into the 17th century in Zurich, testifies that for him the ministerial office involved much more than do-gooding and being kind to the magistrates.[60]

11.4.2 *The Theology of the Sacraments*

The Swiss Reformation was the seedbed for a particular theology of the sacraments—deprecated or valued, depending on one's point of view. It is no disparagement to its novelty to say that it was by no means a *creatio ex nihilo*, but part of a larger movement of ideas that occurred in the first two decades of the 16th century fostered by the scholarship of the biblical humanists and the return to the theology of the Fathers against the too intricate systems of the later schoolmen. The cultural circumstances for the development of a radically new understanding of the sacraments were simply more favorable in Basel, Zurich, and Strasbourg than elsewhere. So while the Swiss and Upper Rhine reformers received some impetus from Wittenberg in rejecting Roman Catholic teaching and practice of the sacraments, they also owed a real intellectual debt to the *sodalitas Erasmiana* whose sacramental theology linked biblical and patristic scholarship to contemporary religious debates. Already in his *Paraphrases* and in the celebrated *Enchiridion militis christiani* Erasmus had suggested a symbolic view of baptism and the Lord's Supper that led to a decisive turning point in the understanding of the doctrine of the sacraments for an array of Upper Rhine and Swiss reformers like Martin Bucer, Wolfgang

60 See Chapter 2 above, and Robert M. Kingdon, "La discipline ecclésiastique vue de Zurich et Genève au temps de la réformation: L'usage de Matthieu 18, 15–17 par les réformateurs," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 133 (2001), 343–55.

Capito, Caspar Hedio, Simon Grynaeus, Kaspar Megander, Oswald Myconius, Oecolampadius, Theodor Bibliander, Leo Jud, Konrad Pellikan, and Zwingli.[61] In Zwingli's' case, from the second half of 1524 on, he also shared with notable enthusiasm the opinion of the Dutch jurist Cornelis Hoen, who advocated a purely symbolic understanding of the sacrament. In March 1525, in his *Commentary on True and False Religion,* Zwingli presented his own view of the Lord's Supper. He no longer interpreted the words of institution in a literal sense: This *is* my body, but instead as a metonymy, a figure of speech: This *signifies* my body. For him the Eucharist was the last of the parables of Jesus and ought to be understood according to the analogy of faith. Thus the Lord's Supper was a thanksgiving and commemorative meal (*Dank- und Gedächtnismahl*), an affirmation of brotherly communion (*Gemeinschaftsmahl*), a pledge of allegiance to Christ (*Pflichtzeichen*) for his sacrifice on the cross, and primarily an exercise of faith (*contemplatio fidei*). Moreover, in this influential work Zwingli did not see the Eucharist as involving an essential soteriological function, as a means of grace, although it should be noted that in his mature writings from the years 1529–1530 he was prepared to maintain the spiritual efficacy of the sacraments.[62] In Oecolampadius' case, the Basel reformer was embroiled in the debate beginning in 1525 with the publication of his *Genuine Exposition of the Lord's Words, "This is my Body"* and other writings. These learned treatises brought significant patristic arguments against Christ's substantial presence in the elements of the Supper to the forefront of the discussion, but, of course, strained the relationship with Luther and many former humanist friends.[63] This assortment of ideas spread very rapidly across the Swiss Confederation and Germany.

Luther, who kept his ear to the ground, responded in October 1526 with *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ – Against the Fanatics*; a year later he penned his *That these Words of Christ, "This is my Body," Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics.* Among the main "detractors of the sacrament" he placed his former colleague Andreas Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius. Surprisingly, the focus of the second treatise was on the Basel reformer. For Luther the reason was straightforward, as he believed that all three had taken

61 Christine Christ-von Wedel, *Erasmus of Rotterdam: Advocate of a New Christianity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), Chap. 15, esp. 191–193.

62 See Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, 180–93.

63 Oecolampadius, *De Genuina Verborum Domini, Hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos authores, expositione liber* (Basel: Knoblauch 1525). See Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 50–78; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Oekolampads Anteil am frühen Abendmahlsstreit," in Christ-von Wedel, *Basel*, 215–32; *Baden Disp*, 83–4.

the same purely symbolic view of the Eucharist, but that Oecolampadius employed the utmost theological dexterity to express it. Whereas today scholars are aware that Karlstadt's inchoate thoughts about the Lord's Supper differed in essence from the teaching of the two Swiss reformers, there was indeed substantial agreement between Zwingli and Oecolampadius on this matter. The only debatable point is whether the Basler derived some arguments from the Zuricher or vice versa.[64]

To the strings of literary blows and counter-blows between Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Basel, and Zurich in the early Reformation should be added two slim treatises of the young Bullinger: *De sacrificio missae* and *De institutione eucharistiae*.[65] Quite independently, the twenty-year-old schoolmaster in Kappel came closest to Zwingli's and Oecolampadius' understanding of the sacrament, yet he went beyond a purely symbolic view. Based on the strong conviction of the unity between the two Testaments, Bullinger referred to both the Passover meal and the Lord's Supper as symbolic acts with revelatory quality that guide the vision of the people toward the covenant of grace with God. Hence for him they were not bare signs, but had soteriological significance.

This feature explains why the article concerning the sacraments in the *First Helvetic Confession* of 1536, which was significantly shaped by Bullinger, contained the notion of *coena mystica* and affirmed that in the outward signs Christ himself offers to the believers his body and blood through the ministry of the church.[66] Bullinger reiterated this position in his 1538 *De scripturae sanctae authoritate*, which he dedicated to King Henry VIII, in the foundational treatise *De origine erroris in negocio eucharistiae ac missae* of 1539, and in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew that was published in 1542, as well as in a series of letters from the years 1541 and 1544.[67] Nowhere does he make this view clearer than in the 1545 *Orthodox Confession of the Ministers of the Zurich Church*, a moderate rebuttal to Luther's scurrilous pamphlet of 1544 against the so-called sacramentarians who were unjustly scorned as heretics. In all good conscience the Antistes stated that believers truly eat and drink Christ's

64 Amy Nelson Burnett, *Karlstadt and the Origins of the Eucharistic Controversy: A Study in the Circulation of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 91–141; ead., "Rhetoric and Refutation in Luther's *That These Words Still Stand Firm*," *Lutheran Quarterly* 29 (2015), 284–303.

65 Bullinger, *De sacrifitio missae* (1524), in HBTS 2: 39–40; idem, *De institutione eucharistiae* (1525), in HBTS 2: 89–100.

66 Text in RBS 1/2: 33–68, here 65.7–8 and 11–14. See W. Peter Stephens, "The Sacraments in the Confessions of 1536, 1549, and 1566 – Bullinger's Understanding in the Light of Zwingli," *Zwingliana* 33 (2006), 51–76.

67 For a detailed presentation of these lesser known sources see my *Patterns*, 86–8.

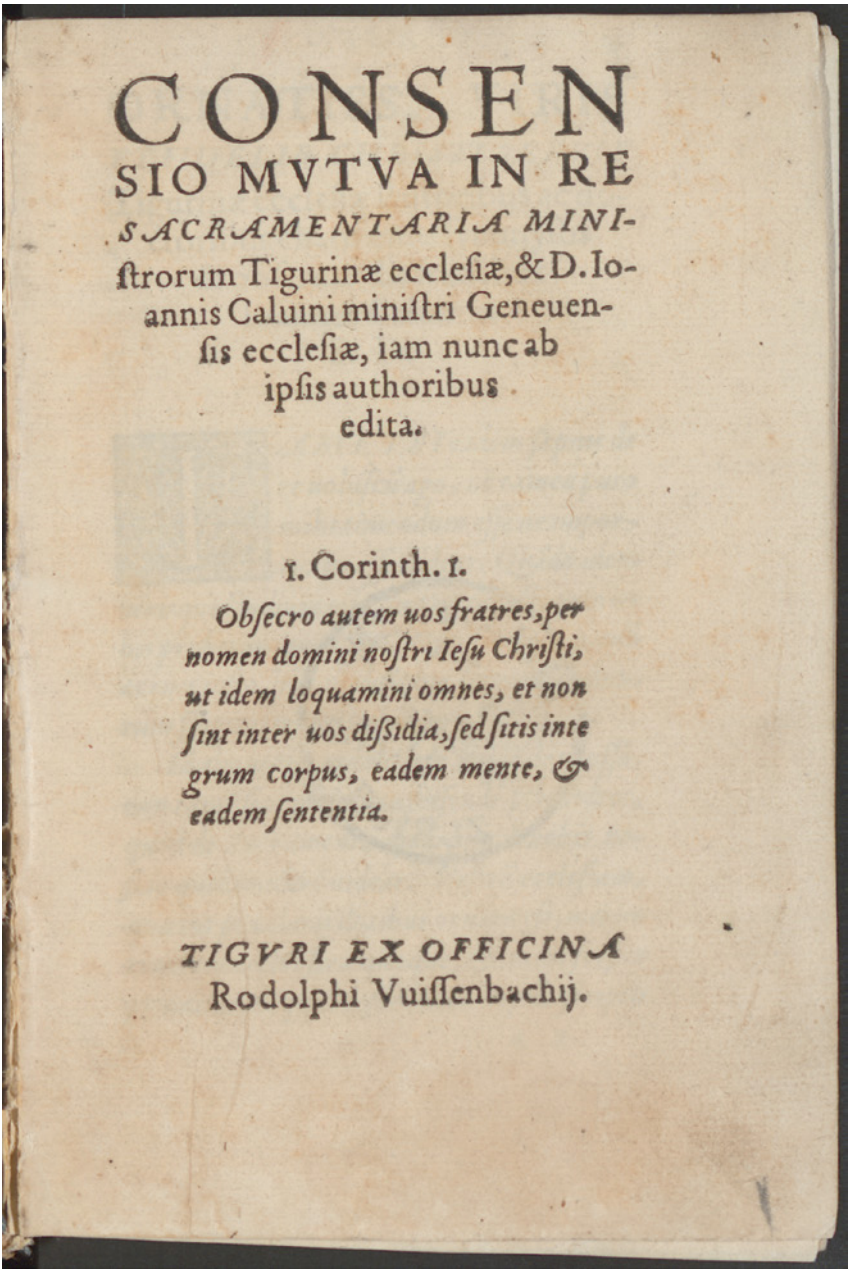
body and blood during the meal, albeit with the limitation that the presence of Christ is spiritually conceived and in no way limited to the Lord's Supper because Christ is not received through the mouth, but "with the believing soul" (*geistlicher wyß, unnd mit dem glöubigen gemüt*).[68]

However, Bullinger did not obstinately hold to this position. The lively dispute over the Lord's Supper that broke out in 1547 in the Pays de Vaud between Pierre Viret and André Zébédée, with other combatants on either side, the alarming situation of Protestantism in central Europe after the Augsburg Interim, and the intensive exchange of ideas with Calvin, led him to refine further the doctrine of the sacraments. The major achievement in this field was the doctrinal union between the Genevan and (after overcoming Bern's and Basel's initial resistance) all of the Swiss churches in the *Consensus Tigurinus,* the agreement that the two reformers hammered out in May 1549 in the aftermath of prolonged negotiations.[69]

The 26 articles of the Zurich Agreement can be divided into three unequal parts: Christological introduction (art. 1–5), explanation of the doctrine of the sacraments (art. 6–20), and a refutation of other views (art. 21–26). The sacraments are described in Zwinglian terms as "marks and tokens" (*notae ac tesserae*) of Christian confession and fellowship to be "incitements (*incitamenta*) to gratitude and exercises of faith and a godly life."(art. 7) In the following article, Calvin's concerns resound: what the sacraments testify and seal outwardly, what they figure to our eyes, God himself "without any doubt truly offers inwardly by his Spirit," namely, reconciliation with God, renewal of life by the Spirit; in short, the benefits of righteousness and salvation (art. 8). Thereby arises the necessity of clarifying the relation between the sacramental sign, or figure, and that which it signifies. It is claimed that *signum* and *res significata* are distinct but not disjoined. Hence, those who by faith embrace the promises that are offered by the sacrament "receive Christ spiritually together with his spiritual gifts" (art. 9). Therefore the Consensus disassociates its teaching from any that consider the signs bare signs, but it also emphatically rejects the belief that water or bread and wine offer Christ to us (art. 10). The sacraments accomplish nothing by themselves; "it is God alone who acts by his Spirit" (art. 12–14). They are effective, however, only for the elect and not restricted to the occasion of their administration (art. 16–20). In the concluding articles the Catholic

68 Partial print in *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, (ed.) E.F. Karl Müller (Leipzig: Deichert, 1903; reprint Waltrop, 1999), 153–59, here at 154.21–28.

69 Original Latin text in CO 7: 733–48. New critical edition with English translation by Torrance Kirby in *Cons Tig,* 124–42 and 258–67. For the vast literature on the Zurich Agreement see Chapter 2 above, n. 136.


CONSEN
SIO MVTVA IN RE
SACRAMENTARIA MINI-
ſtrorum Tigurinæ eccleſiæ,& D. Io-
annis Caluini miniſtri Geneuen-
ſis eccleſiæ, iam nunc ab
ipſis authoribus
edita.

1. Corinth. 1.

Obſecro autem uos fratres, per nomen domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ut idem loquamini omnes, et non ſint inter uos diſſidia, ſed ſitis integrum corpus, eadem mente, & eadem ſententia.

TIGVRI EX OFFICINA
Rodolphi Vuiſſenbachij.

FIGURE 11.3 *The Consensus Tigurinus (1549, printed in both Zurich and Geneva 1551). This agreement successfully synthesized the differing positions of Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin and provided a foundation on which future Reformed theologians could build.*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

doctrine of transubstantiation and the Lutheran concept of the ubiquity of Christ's human nature are refuted as "crude inventions and futile sophistry" (art. 21–26).

The agreement successfully synthesized the differing positions of Zwingli, Bullinger, and Calvin.[70] This is evident in the core articles 7–10. Zwingli's understanding of the sacraments as badges of Christian profession, inciting to thanksgiving, exercising faith, and recalling the death of Christ to memory, is faithfully acknowledged. But Bullinger and Calvin had wrestled with this interpretation long enough to know that it had to be set aside, because it did not differentiate between the objective offer of grace and the subjective experience of it, and thus it robbed faith of a key component—the palpable gift of salvation. Thus, the preeminent purpose of the sacraments, both reformers affirmed, "is that through them God may testify, represent and seal his grace to us." The formulation may sound mediating and pale. The core of the matter, however, lies in the idea that God does not set forth an empty symbol before us, but "truly and without doubt" effects that which he represents in the sacraments through his Spirit. All of the threads of the *Consensus Tigurinus* come together in these articles: the Supper in fact offers salvation, but through the Holy Spirit, in that Christ gives himself with his spiritual gifts to the believers. At the same time, this pneumatologically oriented line of thought clearly provides space for exercising faith in communal, social, and ecclesiastically tangible ways. Assurance of salvation is therefore not to be sought "through the roundabout way of reflecting on one's own faith," as has often been inaccurately claimed, but instead is attributed to the Spirit of God.[71]

Equally noteworthy is the statement that the efficacy of the sacraments is related to the doctrine of election. While the signs are administered to the reprobate and elect alike, the truth of the signs (*veritas signorum*) reaches only the latter (art. 16–17). The theological context of this claim, of course, concerns the so-called *manducatio oralis et impiorum*, or as it is called in the Wittenberg Concord, the *manducatio indignorum.*[72] In the heat of the first Eucharistic controversy, Lutherans affirmed that even the wicked or anyone else who unworthily partake of the Supper receive not only the elements but Christ's body and blood. Bucer (unlike the Lutherans) distinguished between the *impii*, who received nothing, and the *indigni,* who ate and drank judgment. This allowed

70 For a more detailed discussion, see my *Patterns*, 103–14.

71 As opposed to Ernst Bizer, *Studien zur Geschichte des Abendmahlsstreits im 16. Jahrhundert* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1940), 273–74 and 286.

72 See Bizer, *Studien*, 122–27; Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans: Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005): 45–70, here 49–51.

him to say that only those with faith—even if it was inadequate faith—truly ate Christ's body. Even so, the difference between Luther and Bucer, and Bullinger and Calvin on this point was insurmountable. The authors of the *Consensus* were indeed emphatic that the sacraments by the power of the Spirit would bear with them the things they signify, yet they forcefully insisted that we do not partake of Christ's body and blood without faith, and thus it is excluded that they can be received by unbelievers or unworthy.

Neither the interpretation of Bullinger nor that of Calvin, nor the somewhat mediating interpretation of Bucer, prevailed in the *Consensus*. Clearly navigating between the Scylla of sacramental realism and the Charybdis of sacramental symbolism, the two reformers charted a new course, namely that the ascended Christ is truly present in the Supper and truly offers what the signs figure. Not all, however, receive his true body and blood as spiritual nourishment: only the elect, and by faith through the power of the Holy Spirit. As so often in church history, the long term results were better than one might have expected. What seemed to the contemporaries a text with a host of qualifications and ambiguities ranking a little below Luther and a little above Zwingli, and therefore fundamentally divisive, never actually achieved the status of a confession. Nevertheless, the *Consensus* became a reference document for the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which found its mature expression in the *Heidelberg Catechism* and the *Second Helvetic Confession*, the most widely embraced confessional standards in the Reformed tradition.

11.4.3 *Covenant Theology*

No other topic in Swiss Reformed thought has been treated so extensively and interpreted in such widely divergent ways as covenant theology, also known as federal theology (from the Latin *foedus*).[73] Considered in its broadest sense, early Reformed covenant theology is a handy construct or method that serves to describe the relationship between God and his people (Israel and the church) presented in the Bible, and to understand the continuity and discontinuity between the Old and New Testaments. One crucial aspect of this *theologumenon* concerns the nature of the covenant. Is it a conditional, bilateral

73 Much of the 19th- and 20th-century vast research in this field is discussed by J. Mark Beach, *Christ and the Covenant. Francis Turretin's Federal Theology as a Defense of the Doctrine of Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 19–64. See also the lucid survey of scholarship by Andrew A. Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity in Covenantal Thought: A Study in the Reformed Tradition to the Westminster Assembly* (Grand Rapids, MI.: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 80–160.

covenant (i.e. with obligations placed on both parties), or an unconditional, unilateral covenant (i.e. with obligations undertaken by only one party)? According to scripture, in some forms of covenant God places definite conditions on an individual or on a people that must be met in order to remain within the covenant: so God gives Moses Ten Commandments to keep (Exodus 34) and the bestowal of the blessings or curses is conditioned upon obedience or disobedience. Other forms appear to be free gifts from God in which there is no obligation for the receiver to perform: so Noah hears that God will never flood the world again (Genesis 9), or Hosea illustrates God's continuing love that does not let his people go (Hosea 11). The latter is the form of the new covenant that God sealed with the blood of Christ and without conditions to be met (Matthew 26:28). This diversity of usages indicates that covenant theology can evolve in various directions, emphasizing either the so-called monopleuric (unilateral) or duopleuric (bilateral) covenant. Indeed, from the late 16th century on, Reformed Orthodox theologians developed a covenant theology that contrasted two different bonds: *foedus gratiae* and *foedus operum.*

Of course, given the importance of the covenant motif in the Bible, it figures in the writings of the Fathers and the medieval schoolmen. Through the Brethern of the Common Life and the theology of Gabriel Biel it influenced the development of persons so dissimilar from each other as Erasmus and Luther and gained ground at the eve of the Reformation.[74] It is generally recognized that the earliest references to the covenant in Reformed theology are to be found in the works of Oecolampadius and Zwingli.[75] The Basler seems to have preceded the Zuricher discussing at some length the covenant motif already in his 1523–1524 lectures on Isaiah, published in 1525, and then in his 1527 lectures on Jeremiah, edited and published by Wolfgang Capito two years after Oecolampadius' death.[76] His vocabulary is consistent with the early Reformed discussion of the covenant. The Latin terms *pactum, testamentum* and *foedus*, by which were traditionally rendered the Hebrew word *berith* and the Greek word *diatheke*, are used interchangeably and denote a unilateral gift on God's part. This does not rule out a response of faith and obedience by God's people,

74 Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity,* 161–203.

75 Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity,* Chaps. 7 and 8 offer a useful and nuanced presentation of Oecolampadius's, Zwingli's, Bullinger's, and Calvin's understanding of the covenant.

76 Oecolampadius*, In Iesaiam prophetam Hypomnematōn, hoc est, Commentariorum, Libri VI* (Basel: [Apud Andream Cratandrum], 1525), 23b, 205, 265b; 271; idem, *In Hieremiam prophetam commentariorum libri tre* [...] (Strasbourg: Apiarius, 1533), 162–62b. See Joshua Moon, *Restitutio ad Integrum. An 'Augustinian' Reading of Jeremiah 31:31–34 in Dialogue with the Christian Tradition* (Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews, 2007), 94–103.

though Oecolampadius is solicitous to explain that this response is enabled by the Holy Spirit and not by any inherent human quality. Following the biblical and Augustinian notion of covenant, he sees the binding relationship between God and the people soteriologically and manifest throughout all ages from the time of Adam. He differentiates between the old and new covenants, but at the same time he emphasizes their basic unity. There is one eternal covenant, even though it is dispensed variously on account of circumstances and diversity of times. The believers, whether the patriarchs, the people of the law of Moses, or the church, are seen as one family of faith in the same covenant that is sealed through the parallel signs of circumcision and baptism, as well as Passover and the Lord's Supper.

These are also the basic lines of Zwingli's covenant theology.[77] Succinct occurrences of the topic can be found in *The Petition*, *An Exposition of the Articles*, and *Proposal concerning Images and Mass*, which confirm Gottfried Locher's opinion that the biblical concept of covenant was in Zwingli's thought prior to the outbreak of the controversy with the Anabaptists.[78] Nevertheless there is no doubt that the dispute with his former followers provided the impetus for him to formulate important aspects of the doctrine of the covenant that would remain a staple of Reformed theology.

In May, 1525, Zwingli published his *On Baptism, Rebaptism, and Infant Baptism*, in which he laid out a host of arguments to reject the Anabaptist practice of baptizing only professing adult members of their community and to justify infant baptism. For our purpose, chief among them is the assertion of the essential unity of the two testaments perceived explicitly in terms of God's eternal covenant of grace. The relatively lengthy discussion of book 4, Chap. 23–24 of Augustine's treatise *On Baptism, Against the Donatists* witnesses unequivocally to a unilateral understanding of the covenant, although it embraces ethical responses. In this context, he sees baptism as an initiatory sign or pledge of allegiance equivalent to circumcision by which the children of Abraham were to be raised in the covenant of the one true God. Colossians 2:10–12 is for him the conclusive evidence that baptism has replaced circumcision and it should be administered to children.[79] This, of course, undermined the Anabaptist

77 An important older work is Jack Warren Cottrell, *Covenant and Baptism in the Theology of Huldreich Zwingli*, Ph.D dissertation (Princeton Theological Seminary,: 1971).

78 Zwingli, *Supplicatio ad Hugonem* (1522), Z 1: 200; idem, *Auslegen und Gründen* (1523), Z 2: 98, 131, 157, 185; Engl: HZW 1: 106, 124, 149; idem, *Vorschlag* (1524), 126. Locher, *'Thought*, 114, n. 96.

79 Zwingli, *Von der Taufe*, Z 4: 295.26–32, 321.8–330.24.

view of salvation history, which placed emphasis on the radical discontinuity between the covenant in the Old Testament and the new covenant in Christ and therefore rejected the correlation between circumcision and baptism.

The issue was attacked by Zwingli from another angle in his *Subsidiary Essay on the Eucharist.* Although the purpose of the slim treatise was, as the title indicates, to spell out additional arguments in favor of his Eucharistic theology, behind them peeps out the unresolved debate with the Anabaptists. Thus the reformer introduces what would become his favorite motif linking the words of institution—the cup as new testament—to the establishment of the covenant with Abraham in Genesis 17:1–14 instead of following the traditional reference to Hebrew 9:1–28. While emphasizing God's free and gracious disposition towards Abraham, Zwingli stresses the necessity of obedience in the covenant, although the insistence on human responsibility appears more the result of, rather than the condition for fulfilling the covenant. He then introduces the parallelism between circumcision and baptism as signs of the covenant, and at the same time describes the Supper as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice, by which the covenant had been perfected.[80]

Zwingli developed further his covenantal idea in *A Reply to Hubmaier* and *A Refutation of the Tricks of the Anabaptists.* As before, the covenant plays an important role in the defense of infant baptism. The only—but crucial—modification is the insertion of the covenant with Adam and Eve, which provides the basis for the relationship not only between God and his people, but between God and humanity. Later, he argues, this covenant was renewed with Noah and Abraham, but no matter how many times it has been renewed, it is still the same covenant. Jesus Christ's appearance in history represents not the abrogation but the fulfillment of the covenant with Adam, Noah, and Abraham, and it reveals the universal scope of the covenantal relationship between God and humanity.[81] Consequently, Zwingli perceives the relationship between the two testaments not in terms of contrast and discontinuity but rather of unity and continuity. Zwingli thus insists that because "Christian people are also in the gracious covenant with God, in which Abraham stood, it is clearly proven that our children are no less God's than Abraham's." Hence the connection between circumcision and baptism becomes inescapable: "If they are children of God, it follows, as Peter says in Acts 10, that we neither should nor may deny them

80 Zwingli, *Subsidium sive coronis de eucharistia* (1525), Z 4: 440–504, here at 499.9–500.39; Engl.: HZW 2: 191–231, here at 223–25.

81 Zwingli, *In catabaptistarum strophas elenchus* (1527), Z: 6/1: 1–196, here at 155, 23–158; Engl.: ZSW 123–258.

outward baptism." For infant baptism is "a source of unity and a comforting sign of assurance that by virtue of the testament our children are certainly God's."[82]

In sum, for Zwingli baptism could not have the same role it had for other magisterial reformers. However, his defense of infant baptism was not, as it has been suggested, a mere matter of church politics, albeit his immersion in ecclesiastical and political problems is undeniable and brought its temptations. What is worth remembering, too, is that it was an attempt, not without exegetical flaws, to ground baptism in God's eternal covenant of grace rather than in human decision, and to adjust the covenant theology to the public and private life of a Christian commonwealth.[83]

Oecolampadius and Zwingli died too early, and it was left to Heinrich Bullinger to develop this covenant theology further. The interpretation of his teaching on this subject is one of the most hotly disputed issues in Bullinger studies, particularly among English speaking scholars, and the literature on the subject is enormous.[84] J. Wayne Baker proposed the approach to Bullinger's covenantal thought that dominated through the last two decades of the 20th century but has now been rejected. According to Baker, Bullinger taught a bilateral covenant and was the *coryphaeus* of "The Other Reformed Tradition" that differed from Calvinism.[85] The consensus that has now emerged, if it is not premature to speak of one, differs significantly from Baker's position, as we shall see.

Bullinger was the first Reformed theologian who wrote a treatise specifically on the theme of the covenant, printed in 1534: *A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Testament or Covenant of God*.[86] What is now regarded as a milestone

82 Zwingli, *Antwort über Balthasar Hubmaiers Taufbüchlein* (1525), Z 4: 637.27–30; 641.24–26. See Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, 208–9.

83 Against the—in my opinion—wrong interpretation of Scott A. Gilles, "Zwingli and the Origin of the Reformed Covenant 1524–7," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 54 (2001), 21–50, who points up the bilateral, conditional character of the covenant.

84 For full bibliographic information, see HBLTI, 1:52; Moser, *Dignität,* 20–25; and Edward Dowey, "Heinrich Bullinger as Theologian: Thematic, Comprehensive, and Schematic," in Gordon/Campi, *Architect,* 35–65, esp. 35–43. For detailed treatment of Bullinger's understanding of covenant, see Peter Opitz, *Theologe,* 317–52; Willem Van't Spijker, "Bullinger als Bundestheologe," in HBLTI, 573–92.

85 J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The other Reformed Tradition* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1980)*;* idem, "Heinrich Bullinger, the Covenant, and the Reformed Tradition in Retrospect," in *Calvin Studies VIII: The Westminster Confession in Current Thought*, (ed.) John H. Leith (Davidson, NC: Davidson College, 1996), 59–75.

86 Bullinger, *De testamento seu foedere Dei unico et aeterno* [...] *brevis expositio* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1534). Engl.: Charles S. McCoy and J. Wayne Baker, *Fountainhead of Federalism. Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenantal Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 99–138. See Aurelio A. Garcia, "Bullinger's De Testamento: The Amply

in the history of covenantal thought is a short work of 52 (recto/verso) octavo pages. The thesis expounded is in the title, namely that there is one everlasting testament or covenant between God and humans. Bullinger singles out four major elements for special discussion: (1) the nature and purpose of the covenant; (2) the promises and conditions of the covenant; (3) the covenantal unity of the two Testaments; and (4) the covenant and its relation to circumcision and infant baptism.

First, to illustrate the nature and purpose of the binding relationship Bullinger chooses the covenant with the seed of Abraham (Genesis 17), though, like Oecolampadious and Zwingli, he also refers to the antedating covenants with Adam and Noah. He stresses the unilateral mercy and grace of God who by offering to covenant with fallen and sinful humans transforms enmity into friendship. This spiritual blessing is bestowed solely on account of God's goodness, not on the basis of human merits.[87] Moreover, the covenant includes not only the promise of an earthly home for the Jews, but also spiritual benefits for all humankind, not in the sense that all are automatically members of the covenant but in the sense that the invitation is extended to all.[88] The same God who in the covenant with Abraham reveals himself as *El Shaddai*—that is, as God the Almighty—will be the "protector, confederate, and savior, who is going to strengthen the otherwise weak human race in spirit and flesh, and who through Christ the Lord is going to liberate the human race from sin and from eternal death and give eternal life."[89]

Second, the essentially unilateral and non-conditional Abrahamic covenant does not absolve Abraham of all responsibility. He is "to walk before God and be blameless" (Genesis 17:1), must "keep covenant" (Genesis 17:9), and do "righteousness and justice" (Genesis 18:19). Bullinger's interpretation of these biblical phrases maintains the unilateral character of the covenant but stresses, even more than Zwingli, the necessity of human response. In the English translation by McCoy and Baker the terse Latin of the Antistes is rendered as follows: "it is our duty to adhere firmly by faith to the one God, inasmuch as he

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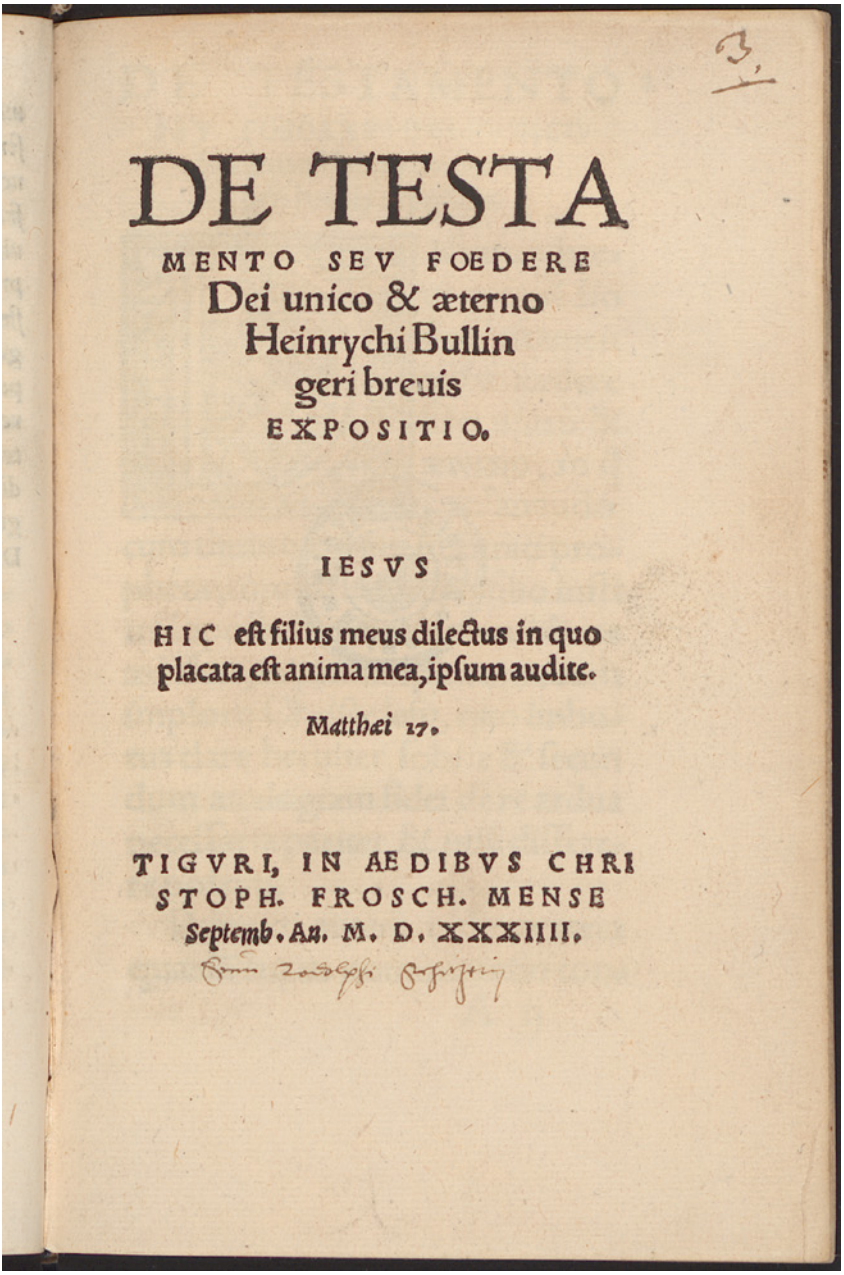
Biblical Basis of Reformed Origins," in HBLTI, 671–92; Joe Mock, "Biblical and Theological Themes in Heinrich Buillinger's 'De Testamento' (1534)," in *Zwingliana* 40 (2013), 1–35.

87 Bullinger, *De testamento,* 6r: "Deus aeternus, ipsum foedum primus offert, nullis ad hoc hominum meritis adactus, sed mera et nativa bonitate impulsus." Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 105.

88 Bullinger, *De testamento,* 14r: "Haec de officio et partibus in hoc foedere Dei, qui sub involucro terrae Chanaan et seminis benedicti, veluti copiae cornu et omnes coelestes thesauros nobis apperuit, et ad fruendum omnes genus hominum invitavit." Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 110.

89 Bullinger, *De testamento,* 12a–14r.


DE TESTA
MENTO SEV FOEDERE
Dei unico & æterno
Heinrychi Bullin
geri breuis
EXPOSITIO.

IESVS

HIC eſt filius meus dilectus in quo
placata eſt anima mea, ipſum audite.

Matthæi 17.

TIGVRI, IN AEDIBVS CHRI
STOPH. FROSCH. MENSE
Septemb. An. M. D. XXXIIII.

FIGURE 11.4 *Heinrich Bullinger produced many seminal works of theology, but his* De testamento seu foedere dei unico & aeterno brevis expositio (*Zurich: Froschauer, 1534*) *was probably the most influential, especially considering its impact on early modern political philosophy.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

is the one and only author of all good things, and to walk in innocence of life for his pleasure."[90] Their ardent interest in both theological and political federalism twists not only the source text's meaning, but also the author's thought as they contend that Bullinger envisaged human relations with God as a bilateral covenant, where the two parties have obligations to fulfill towards one another.

Many scholars have challenged McCoy's and Baker's fallacious assumption and pleaded for a more differentiated treatment of Bullinger's covenant thought.[91] In the first place, they argue that McCoy and Baker have ignored the emphasis on the revelation of God and his will that Bullinger regarded as the principal part of the covenant. Second, they draw attention to the fact that the ethical demand to "walk before me and be blameless" (Genesis 17:1) describes not a condition for entrance into the covenant, but life under the covenant according to the *usus legis didacticus*—that is, the use of the law for those who have been saved through faith apart from works. Hence the covenant cannot be understood as "mutual agreement" between equal partners. On the contrary, Bullinger could hardly be clearer in affirming that it is an act of divine condescension and mercy that excludes any human merit. Moreover, the emerging consensus seems to indicate that there are substantial commonalities between Bullinger and Calvin in their understanding of the covenant.[92]

Third, like Oecolampadius and Zwingli, Bullinger stresses the unity and continuity of both Testaments in a soteriological and hermeneutical sense while noting carefully their differences. He argues that the new covenant in Christ is nothing else than the fulfillment of what began with Adam, Abraham, and Moses; there is therefore "only one covenant and one church of all the saints,"

90 Bullinger, *De testamento,* 16r: "Nostrarum partium est uni Deo per fidem constanter adhaerere, utpote uni et soli omnium bonorum authori, et ad placitum eius in innocentia vitae ambulare." Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 111. As Garcia, "Bullinger's *De Testamento*," 679, has quite rightly noted, a literal translation of the original text would be: "Our part is to adhere firmly by faith to the one God, as the one and only author of all good things, and to walk in innocence of life according to his will."

91 Lyle Bierma, "Federal Theology in the Sixteenth Century," *Westminster Theological Journal* 45 (1983), 304–21; Richard Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 40–47; Dowey, "Heinrich Bullinger as Theologian;" Cornelis P. Venema, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Doctrine of Predestination. Author of the "Other Reformed Tradition"?* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2002), 27–33; Peter Opitz, *Theologe,* 317–52; Van't Spijker, "Bullinger als Bundestheologe;" Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity, passim*; Garcia, "Bullinger's *De Testamento;*" Mock, "Biblical and Theological Themes."

92 Peter A. Lillback, "The Early Reformed Covenant Paradigm: Vermigli in the Context of Bullinger, Luther and Calvin," in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, (ed.) Frank A. James III (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 70–96.

and "Christ is the seal and living confirmation of the covenant."[93] The twoness of Old and New Testaments concerns only circumstantial details varying in the course of time, but does not affect the fundamental soteriological scope of the covenant. Taking examples from the patriarchs beginning with Abraham, "who was clearly justified by faith alone, without ceremonies," Bullinger argues that salvation was received in Old Testament times in the very same manner as in the New.[94] The gospel exists in the Old Testament as promise and helpful instruction, while it comes to full fruition in the New Testament. Here Bullinger sketches the theme he developed in *The Old Faith* (1537), where with pointed polemic against the Roman church he argued that "our first Christian parents," Adam and Eve, knew Christ and held the same faith as all the patriarchs, prophets, apostles—and of course the 16th century reformers.[95]

The rest of the section discusses the relationship between the two Testaments, which could hardly be closer than Bullinger saw it, because he considers the covenantal motif fundamental to all parts of scripture.[96] Anticipating the obvious objection to the relation between the law and the gospel, he sounds all the distinctive notes of 16th century Reformed theology. Bullinger explains that both Testaments witness to the same *foedus evangelii* of which Christ is the substance. While admitting that the giving of the law was a concession to human weakness, he stresses that the Old Testament contains many rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices that eloquently prefigure the atoning work of Christ. On the other hand, Christ in the Sermon on the Mount makes known the true spirit of the law. Furthermore, the law serves as a "schoolmaster" that teaches us to know our sin and unworthiness, as well as our need for a mediator. Christ is the end of the law, because he performed all that the law required and prefigured.[97] Thus the claim is made that the unity of the Testaments is in no way imposed on the basis of some outside viewpoint, but it arises most naturally out of the biblical material itself.

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93 Bullinger, *De testamento,* 25r; 21r (marginal gloss): "Christus obsignatio et viva confirmatio foederis;" Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 118 and 115.

94 Ibid., 24r, Engl.: *Fountainhead,* 117–18. See also the pointed statement in 29r, "Veteres beneficium foederis non legis aut ceremoniarum salvati sunt." Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 121.

95 Bullinger, *Der alt gloub* [HBBibl 1, 99–110] (Zurich: Froschauer, 1537). See Edward A. Dowey, "The Old Faith: Comments on One of Heinrich Bullinger's Most Distinctive Treatises," in *Calvin: Erbe und Auftrag: Festschrift für Wilhelm Heinrich Neuser zum 65. Geburtstag*, (ed.) Willem van't Spijker (Kampen: Kok, 1991), 270–78.

96 Bullinger, *De Testamento,* 16r-17r, Engl.: *Fountainhead,* 112, here at 16r: "Omnis scriptura ad foedus ceu scopum refertur." See Woolsey, *Unity and Continuity,* Chap. 7.

97 Ibid., 31r–41v. Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 122–30.

Finally, on the question of infant baptism, Bullinger reiterates Zwingli's position, namely that baptism continues and simplifies the Old Testament rite of circumcision as sign of God's one and eternal covenant with his people. Children born into this covenant are to be given the sign of baptism, just as they were given the sign of circumcision in the Old Testament.[98]

Bullinger did not change his understanding of the covenant but continued to hold this view to the end of his life in his various writings.[99] The covenant motif became a prominent feature of the theological-exegetical works of Wolfgang Musculus in Bern. While he was in substantial agreement with the early Reformed tradition, he sought to "reframe traditional distinctions and teachings within a broader and more comprehensive doctrinal framework."[100] In his *Loci communes,* first published in 1560*,* he introduced the distinction between the "general covenant" made by God with the whole earth and its inhabitants, animals as well as men, and "the special and eternal covenant," which he deigned to make with the elect and believers. This covenant is called "special" because it is not relevant to all, but only to those who are elect and believers—that is, to Abraham as the father of believers and his seed.[101]

Musculus's doctrine of the covenant represents "a decisive early statement of orthodox Reformed theological method," according to Ballor.[102] Yet besides Bullinger, the two most influential "Swiss" theologians with regard to covenant theology in this period were the refugees *religionis causa,* Peter Martyr Vermigli and John Calvin.[103] Their thought cannot be delineated here, nor their influence on later generations of Reformed theologians be described. It suffices to mention that they both were the mentors of Caspar Olevianus and

98 Ibid. 42r–46v. Engl.: *Fountainhead*, 130–34. See W. Peter Stephens, "Bullinger's Defence of Infant Baptism in Debate with the Anabaptists," *Reformation & Renaissance Review* 4 (2002), 168–89.

99 A useful survey in Baker, "Retrospect." The observations are correct, except for the *Second Helvetic Confession*. The thesis that the covenant is a "significant feature" of the Confession is far off the mark. See Dowey, "Heinrich Bullinger as Theologian," 38.

100 Ballor, *Covenant,* 43–109, here at 108. See also Herman Selderhuis, "Die Loci Communes des Wolfgang Musculus: reformierte Dogmatik anno 1560," in *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563) und die oberdeutsche Reformation*, (eds.) Rudolf Dellsperger et al. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), 311–30.

101 Musculus, *Loci Communes*, loc. 14, 142: "Foedus generale… pepigit cum universa hac terrae machina, omnibusque illam inhabitantibus, tam bestiis quam hominibus, cum die etiam & nocte, hyeme & aestate, frigore & aestu, semente ac messe, & c;" "Foedus speciale est ac sempiternum, quod cum electis ac credentibus sancire dignatus est.," as cited in Ballor, *Covenant*, 48–9, nn. 22 and 26.

102 Ballor, *Covenant*, 213.

103 See Lillback, "The Early Reformed Covenant Paradigm."

Zacharias Ursinus, the authors of the Heidelberg Catechism.[104] The elements of Vermigli's and Calvin's covenant theology are found quite clearly in the *De substantia foederis gratuiti* (1585) of Olevianus and in the *Summa Theologiae* (1584) of Ursinus.

Charles McCoy and Wayne Baker have laid out a detailed *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Swiss covenant theology. They are quite right that "in a very real sense, federalism flowed down the Rhine from Zurich and, over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, became a major sector of theology within the Reformed churches of Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Britain and eventually New England."[105] Indeed, the notion of covenant is a mark of Swiss Reformed theology that is perhaps sounder and more biblical than the "Either -Or" of the Lutheran distinction of Law and Gospel or the rigidities of predestination as posited by the orthodox Calvinists at the synod of Dort. The old word sums up creation and redemption in one saving action and describes the fundamental situation where humans encounter God and are received by his mercy. It has a classical simplicity and beauty grown out of centuries of prophecy and suffering, hammered and tested by a succession of teachers and thinkers in devoted meditation. No wonder that Gottfried Locher calls the rediscovery of the biblical concept of the covenant by the Swiss theologians the "most important contribution to the Reformation."[106]

11.5 Conclusion

There are two points that emerge from the above discussion. First, the Swiss Reformation was part of the larger Reformation movement that swept across Europe over the course of the 16th century, and the theology that supported it had much more in common with other patterns of Reformation than the protagonists themselves liked to admit or subsequent interpreters have thought. Yet the Swiss Reformation differed from its European counterparts inasmuch as it held a particular set of beliefs that distinguished it from other

104 See my "Der Heidelberger Katechismus und die 'candida ingenia Helvetiorum,'" in *Profil und Wirkung des Heidelberger Katechismus. Neue Forschungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450. Jubiläums,* (eds.) Christoph Strohm and Jan Stievermann (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2015), 54–71.

105 McCoy and Baker, *Fountainhead,* 29. Of course, the Rhine does not pass through Zurich, but the Zurich Limmat River is a tributary of it, so the metaphor still stands.

106 Locher, *Thought,* 29.

church reform movements of the era, particularly those of the Lutherans and the Anabaptists. The *Second Helvetic Confession* is remarkably candid about this situation. The Preface, which most collections of creeds choose to ignore, stresses the conformity of its contents to scripture and the teachings of the early church as well as the thorough agreement (*probe consentire*) on the essentials of Christian faith with the churches of France, Germany, England, and other nations. It then goes on to assert what we might call the libertarian side of Swiss Reformation theology, behind which there is perhaps the self-confidence of social groups possessing their own independent political traditions and ecclesiastical polity, namely the freedom (*libertas*) of each church to express itself variously in "formulations of doctrines, in rites and ceremonies" (*in loquutionibus, et modo expositionis doctrinae, in ritibus item vel caeremoniis*), provided that the substance of evangelical truth be preserved.[107] In sum, the backbone of Swiss Reformation theology can be found in other Christian churches, and certainly in the Apostles' Creed.[108] Nevertheless, just as there are doctrinal distinctives in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran traditions, so there is also a set of beliefs that distinguishes Swiss Reformed theology from other form of Christian theology. These teachings, as we have seen, are the synodal form of church government, a new understanding the sacraments, and the unity of the covenant of grace that stretches from the Old to the New Testaments.

Second, this sketchy presentation of Swiss Reformation theology makes plain what other contributions in the volume have also hinted at: that we have by no means gained a full and clear picture, because this special field of studies is facing a period of change in which old assumptions are being questioned, new themes are emerging, and the consensus necessary for a balanced presentation is difficult to reach. A comprehensive examination still remains a glaring *desideratum*, despite some initial attempts. This examination must give appropriate recognition not only to the most influential figures but also to lesser known yet no less significant theologians associated with the Swiss Reformation. Moreover, a fuller understanding of the theological tenets of the Swiss Reformation must look at the involvement of its protagonists in the *sodalitas Erasmiana* within and beyond the boundaries of the Confederation. Finally, no major qualitative breakthrough will be achieved without a fresh reading of the vast number of primary sources that have been largely unstudied because they were available only as rare manuscript and printed sources but are now easily

107 RBS 2/2: 269: 13–25.

108 Ibid. 278.2: "Breviter, recipimus Symbolum apostolorum quod veram nobis fidem tradit."

accessible to scholars in digitalized format.[109] A new examination of Swiss Reformed theology is an ambitious undertaking fraught with difficulties as well as opportunities, but there is no doubt that it will help both dispel myths—like those addressed in this chapter—and break new ground.

109 One of the best examples is e-rara.ch, the platform for digitized rare books from Swiss libraries.

CHAPTER 12

Polity and Worship in the Swiss Reformed Churches

Bruce Gordon

12.1 Introduction

The churches of the Swiss Reformation arose from a confluence of tradition and innovation. During the 1520s and 1530s, as they began to build their institutional churches, reformers retained or adapted elements of late medieval Christianity to create new polities grounded in radical theological change.[1] While professing *sola scriptura* and *sola fide*, the advocates of reform chose to leave intact much of what they had inherited, including the established parochial structures of the medieval churches from which they banished the mass and religious images.[2] This could lead to curious arrangements. For example, it was not uncommon in Reformation Zurich for the rights of presentation to parishes to remain in the hands of Catholic religious houses, which were content to cooperate with Protestant magistrates as long as revenues continued to be paid.[3] Old and new practices rubbed shoulders with varying levels of friction. In Basel, Protestant magistrates continued to work with the exiled Catholic bishop to ensure the orderly conduct of affairs in his chapter.[4]

The degree of continuity was considerable: morals mandates issued by the Reformed magistrates were largely drawn from pre-Reformation sources, while the offices held by the chief ministers of the churches were strikingly similar to episcopal authority. Likewise, elements of canon law survived, particularly in matters of marriage, while the Reformed institutions of synods and rural chapters ("congregations" in the French-speaking lands) had medieval

1 On the formation of the Swiss churches, see Gordon, *Discipline;* Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*.

2 On the reform of the Zurich church, see Bruce Gordon, "The Protestant Ministry and the Culture of Rule: The Reformed Zurich Clergy of the Sixteenth Century," in *The Protestant Clergy of Early Modern Europe*, (eds.) C. Scott Dixon and Luise Schorn-Schütte (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 137–55; Wilhelm Baltischweiler, *Die Institutionen der evangelisch-reformierten Landeskirche des Kantons Zürich in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Zurich: Schulthess, 1904).

3 Gordon, *Discipline*, 75–77.

4 Hans Berner, *"Die gute correspondenz": Die Politik der Stadt Basel gegenüber dem Fürstbistum Basel in den Jahren 1525–1585* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1989).

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forbears.[5] Often the Swiss reformers sought to fulfil aspirations expressed decades earlier in the diocesan legislation of the 15th and early 16th centuries. In sum, the Swiss Reformed churches were assembled piecemeal from efforts to wed institutional order with a newly forged understanding of the Gospel.[6] When we look across the expanse of the Swiss Reformation from Graubünden in the east to the Vaud in the west we find reformers making canny decisions about both what could be changed and the extent to which old foundations could serve as the basis for new churches.

Discussion of the structures, worship, and discipline of the Reformed Churches of the Swiss Reformation requires us to think about the nature of change during the 1520s. What, we should ask, did the reformers think they were creating? The answers, not surprisingly, are not straightforward. Men such as Huldrych Zwingli, Johannes Oecolampadius, and their colleagues knew that the institutions that took shape during the decades following the introduction of the Reformation in Zurich in 1525 had no unambiguous historical precedents.[7] Never before had polities existed such as those that emerged in the Swiss Confederation. Vision, contingency, and compromise mixed in uneven proportions, and the new churches of the 1520s and early 1530s were an amalgam of theological arguments proffered from the pulpits and in printed tracts, of concessions demanded by political authorities, and of financial stringencies. It would be mistaken to assume that what appeared in those early years was precisely what was intended.

A sense of proportion is required. The reform movements in Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell—among others—were minority parties within their communities, although they were disproportionately influential. Above all, success was achieved through hitching reform wagons to those in

5 Thomas Max Safley, "Canon Law and Swiss Reform: Legal Theory and Practice in the Marital Courts of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and St. Gall," in *Canon Law in Protestant Lands*, (ed.) Richard H. Helmholz (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992), 187–201.

6 Heinrich Bullinger's building of the church in Zurich is examined in Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat;* see also Chap. 2 above. For the "crisis" of the 1530s, see J. Wayne Baker, "Church, State, and Dissent: the Crisis of the Swiss Reformation, 1531–1536," *Church History* 57 (1988), 107–20.

7 On the medieval background to the Zurich reformation, see Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 23–36; and Gerald Dörner, *Kirche, Klerus und kirchliches Leben in Zürich von der Brunschen Revolution (1336) bis zur Reformation (1523)* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1996). On Basel, Johannes Bernoulli, "Die Kirchengemeinden Basels vor der Reformation," *Basler Jahrbuch* (1894), 220–43; (1895), 99–162. Eduard Lengwiler, *Die vorreformatorischen Prädikaturen der deutschen Schweiz von ihrer Enstehung bis 1530* (Fribourg: Kanisius, 1955).

power, as Zwingli did with the Röist family in Zurich.[8] The diverse accounts of the Swiss Reformation reveal how relatively small groups were able to impose religious change on largely complacent majorities. Resistance was at best sporadic and ineffectual, with some limited exceptions in Bern and the Vaud.[9] However, when success came between 1525–30, small bands of reformers found themselves facing a gargantuan task. Having displaced traditional religion and the Catholic hierarchies, the reformers had to create churches in urban communities and far flung rural parishes.

The medieval church in the Swiss lands was the proverbial curate's egg, strong in places and weak in others.[10] For all the supposed corruption of the late medieval church denounced by Protestant reformers, by the 1520s the Catholic churches of the Swiss lands consisted of a large body of clergy, extensive property, and devotional practices followed by the vast majority of the people. One cannot speak of unusually rampant anti-clericalism, although, as Peter Blickle and his students have shown, lay influence increased considerably in Swiss lands, and it was not uncommon in rural areas for priests to be appointed by local elders.[11] Hostility to priests and religious orders was to be found everywhere in late medieval German-speaking lands, but in the Swiss Confederation its occurrence was no greater than usual. In Bern, the soldier/poet/politician Niklaus Manuel wrote a series of anticlerical dramas that fuelled public sentiment, but, once more, the anger was no more pronounced than in other German regions.[12]

Ecclesiastical authority within the Swiss Confederation varied considerably. In Basel, Geneva, Chur, and Sion, bishops resided within the city and exercised considerable local control.[13] Bern, Zurich, and St. Gallen were distant

8 Hans Eggenberg, "Der Durchbruch zur Reformation nach dem Zeugnis Ulrich Zwinglis vom Jahre 1523," *Zwingliana* 17 (1986), 97–120.

9 Jean-Pierre Dewarrat and Laurence Margairaz, "Le pays de Vaud bernois: lieu de passages," in *De l'Ours à la Cocarde: Régime bernois et revolution en pays de Vaud* (*1536–1798*), (eds.) François Flouck et al. (Lausanne: Payot, 1998), 45–57; see also Chap. 3.

10 Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 6–45. There has been a wealth of research on the late medieval Swiss churches. An excellent overview with extensive bibliography is found in Lukas Vischer and Rudolf Dellsperger, (eds.), *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz,* 2nd ed. (Fribourg: Paulusverlag, 1998).

11 Blickle, *Communal Reformation*, and Rosi Fuhrmann, "Die Kirche im Dorf: Kommunale Initiativen zur Organisation der Seelsorge vor der Reformation," in Blickle, *Zugänge,* 147–86.

12 Peter Pfrunder, *Pfaffen, Ketzer, Totenfresser: Fastnachtskultur der Reformationszeit: die Berner Spiele von Niklaus Manuel* (Zürich: Chronos, 1989).

13 On the bishop of Constance, see Peter Niederhäuser, (ed.), *Ein feiner Fürst in einer rauen Zeit: Der Konstanzer Bischof Hugo von Hohenlandenberg* (Zurich: Chronos, 2011).

from episcopal oversight and lived quite happily in almost total disregard of their bishops.[14] St. Gallen had to deal with a larger, more powerful Benedictine monastery, but the magistrates in Zurich and Bern faced little serious opposition, permitting them to increase their control over the resources of the church. During the late Middle Ages churches and religious houses were under constant threat from predatory temporal rulers who sought to lay their hands on the goods and property of ecclesiastical institutions, as well as to abolish the privileges and exemptions afforded by church law. As long recognized, the arrival of the Reformation coincided with, and was aided by, the hegemonic interests of the Swiss cities, which looked to divest local churches as well as ecclesiastical hierarchies of their wealth and status. This asset stripping, however, does not in itself explain the Reformation. At opportune moments in Zurich, Bern, and Basel, the confluence of interests between reformers and magistrates proved a catalyst for change. However, the pattern was not universal, for, as Hans Guggisberg showed, increasing control over churches was also evident in those cities that did not adopt the reform movement.[15]

12.2 Paths to Reform

Ruling magistrates did not, therefore, require the new faith to achieve their ends, which was the limiting of the authority of the church and the appropriation of its revenues.[16] The Swiss Reformation was not a series of programmatic events; change was brought about through the influence of particular individuals at advantageous moments. Most notable was Huldrych Zwingli, who was able to align pulpit and political alliances to persuade enough men of influence to upend traditional religion. Johannes Oecolampadius in Basel and Vadian in St. Gallen, to say nothing of Calvin in Geneva, did much the same, although with varying degrees of drama. The charismatic force of these men, largely articulated through preaching, was followed by long decades of church building, the construction of institutions that faced the very criticisms once

14 On Bern's place within several dioceses, see Kurt Guggisberg, *Bern KG,* 22 and Chapter 2 above.

15 Hans R. Guggisberg, "The Problem of 'Failure' in the Swiss Reformation: Some Preliminary Reflections," in *Politics and Society in Reformation Europe Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* (eds.) E.I. Kouri and Tom Scott (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 188–209; Peter Blickle, "Warum blieb die Innerschweiz katholisch?" *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Schwyz* 86 (1994), 29–38; see Chapter 7 above.

16 On the late medieval relations in Zurich, see Hans Morf, "Obrigkeit und Kirche in Zürich bis zum Beginn der Reformation," *Zwingliana* 13 (1969), 164–205.

declared by early reformers. The rebellion of the so-called Anabaptists underscored the unresolved tensions between the dreams of church reform and the quotidian demands of institutional life.[17]

The success of the reformers in the powerful centers such as Zurich, Bern, Basel, and, later, Geneva, as well as in smaller Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Biel, and Glarus, to name a few, was remarkably pacific given the magnitude of change. There was resistance in the Bernese Oberland, but as in other regions it was more directed against overreaching urban authorities than the new religion.[18] On the whole both clergy and laity acquiesced to change, offering little more than token resistance to the new Reformed orders. Priests and monks were given the choice of leaving or remaining in their posts, and the vast majority opted for the latter. In the cities Catholic opposition had been more formidable, but it was never sufficiently organized to mount an effective counteroffensive against reformers backed by magistrates.

Having prevailed in the struggle, and with the introduction of Reformed orders in Zurich (1525), Bern (1528), and Basel (1529), the leading proponents had to make decisions about what their churches should look like. There was no blueprint to be followed, and just because Zurich was chronologically first the other cities felt absolutely no obligation to imitate the work of Zwingli. Similarly, after 1536 and the emergence of French-speaking Reformed churches in the Vaud and Geneva (which was part of the Confederation by a subordinate alliance with Bern, not as a member), we find situations local and very mixed; the Vaud and Geneva, for example, followed some of the practices of Bern, but by no means all.[19] What we see, therefore, are patterns of shared practices within a wealth of local instantiations of ecclesiastical organization, worship, and church discipline.[20]

What created this diversity? That question returns us to explaining reform and the creation of churches. The compromises that molded the Reformed Churches were existential, doctrinal, and human. At the most basic level, the

17 The key work is now Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*.

18 On the resistance in Bern, see Peter Bierbrauer, *Freiheit und Gemeinde im Berner Oberland 1300–1700* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1991), 257–84; see also Chapter 3 above.

19 The essential work on the developments in the Vaud is Bruening, *Battleground*, esp. 93–131; see also Chapters 3 and 9 in this volume.

20 See J. Wayne Baker, "Christian Discipline, Church and State, and Toleration: Bullinger, Calvin, and Basel, 1530–1555," *Zwingliana* 19 (1992), 35–48. For a helpful comparative study, see Robert Kingdon, "La discipline ecclésiastique vue de Zurich et Genève au temps de la Réformation: L'usage de Matthieu 18,15–17 par les réformateurs," *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* 133 (2001), 343–55.

Reformation in Swiss lands took place during years of hardship and deprivation when neither ruling councils nor churches possessed the financial resources to effect major institutional change.[21] The decades following the introduction of the Reformation in the various confederations were everywhere marked by desperate attempts to restore the material fabric of rural churches. Records, ecclesiastical and secular, tell endless stories of parishioners complaining about churches without roofs, windows, and even doors, of services with snow, or of farm animals wandering into the building.[22] The new Reformed ministers struggled to survive on subsistence—or sub-subsistence—level livings that forced them to find other forms of work to feed the families they were expected to raise.

Problems extended to clergy and laity. Not only could pastors barely afford to perform the tasks required of them by their political and ecclesiastical overlords, but in the early years few understood the nature of those challenges. In the first two decades following the new religious orders the vast majority of the Reformed clergy in the rural churches of Zurich, Bern, and Basel had been priests or monks with little education in the new theology.[23] They were expected to preach, not celebrate mass, and general confession replaced auricular. The church year, with its regular round of saints' days, processions, and festivals, was replaced by a changed sense of sacred time in which Sundays alone were to be rest days. Landscapes, previously marked with shrines, places of pilgrimage, and small chapels, were cleared. The focus of worship became churches and the household. At least that was the ideal. The reformers knew full well that many people continued to slip over the border to attend mass, visit a shrine, or seek prayers for a dead relative.

General accounts of the Reformation rarely appreciate or mention how difficult the circumstances were in which the Swiss Reformed churches were built. In addition to financial concerns, dilapidated buildings, impoverished and ill prepared clergy, we need attend to the social misery of the period. The suffering was disproportionately dreadful in rural areas, which seems hard to imagine given the beauty of the lands surrounding modern Zurich and Bern.[24]

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21 Gordon, *Discipline*, 162–63.

22 Gordon, *Discipline*, 150.

23 See Bruce Gordon, "Preaching and the Reform of the Clergy in the Swiss Reformation," in *The Reformation of the Parishes: The Ministry and the Reformation in Town and Country,* (ed.) Andrew Pettegree (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 63–84. On the French-speaking lands, see Christine Lyon, *Le sort du clergé vaudois au lendemain de la Réforme*, 2 vols. (Mémoire de licence, Université de Lausanne, 1998).

24 See Christian Dietrich, *Die Stadt Zürich und ihre Landgemeinden während der Bauernunruhen von 1489–1525* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1985).

Bad weather resulting in crop failure, loss of employment, and destitution led to considerable social upheaval and dislocation as large numbers of peasants, journeymen, and other rural dwellers made their way to the cities, creating large communities within the walls who had no political rights. The plight of these people, who had no voice, was both the subject of innumerable sermons on Christian duty towards the poor and a source of conflict between temporal and ecclesiastical authorities.[25] Church leaders believed that monies accrued by the magistrates from secularized ecclesiastical bodies was to serve poor relief.[26] Instead, they went to such civic projects as the building of fortifications.

12.3 Principles of Reform

This brings us to our first major principle of institutional reform: stability. The construction of Reformed churches was supported by rather venal political authorities in part because they saw ecclesiastical structures as essential to creating an ordered state in which they could impose their will. The price of support for the Reformation had been, as Zwingli fully understood, that the church should serve political authority. Zwingli, however, did not follow the script, and in 1531 he led Zurich into a disastrous war that ended in humiliating defeat and his death. Once more, the Reformed church was restored and Heinrich Bullinger appointed on the condition that the church stick to ministering to the faithful and leave politics alone.[27] The ecclesiastical orders of Zurich, Bern, and Basel were created to buttress political authority; in return, the Reformed faith was propagated and protected as the official form of Christianity. The reformers surrendered a great deal of coin to establish the Reformation, and what took shape was dominated by the magistrates.

Within that framework of accommodation to political power, we find our second principle of reform: legitimacy. How could the reformers defend what they had done and what they had created? Everything hung on their answers,

25 Philipp Wälchli, "Mandate zum Armenwesen von der Reformation bis 1675," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 101–15.

26 Alice Denzler, *Geschichte des Armenwesens im Kanton Zürich im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Rascher, 1920). On the tense negotiations in Zurich over poor relief, see Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 233–76.

27 Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, esp. 15–58. Bächtold explores the relationship worked out by Bullinger with the council through the practice of *Fürträge*. See also, Biel, *Doorkeepers*, 12–43. On the rural situation, see Helmut Meyer, "Stadt und Landschaft nach dem Zweiten Kappelerkrieg," in HBGA 1: 251–67; see also Chapter 2 above.

for without a compelling narrative of true Christianity the Swiss reformers could be nothing other than schismatics and heretics. They had to demonstrate membership in the true Church and continuity with the past while affirming the Reformation doctrines of grace, faith, and scripture alone. How was this to be achieved?

One of the most dismal explanations offered by historians for what the reformers attempted has been to speak of "inventing" history or authority, as if they were playing some cynical game with the past. Zwingli, Oecolampadius, and others argued against the binding authority of historical tradition, particularly as interpreted by the Roman church. All human claims were nothing in the face of the Word of God, which alone was the standard to which the church should conform. But, as the reformers fully understood, the Bible provided no guidance as to what churches should look like, nor did it prescribe any particular form of worship. They needed to rely on the existing structures of the church.

For the Swiss reformers the principle of reform was grounded in the doctrine of Christian liberty, which interpreted the degree to which the gospel permitted decisions about the external forms of the church and their relationship to the past. Zwingli framed the discussion around the concept of *religio* as the true expression of human obligations and freedom. *Religio* was a principle for determining what was absolute and non-negotiable and where there was room for interpretation. Integral to the reform process was theological discussion about the nature of true faith and its historical lineage. In terms of doctrine, the creeds of the ecumenical councils were adopted. The church fathers and, to a lesser extent, medieval authors could be venerated as authorities, though fallible on account of their human nature. The teaching of the Reformed churches rejected five of the medieval sacraments as unscriptural, and it fiercely repudiated the sacrifice of the mass.[28] Yet these principles permitted a great deal of continuity of practices.

The concern to establish connection with the past was also expressed in the biblical work undertaken in Zurich, in what has come to be known as the *Prophezei*.[29] Although the work of translating from the Hebrew and Greek was extremely important, the two traditional Bibles of the church, the Septuagint and the Vulgate, were highly esteemed, bringing together the new scholarship

28 Gottfried W. Locher, "Die Sakramentslehre der Berner Synodus," in *Synodus,* 2: 219–34.

29 For an overview of the work of the *Prophezei*, see Karin Maag, *Seminary or University: The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 129–53. Also, Traudel Himmighöfer, *Die Zürcher Bibel bis zum Tode Zwinglis (1531): Darstellung and Bibliographie* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), esp. 213–35.

with the ancient texts of the church. Indeed, Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, emerged as humanist patron saint in the city.[30] The Erasmian project of reconciling the classics and Christian sources quickly became central to the project of the Zurich and Basel Reformations. These bodies designed for interpreting the Bible gave shape to reform programs that professed the centrality of the Bible but which erected an interpretive scaffolding that provided the church with a doctrinal base and a means of interpreting its historical authenticity.[31] In Zurich and Basel, learning became the key to legitimization. It provided the basis for interpreting scripture, building pedagogical systems, and framing the reform of the church.

But even learning is not the full answer. It gives a good sense of why things happened, but not of why they did not. The reformers focused their energies in three areas: provision of religion in the parishes, worship, and education. Institutional change was minimal and the reformers were frequently content to hold to what existed. The office of the medieval bishop was appropriated, as was much of the remaining diocesan ecclesiastical structure. The reforming legislation of the diocese of Constance that followed the Council of Basel was used by the reformers, who modified it as necessary.[32] The Peasants' War of 1525, despite Zwingli's sympathy, demonstrated the reformer's inclination to retain the feudal tithes. In short, where not compelled by scripture, as they saw it, the reformers were inclined to remain with existing structures, or, perhaps better said, to reform them to their purposes. If we are to think about how the Swiss churches emerged, we need to look carefully at the decisions made about what to change, and what to retain, and the different ways these

30 This reverence is clearly expressed in Bullinger's preface to the 1543 Zurich Latin Bible: *Biblia Sacrosancta Testame*[*n*]*ti Veteris & Noui/è sacra Hebraeorum lingua Graecorumque fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretib. religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum; authores omnemq*[*ue*] *totius operis rationem ex subiecta intelliges praefatione* ([Zurich:] 1543). This Bible is extensively treated in Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, *The Protestant Jerome. Reformed Humanists and Latin Bibles* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

31 See Bruce Gordon with Luca Baschera and Christian Moser, "Emulating the Past and Creating the Present: Reformation and the Use of Historical and Theological Models in Zurich in the Sixteenth Century," in Baschera, *Zwingli*, 1–39.

32 The medieval background is found in Konstantin Maier, "Die Konstanzer Diözesansynoden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1986), 53–70; Albert Braun, *Der Klerus des Bistums Konstanz im Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938); Eduard Otto Kehrberger, *Provinzial- und Synodalstatuten des Spätmittelalters: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, und der Synodalstatuten der Diözesan Bamburg, Eichstätt, und Konstanz* (Stuttgart: Bohland, 1938).

decisions were carried out. Often it had to do with the dispositions of individual persons. Both Zwingli and Oecolampadius harbored strong views on the radical authority of scripture, but it was only applied in particular ways. In other respects their instincts were to preserve. The nature of the reform movements in the different Swiss Confederates was a dialogue between discourses of change and retention.

12.4 Structures of Authority

What did the churches look like that were created by the Reformation mandates? I approach this question with a few observations of a fictional parishioner.[33]

The reformation mandates declaring the new religious orders in Zurich, Bern, and Basel (as well as in the smaller Confederates and territories) shared certain characteristics.[34] They were emphatic that there was only one acceptable form of religion, and that the doctrines of that faith were sanctioned by the state: there was no place for either Catholics or Anabaptists. Conformity was absolutely required, but the extent of coercion was less clear. Our parishioner was required to attend church, and although heretical or seditious ideas would not be tolerated, she could expect that her views would not be rigorously examined. In Bern and Basel there were periodic visitations, but in Zurich there were none until the end of the 16th century.[35] Clergy were required by oath of office to examine the beliefs of men and women, but such oversight can only be described as haphazard. Once again, we find that stability and order were primary. The churches were more concerned with dealing with illegal or aberrant behavior than with policing beliefs.

Who would the parishioner have known in the church? In most parishes it was only possible to sustain one minister (*Pfarrer*), who may or may not have had an assistant, depending on resources. There would have been elders, leading men in the community, who would have sat on local morals tribunals and

33 A helpful case study is found in Peter Kamber, "Die Reformation auf der Zürcher Landschaft am Beispiel des Dorfes Marthalen: Fallstudie zur Struktur bäuerlicher Reformation," in Blickle, *Zugänge*, 85–124.

34 Amy Nelson Burnett, "Basel's Long Reformation: Church Ordinances and the Shaping of Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 17–143.

35 P. Thaddäus Lang, "Die Bedeutung der Kirchenvisitation für die Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit: Ein Forschungsbericht," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1984), 207–12.

helped with worship—for example, in distributing communion. In Zurich under Heinrich Bullinger it became increasingly common for newly educated clergy to serve an apprenticeship under an experienced pastor before being permitted to oversee their own church. It was a practical training after the theological studies in the city. This arrangement, however, was only possible as the church became more established. By the latter part of the 16th century the Reformed churches had a surplus of ministers, and young men (known as the *Expectanten*) had to wait their turn.[36] For these men the possibility of an apprenticeship was invaluable.

It was entirely dependent on the resources and location of the parish as to what our parishioner would have experienced. In the first decades after the introduction of the Reformation, the Swiss churches followed the principle that it was better to have a poor or ill-equipped minister in a parish than for pulpits to be vacant. In desperate circumstances, someone was better than no one, and this belief was borne out in the treatment of clergy. The disciplinary bodies of the Swiss churches were endlessly patient, preferring to admonish than to dismiss negligent pastors in the hope of some level of improvement.[37] The consequences of keeping the parishes occupied were highly uneven levels of pastoral care and teaching. According to some records, our parishioner might rarely have seen her minister in the community, and if her community was poor she risked injury in the church from falling debris. Circumstances of local ministry and parish life varied enormously.[38]

The minister was to be married and the family lived in a *Pfarrhaus*, though like the churches, these too could be quite miserable.[39] The family was a deeply problematic relationship for clergy. Before the Reformation it was common for priests to live with women in semi-legal relationships in which any offspring could be made legitimate by payment to the bishop.[40] However, with the introduction of the Reformation such families became a requirement, putting tremendous strain on parish resources. The family was part of the pastor's ministry; wife and children were ideally to be models in their communities, setting an example of piety and obedience. Heinrich Bullinger's views on the

36 Gordon, "The Protestant Ministry," 148.

37 Amy Nelson Burnett, "Controlling the Clergy: The Oversight of Basel's Rural Pastors in the Sixteenth Century," *Zwingliana* 25 (1998), 129–42.

38 Gordon, "The Protestant Ministry," 143–48.

39 Martin Greiffenhagen, (ed.), *Das evangelische Pfarrhaus: Eine Kultur und Sozialgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Kreuz-Verlag, 1984).

40 On such late medieval practices see the classic, Oskar Vasella, *Reform und Reformation in der Schweiz: Zur Würdigung der Anfänge der Glaubenskrise* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1958).

holy household were laid out in his *Christian Marriage* (1540).[41] The book was a fairly conventional expression of the reformers' views on the nature of the godly household, and it was widely printed, appearing in English.[42] The resentment against Protestant clergy not infrequently arose out of conflicts between clergy wives and children with other parishioners. Complaints about youths, notably boys and including sons of pastors, ranged from violence to drinking and reluctance to attend church.[43]

In order to survive, many clergy and their wives were forced to take other forms of work, such as subsistence farming, day labor, or a trade. Such necessities put relations with the laity in a different light. The layperson, such as our parishioner, who had to listen to sermons on Sundays and during the week, and encountered the minister as an official of the state, also frequently had to deal with him or his wife during the workday. It would not have been uncommon for pastors to be selling goods in the marketplace, or their wives to be in spinning bees or making goods for sale. The awkward mixture of the moral, political, and quotidian frequently produced quarrels and tension. The dismal condition of the rural churches through much of the 16th century, the divergent roles required of the clergy, and the stress placed on the family hardly provided optimal conditions for the establishment of political or ecclesiastical order or the propagation of Reformed religion.

In the Reformed churches clergy were clearly under the authority of the temporal rulers and were expected to play their part in the governance of the land. In Bern, Zurich, and Basel the church hierarchies could examine candidates for ordination, but they did not possess the authority to make appointments. In Zurich, for example, the body that oversaw placement was the *Examinatorenkonvent*, which interviewed all candidates for ministry to determine their preparedness.[44] The committee was presided over by Heinrich Bullinger, who stamped his authority on the clergy of the city. When a parish became vacant the committee received recommendations and then put

41 *Der Christlich Eestand*, HBBibl 1, nos. 129–31.

42 See Carrie Euler, "Heinrich Bullinger, Marriage, and the English Reformation: 'The Christen State of Matrimonye' in England, 1540–53," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 34 (2003), 367–93.

43 Beat Kümin, "Useful to Have, but Difficult to Govern: Inns and Taverns in Early Modern Bern and Vaud," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3 (1999), 153–75; Fritz Blanke, "Reformation und Alkoholismus," *Zwingliana* 9 (1949), 75–89; Albert Hauser, *Vom Essen und Trinken im alten Zürich: Tafelsitten, Kochkunst und Lebenshaltung vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit* (Zurich: Berichthaus, 1961); Anton Lagiardèr, "Das Reformierte Zürich und die Fest- und Heiligentage," *Zwingliana* 9 (1953), 497–525. Reinhold Kaiser, *Trunkenheit und Gewalt im Mittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002).

44 Gordon, *Discipline*, 93–94.

forward three names to the Council. It was the magistrates who made the appointment. There was a clear pattern in which the name placed first by the *Examinatorenkonvent* was generally chosen, confirming Bullinger's influence. In Basel appointments to the rural parishes eventually became the responsibility of the *Kirchenrat*, which oversaw the placement of university-trained men into vacant parishes.[45]

The ordination of the clergy in the parishes also revealed the hand of secular authority. Having been presented to the community by the local official, the candidate was required to swear an oath (*Eid*) of obedience and to promise to uphold the laws of the state as set out in the morals mandates. The candidate was presented to the parish community by the local bailiff (*Vogt*).[46] Once accepted by the people the new pastor was officially installed.

The expectations of the urban authorities were considerable. The minister was to work closely with the bailiff by using the pulpit both to teach the gospel and admonish the community. Pastors were not under any circumstances to criticize magistrates. They sat on the local morals court with the bailiff and provided local officials with invaluable information about the goings-on in the community. This did little to endear the minister to villagers and farmers. The clergy were to read the morals mandates from the pulpit at least a couple of times a year, and in their sermons were charged with addressing particular problems in the parishes, not to hesitate to name adulterers, drunkards, and those who did not attend church. As with senior ecclesiastical authorities in the cities, the rural clergy had no power to punish: they gathered information for the disciplinary institutions and admonished in private and public.

Ministers in the Swiss Reformed churches had a status separate from the laity. In a manner reminiscent of the ecclesiastical courts of the medieval church, clergy were treated somewhat differently. Oversight of their conduct and teaching was in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies such as the synod in Zurich. Like the morals courts for the laity, with which they were connected, the synods in Zurich, Bern, and Basel held regular meetings, often twice a year, to which all ministers were expected to be present.[47] Cases were brought before the synod against those ministers accused of neglecting duties, preaching and teaching badly, or committing offences against the laws of the state. The synodal meetings were also opportunities for church leaders to gather information about the state of affairs in far flung parishes. Ministers could air their concerns. Bullinger and other church leaders also used the occasions to preach

45 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 202–204.

46 Biel, *Door Keepers*, 209 and 214–15.

47 On the synods in Basel, see Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 27–28, 62–3, and 68–76.

FIGURE 12.1 *Examination of candidates for pastoral office in Zurich and their ordination by the Examiners Committee* (Examinatorenkonvent), *from David Herrliberger,* Kurze Beschreibung der gottesdienstlichen Gebräuche, wie solche in der reformierten Kirche der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich begangen werden (*Zürich: Herrliberger, 1751*). *Although a much later source, this work shows in detail various aspects of the Zurich church, whose structures remained unchanged until the end of the Ancient Régime.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

and instruct the gathered clergy. On the whole, however, doctrinal matters were not debated openly; ministers were instructed in the official theology of the churches.

Where clergy were found to have committed offences either against their pastoral duties or the law, it was the obligation of the church bodies to inform the magistrates, who were represented at the meetings. Only the ruling councils could impose punishment—they alone carried the sword, while the churches could make recommendations. When deemed necessary, the case against a minister might be transferred to the morals court (*Ehegericht*).[48] The ministers might be suspended from their parish, transferred to another church, or even imprisoned. It was extremely rare during the 16th century for clergy to be dismissed from their office. The construction of Reformed churches in the Swiss Confederates required a degree of flexibility, and leaders had to make careful choices about how to proceed. On the whole, decisions were made to keep inadequate ministers in parishes rather than to leave pulpits vacant.[49]

Although the reforms introduced followed patterns, the levels of antagonism stirred varied considerably, often depending on the individuals involved. The establishment of the churches in Zurich and Basel after the Kappel War of 1531 encountered little resistance. In Bern, matters were complicated by the theological disputes between the Zwinglians and followers of Martin Bucer. The division of the church into rival parties significantly hampered the implementation of reform following the Bern synod of 1542.[50]

Seriously problematic was the situation in the French-speaking lands, and we turn to Neuchâtel. In 1537, following the Bernese conquest of the Vaud the *Congrégation des ministres* was introduced, which was akin to the chapters of the German-speaking churches.[51] The institution was part of the "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" introduced in Neuchâtel. The duties of the congregations were in line with other Reformed churches. In Neuchâtel the officials and pastors were to oversee the lives of the people, including their religious practices, morals, and knowledge of the faith. In addition, the teaching and ministry of the pastors fell under their watch. The senior religious body in Neuchâtel was the *Ministraux* and "the eighty," both of which were dominated by the council

48 See Walter Köhler, *Zürich Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932–1942).

49 Gordon, *Clerical Discipline*, 111.

50 Amy Nelson Burnett, "The Myth of the Swiss Lutherans: Martin Bucer and the Eucharistic Controversy in Bern," *Zwingliana* 32 (2005), 45–70.

51 On Bern's administration of its new lands, see Charles Gilliard, *La conquête du Pays de Vaud par les Bernois* (Lausanne: La Concorde, 1935), 221–59.

and the Statthalter.[52] The situation, however, was extremely volatile, for in the years following his expulsion from Geneva Guillaume Farel was an extraordinarily contentious figure in Neuchâtel.[53] At various points the magistrates in Bern had to intervene to restore peace. Finally, in 1542 Farel's presence in the city was endorsed through a majority of votes and he was able to remain, bringing the Neuchâtel church increasingly under the influence of Geneva.

Controversy, however, was not at an end, and following his return Farel attempted to reform the Neuchâtel church in ways that brought resistance. 1542 brought the *Constitutions et ordonnances*, which consisted of 26 articles drawn up by the laity.[54] The first six articles concerned worship, article seven addressed the sacraments, and articles eight to seventeen dealt with morals. The remaining articles concerned a decree against contradicting preachers, clothing, witchcraft, and the household. Farel's attempt to introduce church discipline and a consistory (Geneva-style) into the ordinances failed. The ruling council decreed in 1542, in five articles, that the authority of the clergy was to be severely curtailed. The clergy were to preach the word of God and forbidden to exercise excommunication, which was retained by the temporal authorities. The clergy were to limit themselves to admonishing the faithful.[55]

After Farel became head of the Neuchâtel church in 1545, following the failure of his opponents to appoint another candidate, further changes and conflicts arose. Farel devoted himself to the reform of the school system and the matter of church goods, an issue that divided all the Swiss churches. He was concerned that the church's resources should be used to aid those who suffered the most, namely the poor, and worked to introduce the office of deacon—following the model in Geneva. The council was not at all in agreement that control over church monies should fall out of its hands, and the struggle for control of the goods was heated. The story played out across the lands of the Swiss Reformation, where temporal authorities were eager to exert control over their churches and use ecclesiastical funds to fill their coffers. The ideal polity of the reformers had envisaged magistrates and clergy working together, but bitter conflict became the norm as both grew suspicious of the other.

In Neuchâtel, the church was not entirely independent from its Bernese overlords, and the periodic synods in the French-speaking lands were usually

52 Pfister, KGS, 240.

53 *Guillaume Farel 1489–1565: Biographie nouvelle écrite d'après les documents originaux par un groupe d'historiens, professeurs et pasteurs de Suisse, de France et d'Italie* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1930).

54 Pfister, KGS, 241–42.

55 Pfister, KGS, 242.

attended by the senior minister in Bern, Johannes Haller. Jean Calvin, whom the Bernese did not trust at all, was also frequently present. In the years 1562/64, through a series of ordinances the issue of discipline in the Neuchâtel church came to its final development through a couple of synods in which temporal control over the church was more emphatically established.

All of the Swiss Reformed churches during the 16th century struggled to provide their laity with ministers. In Basel, Zurich, Bern, and small churches such as Schaffhausen, Appenzell, and Biel the stories were similar. When the Reformations were introduced during the 1520s most of the Catholic priests simply became Protestant ministers. However, what that meant varied extensively. The levels of commitment to the new faith were uneven, and few of the former priests had much of an idea about either preaching or the Reformed doctrines of the sacraments. It took several generations for change to take hold. To bring about the establishment of a truly Reformed clergy required educational institutions, financial resources, and men. In Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger made the instruction of ministers a priority during the 1530s with the creation of a Latin school and the Lectorium.[56] The first provided for the teaching of Latin and the liberal arts, while the latter offered the biblical languages and lectures on scriptural interpretation.

Reformers complained that one of the problems in creating an effective ministry for their churches was the low esteem in which the profession was held. Because there were few pulpits available in the cities, most young men were required to take positions in the rural areas, where, as we have discussed, they were often forced to live *in extremis*. As a result, the burgher families of the cities were reluctant to place their sons in such lowly positions where they would have to subsidize their incomes. Also, as Bullinger told the magistrates in Zurich, unless the educational reforms were implemented and properly supported the sons of the city would be sent elsewhere. At the same time, rural families could ill afford the schools. To build their schools, the Reformed churches required stipends or scholarships to enable young men to study for the ministry. In Zurich the Council was determined that schools should be located in the city, so the magistrates made provision for boys to board at the Fraumünster.

Among the Reformed clergy another practice emerged that reminded one of the pre-Reformation church, and that was the emergence of clerical dynasties. It became increasingly common for sons to follow their fathers into the ministry, and by the second half of the century the records of the Basel, Bernese, and

56 See Chapter 2 above. On the development of Latin schools and the gymnasium in Basel, see Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 92–98; see also Chapter 13 below.

Zurich churches show a concentration of family names. The gradual restoration of the parishes and the advances in education slowly enhanced the status of the ministry, but the transition took almost a hundred years. During the 16th century the emergence of the clerical profession, with an almost guild-like structure, was piecemeal, but evident.

12.5 Worship

With the implementation of the Reformation in the Swiss Confederation new orders for worship were proclaimed, all with an emphasis on preaching.[57] The programmatic preaching ordinances give a slightly skewed impression of what took place, and it is necessary to distinguish what was possible in the major urban churches, such as the Gross- and Fraumünster in Zurich, the Basel cathedral, and the Bern Minster, from the situation in the countryside.[58] Arrangements in Bern from 1528 were typical. In the Minster sermons were held three times on Sundays and daily through the week by a team of senior ministers, including Berchtold Haller, Kaspar Megander, and Sebastian Hofmeister.[59] The weekday services took place at 7 am in order to allow the magistrates to attend before work. In rural areas, the preaching mandates stipulated weekday services as well as catechism instruction on Sunday afternoons. Once more, disciplinary records give the impression that apart from Sundays the pattern of worship in rural churches varied greatly as both clergy and laity found them a burdensome obligation.

Over the course of the 16th century more formalized liturgies and prayers appeared that were frequently adopted by the smaller churches. In Bern the mid-century brought the *Canzel und Agend Büchli*, which remained in use for almost two hundred years.[60] The forms were simple. The pastor read prayers before and after the sermon, including intercessions for the ruling magistrates. In addition to prayers for preaching services, the *Büchli* provided the forms of

57 On Zurich, see Karl Stokar, *Liturgisches Gerät der Zürcher Kirche vom 16. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert. Typologie und Katalog* (Zurich: Antiquarische Gesellschaft, 1981).

58 On the emergence of the liturgy in Zurich, see Bruce Gordon, "Transcendence and Community in Zwinglian Worship: The Liturgy of 1525 in Zurich," in R.N. Swanson, (ed.), *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 128–50. The development of liturgy in the Basel church is comprehensively covered in Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 50–6.

59 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 159.

60 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 161–62.

child instruction, burial, baptism, and the Lord's Supper.[61] In addition there was a formulation for the manner in which those who had died in the previous week were named. From 1551, in the Bern liturgy the confession of sin came at the conclusion of the service.

Many of the Bernese forms of worship were contained in a Baptismal Book, which is our best source for what was to take place, at least in the churches of the city. It was prepared in 1528, following the introduction of the Reformation, and remained largely unaltered. Prayers were made for the Schultheiss, the ruling councils, and people of the city and rural territories of Bern. The gravediggers were required on Sunday to post lists of those who had died during the week, and their names were read in church. In the baptismal books other forms of prayer were provided, as well as instruction in baptism and marriage. It was in these books that we find the first regular recording of the names of people baptized, married, and buried. The "church books" (*Kirchenbücher*) were a significant part of how the ecclesiastical authorities contributed to the work of the magistrates. Legitimate and illegitimate births were recorded, along with those who brought their children for baptism. The latter was an important way in which those with Anabaptist sympathies might be identified.[62]

From 1546 in Bern it was required that every household send at least one person to attend worship on Sundays as well as during the week. A major reason for such a requirement was part of the service that blurred the lines of the sacred and temporal. Ministers were required to make a series of announcements from the pulpit addressing the daily life of the community, such as a form of lost and found. Goods and belongings that had been lost were listed in case anyone should know where they were.[63] Further, parishioners were told to control their dogs and pigs and not to bowl or ride horses in the graveyards. Apparently, these interventions became so lengthy that in 1548 the Bernese ministers were only required to announce that items over a certain value had been lost.

The Reformed states were not fully in agreement about which religious holidays should be marked. Following 1530, it was decided in Zurich that only those directly associated with Christ (such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost) should be continued. In Bern, however, the Annunciation was retained, in Appenzell Good Friday, and in Basel the Ascension. In Basel saints' days were retained, and the people were to attend church to remember those who had given their lives for the faith.

61 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 162.

62 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 162.

63 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 162–63.

One of the most important sources for the order of worship in Zurich appeared in 1559 from Ludwig Lavater, his *Rituals and Institutes of the Zurich Church*.[64] The work was largely intended to describe for foreign churches the forms of worship in Zurich. Twenty years earlier Heinrich Bullinger provided an outline of the essential preaching service in Zurich churches that took the following form:

Greeting
Prayer (Lord's Prayer)
Bible reading
Sermon
Confession of Sin
Lord's Prayer again
Ten Commandments
Remembrance of those who had died that week
Prayer for the Poor
Petitions and Intercessions
Dismissal and Blessing

As in Zurich, the issue of music in Bern was contested, although church leaders on the whole were more sympathetic to singing in services. Berchtold Haller preached in favor of song in worship in 1532, but over the following decades the introduction of music into the liturgy was slow. The Bernese church opted for the psalms, which became central to the worship of the faithful. A psalm songbook was printed in the city in 1552, and from 1558 a psalm was sung at Sunday worship in the Minster. In Zurich under Bullinger there was no music in the churches, although hymnals were printed by Froschauer for other Reformed cities, such as Constance. In Basel, St. Gallen, and Schaffhausen hymnbooks were used in worship. The reasons for a prohibition in Zurich of singing are complex and had a good deal to do with defending Zwingli's legacy.[65] By the end of the 16th century, however, the Zurich church fell in line with Basel and Bern, where in 1574 hymn singing was introduced.

In Schaffhausen, which was considerably influenced by Zurich, the situation concerning worship was familiar. A mandate was published in August 1532 introducing the Reformed liturgy and revised two years later. The Lord's

64 Ludwig Lavater, *De Ritibvs et Institvtis ecclesiae Tigurinae opusculum* [Zürich: Froschauer, 1559].

65 Markus Jenny, *Zwinglis Stellung zur Musik im Gottesdienst* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1966); Garside, *Arts*.

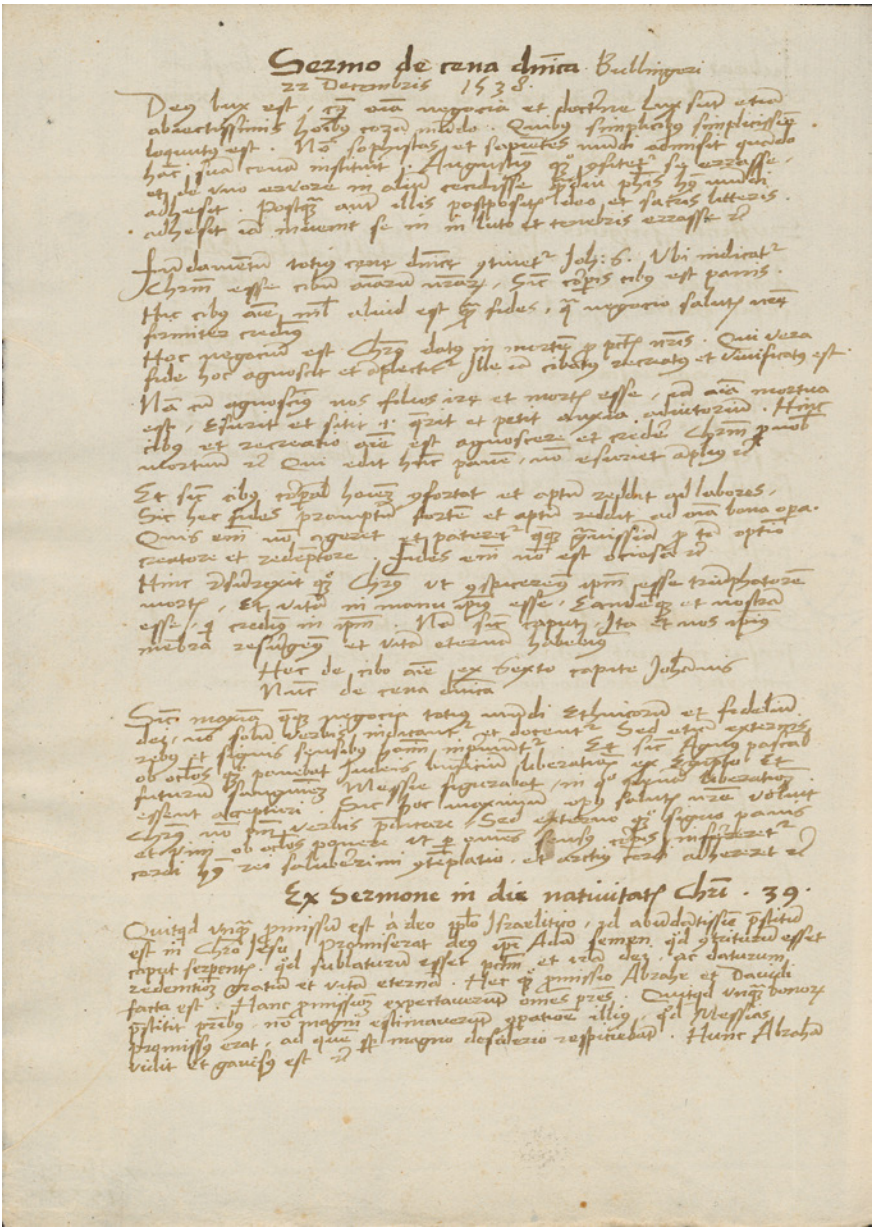

FIGURE 12.2 *Bullinger's hand-written notes for sermons preached during a communion service in December 1538 and on Christmas day, 1539.*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Supper was to be celebrated four times a year (Easter, Pentecost, All Saints' Day, and Christmas), and discipline was overseen by the marriage court, which would forbid adulterers from attending the sacrament.[66] In 1536 a synod was created with the usual decrees: Catholic rituals were not to be revived, and it was forbidden to attend Catholic services but required to be present for the Reformed sermons. Further, church goods were to be used to help the poor. Nevertheless, the views of the people had an influence, as it was originally intended that only Sundays should be rest days, but the rural and urban subjects demanded that the traditional festivals of Easter, Assumption, and Christmas continued to be observed. The council in Schaffhausen, following the lead of other churches, consented.

Apart from the regular services on Sunday and during the week, all of the Reformed churches made provision for the religious education of young people.[67] In the major cities the format was similar. Ministers were required to gather all children between the ages of eight or nine and twelve in the churches on Sunday afternoons. They were to instruct the children in their obligation of obedience to their parents and all authority. In 1532 in Bern an edict declared that on all Sundays and feast days in summer all children were to gather after their meal for instruction in the faith. In addition to the children, the ruling Councils were concerned that young adults and servants also be educated, although there is plenty of evidence that repeated admonitions to attend these sessions fell on deaf ears. Parish clergy repeatedly reported to their synods that the young people had little interest in religious instruction. During the 1530s catechisms appeared in the Swiss churches. One of the most significant was prepared by Leo Jud in Zurich. His first version had a different format in which the children posed the questions and the instructor provided the answers.[68] When his second catechism appeared in 1541 Jud had restored the usual form. The Zurich catechism found favor among many of the Reformed churches, including St. Gallen and Bern.

Following the introduction of the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* in 1541 the Genevan magistrates supported the reform of the church, but the situation did not stabilize until the defeat of Calvin's opponents in 1555. It was the Strasbourg liturgy that proved most influential on the Genevan form of worship that emerged from 1542, and in Calvin's churches we find a drawing together of

66 Pfister, KGS, 113.

67 See Chapter 13 below.

68 Arnold Rüegg, *Der Kinder-Gottesdienst in der Schweiz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Entwicklung in Zürich von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (Zurich: Evangelische Gesellschaft, 1913).

Alsatian and Swiss Protestant traditions.[69] Communion was to take place four times a year; a service took shape that emphasized both the interiority of the sacrament and the wider community by linking formulas of excommunication and exhortation. Over the following decades the liturgy of the Lord's Supper was refined through alterations to the intercessory prayers, taking account, for example, of the plight of those facing martyrdom under Henry II. The liturgies were largely published together with psalters, which served as devotional books.[70] In Basel, the pattern was for communion three times a year, though it was frequently noted by church officials that the people persisted in the medieval practice of only receiving communion at Easter.[71]

There were variations within Reformed worship services, but letus take Geneva as a more detailed example, following the innovative recent work of Christian Grosse. To begin, following a psalm the pastor would lead a prayer of invocation as the people knelt. This opening prayer continued the process, begun with the song, of defining the identity of the congregants. They acknowledged God as the author of creation and the providential Lord. Entering into communication with God required a penitential approach, and in the confession of sins the people recalled the historical origins of sins, their personal faults, and their identity as sinners.[72] In this common confession social distinctions were eradicated; all stood naked before God in need of divine grace.

Following the confession another psalm was read, followed by the prayer of illumination—according to the discretion of the minister—using a template of the Strasbourg liturgy. In the prayer of illumination the people requested that God illumine the hearers and preachers by his word. Following Calvin's teaching, the liturgy declared that the Holy Spirit was the true agent of the communication between God and humanity.[73] Prayer also required the obedience of the faithful to God's word and this led to the recitation of the Lord's Prayer by the minister, which the parishioners followed. The Lord's Prayer appeared twice in the service: here and at the conclusion of the prayer of intercession. The recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Prayer for Illumination closed off the part of the service dedicated to preparation to receive the Word.

The parts of the ritual thus far stressed the need for the faithful to recognize their sinful state that made them incapable of communing with God, and

69 Christian Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène: Le culte eucharistique réformé à Genève* (*XVIe–XVIIe siècles*) (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 130.

70 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène,* 168.

71 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 244.

72 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 188.

73 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 190.

the need of the Holy Spirit to effect this communication. After the dominical prayer, the minister, before preaching, read the passage of scripture from which his sermon followed. In Geneva, sermons for communion Sundays were to be about the mystery of the Eucharist and what was to be received in the sacrament—an appropriate gospel text was chosen for communion. Explanation of the Lord's Supper was integral to the service at certain points during the year. Before Easter, for example, Calvin spent the week in sermons talking about the Passion and the sacrament. Preaching on days of communion were also times for remonstrance concerning moral order: those who did not appear before the consistory or youth engaged in proscribed activities could expect to be named. After the sermon, there was an exhortation to prayer.[74]

When the Word of God had been preached, there was a reprise of the confession of sins adapted to the content of the sermons, in which the penitential character needed for communion with the Divine was accentuated.[75] A prayer of intercession, a central part of the liturgy, followed. Prayers were made for magistrates and lords, who were exhorted to realize that they only ruled by God's favor. What followed was a catalogue of prayers that covered the life and witness of the church: for pastors, and removal of illegitimate ones; for all people to come to the light of the gospel and conformity to God's Word—illumination; for all whom God punishes with tests of faith; and for the hope that all assembled in the church might endure suffering. The prayers ended with the sursum corda. As Grosse argues, the prayer of intercession juxtaposed two orders of reality: a relationship of the faithful dependent upon God, and one of equality before one another and God.[76]

The prayer of intercession blended into the liturgy of the Supper through the repetition of the Lord's Prayer, either word for word or paraphrased, and at the end of the prayer, the new liturgy of the Supper and elements not found in normal dominical services appeared, marking the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer.

This prayer besought God to supply the faithful with faith enough to apprehend the promises of God attested to in the sacrament, recalling the historical nature of the crucifixion, not as a sacrifice, but a memorial. The key distinction, found in the Swiss Reformed services, was the exhortation that the people sacrificed themselves, but remembered Christ's sacrifice: communing with God was a death to self, as Christ died to himself.

74 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 193.

75 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 193.

76 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 197.

The Apostles' Creed, known as the "Symbol of the Apostles," followed. Although it formed part of most worship services, the Creed was originally intended for communion and baptism—public proclamation of the unity of faith. The singing of the Decalogue then occurred instead of another psalm.[77] As with the Creed, the Consistory required the Commandments to be memorized by the faithful.

The song of the Decalogue recited salvation history and complemented the Eucharistic prayer.[78] The Decalogue proclaimed the requirements of obedience, while the Eucharistic prayer incited the faithful to this obedience by referencing the exilic story of Exodus. This recalling of the salvation of the Israelites was prominent in the Zurich communion liturgy, where Exodus was read during the distribution of the elements. Obedience to the Law was the sacrifice required for Christians before God. It was analogous to the Catholic singing of the Ave Maria.

In all the Reformed services of the Eucharist, when the presiding minister moved to the communion table he faced the people, a clear rejection of transubstantiation and its liturgical expression. This dramatic change had begun in Strasbourg and continued in Zurich. The narrative of the institution was then read, and, once more, the Strasbourg reforms led the way, where the narrative was purged of the parts not from the Bible. Calvin's liturgy adopted the text of 1 Corinthians 11—paraphrased but direct. It was a remembrance of the history of salvation unrolled—all in the past—once and for all: Christ took the bread, etc., pointing to the end of time when he will return. The biblical model of the Supper—the narrative of institution—tended to overshadow the process of elaboration of the Reformed Eucharistic liturgy.

In Reformed worship, this narrative of institution, as a text of consecration, was also pedagogical, explaining the purpose of the sacrament. The narrative of consecration ended with Paul's exhortation and warning to those communing in sin. The minister then explained the function of the Supper: to form a community of faith. Those outside the community of believers were not to receive, an admonition followed by a blunt declaration of excommunication for idolaters, blasphemers, and other offenders.[79] This part of the liturgy divided the Swiss churches, as in Zurich and Basel excommunication was not linked to the Eucharist, a disagreement between Calvin and Bullinger they chose not to air in public.

77 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 200.

78 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 201.

79 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 209.

For all the Reformed churches, following from Zwingli's liturgy of 1525, the theme of purity was central. Worship was to be pure, conducted with pure hearts. This conviction, naturally, was closely linked to the iconoclasm of the 1520s and 1530s, but it found different expression.[80] In Geneva and Bern, as noted, it extended to a strict application of excommunication not found in Zurich and Basel. On the liturgical level, this excommunicatory rite was situated in the prologue to the Eucharistic prayer, the Credo and the Decalogue. Violating the command of faith and obedience outlined in these elements led to the excommunication from the Supper.[81] The sentence of excommunication was an important rupture in the service, for while through most of the worship the pastor spoke on behalf of the congregation to God, suddenly he turned his attention directly to each individual and their consciences.[82] Calvin was sensible of the apprehension caused by this part of the service, and communion participants were assured that they need not possess absolute certainty of faith: as sinners they were to be strengthened by the sacrament.

In the Swiss Reformed churches, the simplicity of ritual was taken as a sign of its authenticity and antiquity. In Geneva, for the Lord's Supper the people presented themselves two by two at the table, while in Zurich the bread and wine was passed among the people. In Genevan churches there were two tables, one for women and the other for men. In Basel, men and women also came to the table separately: men first, followed by women.[83] After receiving the bread the communicants would proceed to a local official or assistant minister, who held the cup. In Basel there was discussion as to whether the bread should be placed in the hand of communicants or directly in their mouths. The pastors opted for the latter, declaring, "it was best not to change anything done in their reformed church without a clear reason."[84]

In all Reformed churches Catholic altars were replaced with simple wooden tables, simple elements and chalices for communion, although for some reformers, for example, the use of more ornate cups and plates was not considered an issue. On the whole, simplicity was a reaction to the pomp of Catholic ceremonies and clear indication of reform. A point of controversy was whether plain bread or wafers should be used. For some, the latter were too reminiscent of Catholic practices, though they continued to be used, such as in the Bern

80 On iconoclasm in Zurich and Basel, see Wandel, *Idols*. On events in the Vaud, see Bruening, *Battleground,* 119–24.

81 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 209–10.

82 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 211.

83 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 242.

84 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 243.

church. In Zurich, in contrast, it was insisted that plain bread be used in communion on wooden platters. It was common for elders in the parish churches to help serve communion; however, following Calvin's return to Geneva only ministers could serve bread, while elders could serve the wine.[85]

In Reformed worship men and women were separated, and the magistrates occupied places of honor within the churches during services—as would the local bailiff in rural churches. Nevertheless, despite distinctions of rank and authority, the Reformed Eucharist liturgy was intended to reflect the equality of all before God. The language of community and commune (*Gemeinde*, *communité*) pervaded the liturgies. Conflict, however, inevitably arose, and an unexpected source of trouble was clothing. The language of equality among Christians was undermined by those who flouted the sumptuary laws by wearing clothing at communion that reflected their status rather than church unity.[86]

12.6 Education

The foundation for institutional, clerical, and liturgical reform was education.[87] Although Huldrych Zwingli did not involve himself in the reform of education following the introduction of the Reformation in 1525, under his successor Heinrich Bullinger the formation of a school system became a priority. From 1525, however, a major effort was made to implement a method of biblical interpretation and instruction of the clergy with the creation of the *Prophezei*, which met weekdays in the Grossmünster. The leading clergy of the city, including Zwingli, would read the biblical texts from the Old Testament in the Hebrew, the Greek of the Septuagint, and the Latin of the Vulgate. A philological and theological exegesis would take place, with the fruits of the sessions translated in German for the people. Leo Jud was charged with preaching to the laity, transmitting the learning of the humanists into pastoral instruction.

Under Bullinger during the 1530s Latin schools were created in the city for the sons of burghers. Those in the rural areas unable to afford an education were to be supported by stipends provided by the city council. Bullinger's primary purpose was to train young men for service in the church, although his ambitious plans frequently brought him into conflict with the magistrates. For the formal training of prospective ministers the endowments of the

85 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 220–21.

86 Grosse, *Les rituels de la cène*, 235.

87 See also Chapters 2 and 13 in this volume.

dissolved Grossmünster chapter were directed to the erection of the Lectorium, an academy where instruction in Hebrew, Greek and theology was offered. Theodor Bibliander, the professor of Old Testament, was charged with holding the *lectiones publicae*, lectures in Latin on scripture that were attended by the clergy.[88]

In Bern the model of the *Prophezei* was followed, though the city lacked scholars of the stature found in Zurich. In addition to the textual analysis that took place in the Minster in the city, on Tuesdays two of the leading ministers addressed the rural clergy on matters of doctrine. These ministers would come to the city to learn what they were to teach and how to refute the Anabaptists.

In Basel the development of educational institutions after the Reformation was a slow, painful process that focused on the education of those pastors who were already in office. As Amy Nelson Burnett has carefully examined, the development of the university arts curriculum and of theological education was problematic, and in the 1540s the head of the Basel church, Oswald Myconius, shared the gloom of other reformers about the state of clerical learning.[89]

Among the smaller churches we find a similar pattern. In Schaffhausen the Reformation mandate addressed the situation of the schools.[90] A Latin school had existed in the city since 1481 but in 1525 it was moved to a new building by the principal church of St Johann. Boys from the rural areas, as well as from the city, received instruction in the liberal arts. The school become a focal point of the Reformation, and after the introduction of the new order a German school was founded. Two years later a school for girls was created.

12.7 Discipline in the Churches

Integral to the introduction of reformation in the Swiss churches was the proclamation of morals mandates and the creation of bodies to oversee the lives of the people.[91] Known as both marriage or morals courts (*Ehegericht* or, in

88 See Chapter 2 above.

89 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 80–7.

90 Jakob Wipf, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Schaffhausen* (Zurich: Fussli, 1929), 334–36.

91 The situation in Zurich is summarized in Gordon, *Discipline*, 209–13, and Bruce Gordon, "Die Entwicklung der Kirchenzucht in Zürich am Beginn der Reformation," in *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, (ed.) Heinz Schilling (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1994), 65–90. See also Chapter 14 below.

Bern, *Chorgericht*), these institutions replaced the episcopal courts of the late Middle Ages, though in some respects they represented continuity, in particular the centrality of marriage. With the abolition of marriage as a sacrament and the abrogation of church law (though many of its precepts were retained by the Protestant churches) new definitions and regulations concerning the proper relationship between men and women were required.

The marriage court first emerged in Zurich in 1525 and was closely emulated in both Basel and Bern.[92] The institution was created by the ruling Council and remained firmly under the control of the magistrates with the willing cooperation of the churches. The purposes were multiple: for the church leaders the improvement of morals was essential to the life of the Christian community; God would not let sins go unpunished, thus adultery, violence, and drunkenness had to be controlled. The magistrates did not object to this principle, but they were also concerned that the morals mandates, as enforced by the church from the pulpit and temporal authorities with the sword, should instill order and obedience in the communities. In this respect, the concern with moral reform, and the language of the mandates, echoed decrees of the late medieval church.

In all the Reformed churches the disciplinary bodies were composed of representatives from the councils and the senior clergy. The numbers revealed where the influence lay. In Bern, which had the strongest presence of secular authorities, alongside the two ministers from the Minster were two delegates from the small council and four from the large. The morals court met several days a week following worship.[93]

It was an arm of temporal authority, not the church, a reality reflected in the administration of punishment. The morals courts were not permitted to excommunicate. That judgement remained in the hands of the magistrates, who had no desire to replicate the problems posed by the medieval Catholic Church and their separate jurisdiction. Similarly, the authority to carry out the most severe forms of punishment and torture remained in secular hands. The morals courts had a more limited repertoire that included admonition, fines,

92 The standard work on Bern is Heinrich Richard Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion. Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1995), 354–58. An overview in English of Schmidt's work is found in his "Morals Courts in Rural Berne during the Early Modern Period," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, (ed.) Karin Maag (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 155–81. Schaffhausen has been studied by Roland Hofer, *"üppiges, unzüchtiges Lebwesen." Schaffhauser Ehegerichtsbarkeit von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime* (*1529–1789*) (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993).

93 See Schmidt, "Morals Courts," 160–81.

imprisonment for up to three days, and transfer to secular courts. In addition, there were various forms of public humiliation, such as making a confession in church before the people or being required to stand at the door while the service took place, separated from the community. Those who blasphemed or swore against God were required to fall upon their knees and kiss the ground. Those who failed to appear in church were generally fined, though repeated offences could lead to much more severe punishment. As one finds across early modern Europe, the major source of problems arose from alcohol and fighting. Dancing (except at weddings), gaming, clothing, and sexual misconduct were repeatedly denounced in the morals mandates and filled the records of the morals courts.

As with the consistory in Geneva, the regulation of marriage consumed a vast amount of time. With some variation, the Swiss Reformed states permitted boys to marry at sixteen and girls at fourteen with the permission of their parents or guardians. Such marriages, however, were only the beginning. The disciplinary bodies found themselves mediating between warring husbands and wives. In Zurich, for example, it was not uncommon for the two to be placed for three days in the Wellenberg, a tower in the middle of the river, on a diet of bread and water.[94] The time was to be used to resolve the conflict. The marriage courts were constantly admonishing husbands and wives to live properly in Christian marriage. Robert Kingdon has written about Jean Calvin as a marriage counsellor.[95]

Adultery and household violence were common, and the courts frequently had to act to protect women abused by husbands fuelled by alcohol. On the whole, there was considerable sympathy for the plight of wives unless they were thought to have contributed to the problems through their own sexual promiscuity. The early modern attitude of the sexual vulnerability of women was fully in evidence. Philandering men were generally fined or put in prison for a few days. Punishment for adultery increased in severity, however, when prostitution was involved. It was not unknown for serial offenders to be executed.

In the rural communities and small towns, local morals courts were established to implement the mandates of the ruling councils in the cities. Each parish had a court on which sat members of the community, known as "elders" or *Chorrichter*. The city magistrates were represented by the Ammann and the local bailiff. The lay representatives often came from among the wealthy

94 Gordon, *Discipline*, 69.

95 See Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995).

farmers and local notables.[96] The fact that men and women had to appear before tribunals consisting of persons from their communities was a constant source of tension. Statistics are notoriously unreliable, but in Bern, for example, women appeared in approximately one third of the cases. What the disciplinary records do reveal, unsurprisingly, is the frequency with which the same persons were hauled before the courts.

12.8 Conclusion

The building of the Swiss Reformed churches during the 16th century reveals a collection of shared aspirations. The clergy were to be educated, able to preach, administer the sacraments, and care for their parishioners. They were to cultivate Christian living among the men and women, who were to attend church and maintain holy households. The churches were under the authority of the magistrates and served as an arm of the state, maintaining order and discipline. Worship was the heart and soul of the churches, and the reformers designed liturgies that gave prominence to God's Word and two sacraments. All of these aspects were considered elements of a whole, of the formation of the godly community in which God was rightly worshipped, his laws obeyed, and sin extirpated.

Although we find many shared practices among the churches, there were also variations reflecting local circumstances and contingencies, as well as differing positions, such as on the subject of excommunication. Without doubt Zurich and Basel, above all, served as models, but they were never slavishly followed.

By the later decades of the 16th century the Reformed churches possessed institutions that trained young men for the ministry in such numbers that supply exceeded demand. The school curricula were well established, and the people were taught the principles of the Reformed faith. The Bible was widely available in the Swiss vernacular (Alemannic and French) and liturgies were fixed. Although considerable hostility towards Lutherans and Catholics continued, for the most part doctrinal concord prevailed among the churches. All was not perfect and controversies would continue, but through fifty years of extraordinary creativity, innovation, destitution, and compromise the Reformed churches from Geneva to Graubünden emerged as lasting confessional identities whose origins lay in the local, fierce, and bold revolts of the 1520s.

96 Schmidt, "Morals Courts," 161.

CHAPTER 13

Schools and Education, 1500–1600

Karin Maag

13.1 Introduction

The history of education in the Swiss lands from the early Reformation through the later 16th century is complex, given both the range of political jurisdictions that oversaw the educational process and the confessional diversity of the Swiss lands in the period. This contribution will analyze the educational opportunities available to children and young people in the Swiss cantons, mandated territories, and associated territories (including the Pays de Vaud and Geneva), from catechetical instruction through vernacular and Latin schools to academies and university studies. Providing this education meant that government and church authorities had to address some basic problems, including establishing workable systems of oversight, locating sufficient short- and long-term funding sources, and recruiting and retaining competent instructors. These tasks were often complicated by confessional and institutional rivalries. Yet by the end of the 16th century, the Swiss and their allies could point with justifiable pride to their educational offerings, which not only prepared their youth for future service in church and state but also linked the Swiss territories to the broader network of European schooling.

13.2 The Pre-Reformation Context

At the outset, it is worth noting that a range of educational opportunities was available in the Swiss lands prior to the Reformation. Thus, it would be unfair and inaccurate to claim that the Reformation was the single deciding factor in bringing about the foundation of schools and centers of learning in these territories, though the Reformation did bring new impetus to the educational aims of church and state authorities. Beginning at the top of the pyramid, the University of Basel was established thanks to a papal charter in 1460, and it remained the Swiss lands' only university until the 19th century.[1] The citizens of Basel only gave their approval to the new foundation in 1460 on the

1 Walter Rüegg, "Themes," in *A History of the University in Europe*, (ed.) Hilde de Ridder-Symoens. vol. 1: *Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

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understanding that the university would prove to be a source of income by attracting wealthy students and their entourages. The desire to out-maneuver Freiburg im Breisgau, which had recently decided to establish its own university, was also a factor, signalling that the rivalries that affected the course of education in the Swiss lands were not solely confessional ones. In spite of the Basel citizens' hopes, the initial impact of their university was smaller than expected, and student numbers did not begin to rise until the first decades of the 16th century, in conjunction with Basel's increasingly important role as a printing center.[2]

For their part, the medieval Swiss cities also created local schools, both for their own citizens and as a regional magnet for others interested in gaining an education. These institutions included Latin schools, as in Bern, Fribourg, Zurich, and Geneva, for instance, or municipal vernacular schools, as in Solothurn and Lucerne.[3] The city authorities' role in the school could include furnishing an appropriate building, paying all or part of the instructors' salaries, and ensuring that no other school competed directly with the municipal institution for pupils.[4] In Solothurn's case, the earliest evidence for its municipal school dates back to 1208, when a schoolmaster appeared in the city's records.[5] Separately, medieval Catholic Church authorities also established schools in the Swiss lands, most often in order to train boys for choral singing and service in the liturgy of the mass. These schools were often located in monasteries, and focused primarily on liturgy and church music. By the 15th century, the increasingly confident municipal authorities were prone to taking over control of the choir schools as well as their own municipal foundations, as was the case in Bern, for instance, where by 1485 both the city Latin school and the *Kantorei* (choir school) were under municipal oversight.[6] Boys who had completed the

1992), 19. The 1460 foundation was Basel's second attempt at a university. The first institution lasted from 1431 to 1449, exactly the time-span of the Council of Basel.

2 Rüegg, "Themes," 19–20.

3 The best overview of Latin and vernacular schooling in Swiss cities (apart from Geneva and the Pays de Vaud) in the late medieval period is Urs Martin Zahnd, "Chordienst und Schule in eidgenössichen Städte des Spätmittelalters: Eine Untersuchung auf Grund der Verhältnisse in Bern, Freiburg, Luzern und Solothurn," *Zwingliana* 22 (1995), 5–36.

4 See for instance the actions taken by the city council of Geneva to establish and sustain their Latin school, known as the collège de Versonnex, founded in 1428. Louis-J. Thévenaz, "L'ancien Collège de sa fondation à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, précédée d'une introduction sur l'instruction publique à Genève au moyen âge." in idem, *Histoire du Collège de Genève* (Geneva: Wyss et Duchène, 1896), 3–11.

5 Zahnd, "Chordienst und Schule," 11.

6 Zahnd, "Chordienst und Schule," 15–16.

FIGURE 13.1 *Pope Pius II issuing the charter for the University of Basel in 1460. From the Matriculation register of the Rectorate of the University of Basel*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK BASEL

Latin school curriculum in Swiss schools could go on to further studies at the university level, as in Lucerne, for instance, where most students in the Middle Ages headed to Bologna's university until 1463, when the more regionally accessible university in Basel became an increasingly preferred destination.[7]

Below the official municipal Latin and vernacular schools were the private schools. Here too, there is evidence of private vernacular schools being set up prior to the Reformation. Unfortunately, these ephemeral institutions have only left sporadic signs of their existence in surviving records, mostly when city leaders expressed concern about any competition the private schools could be causing to the city's official school, or when instructors paid by the city voiced similar unease. It seems that some of these vernacular schools also offered basic learning for girls. Sometimes the teachers were widows, and at other times, they were part of a husband-and-wife team, in which the husband taught the boys and his wife taught the girls. For instance, a placard published by a Basel schoolteacher in 1516 (thus prior to the Reformation) offered anyone, including women and girls, the opportunity to come learn to read and write for a fee. This education came with a guarantee: those who could not read or write after a specified time would have the fee refunded to them. The text ended with a reminder that both boys and girls were welcome to come and learn at the school.[8]

All of these institutions—private vernacular schools, choir schools, public vernacular and Latin schools, and the University of Basel—provided young Swiss, at least in urban areas, with access to some measure of education prior to the Reformation. Following the Reformation, city and church leaders focused on the importance of education, especially in training up future generations of young Reformed or Catholic leaders. At the same time, the transition actually made life more challenging for some of the pre-existing schools that tended to struggle for students and teachers due to the turmoil of the first months and years of the Reformation. One of the authorities' tasks, therefore, was to restructure and reorganize older centers of learning to adapt them to the new confessional context. A second priority was to set up new institutions, particularly for higher education and the training of clergy. Finally, civic and religious leaders also focused on providing a basic level of education in the faith to everyone, even to children who would not otherwise go to school. By analyzing the provision of education at all these levels in the Swiss lands

7 Gottfried Boesch and Anton Kottman, (eds.), *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern 1574–1974* (Lucerne: Verlag Kantonsschule Luzern, 1974), 17.

8 Anne Conrad, "Bildungschancen für Frauen und Mädchen im interkonfessionellen Vergleich," ARG 95 (2004), 283–300, and especially 286 for this specific example.

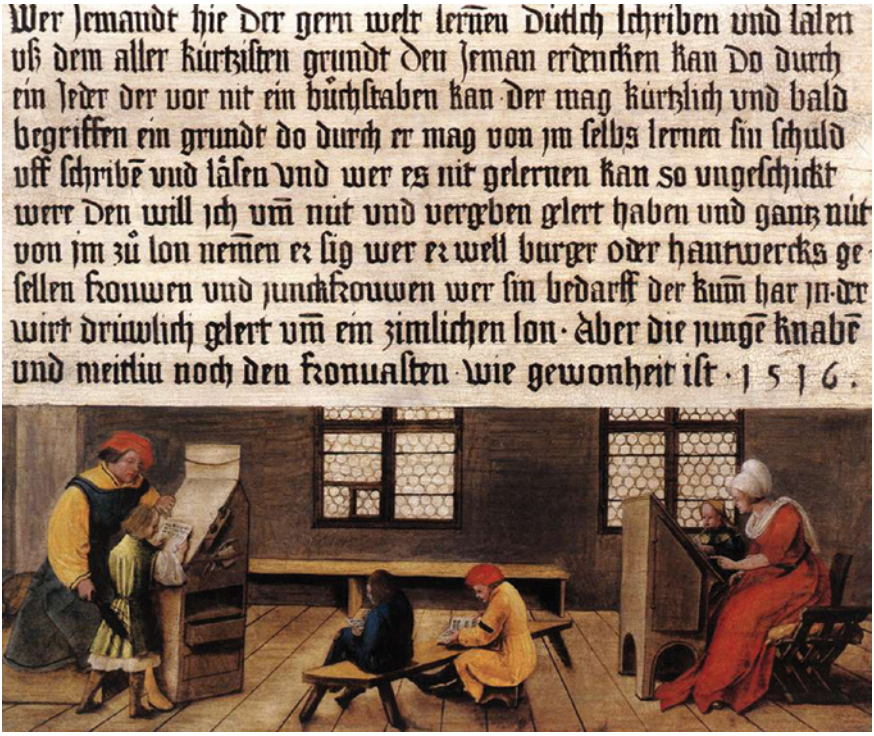

FIGURE 13.2 *Ambrosius Holbein, Advertisement for a Basel schoolteacher (1516)*
PHOTO COURTESY OF WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

following the Reformation, we will gain a better understanding both of the successes and of the enduring challenges that made schooling such a contentious matter throughout the 16th century.

13.3 Following the Reformation

13.3.1 *Catechetical Instruction*

Reformed leaders realized very quickly that the general population needed to learn the fundamentals of the faith, especially in the first years following the Reformation. To do so, church leaders organized catechetical teaching services, usually on Sunday afternoons, during which pastors would explain core beliefs as expressed in the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and would verify attendees' understanding through a process of questions and answers. While at first these services were intended for

everyone, over time the target audience became children and young people and "the unlearned," often household servants. The challenges of ensuring that church members were well-grounded in the foundations of their faith were compounded in cities and cantons where catechetical instruction was not regularly offered, as in Basel, for instance, where in the first decades following the Reformation, there was little emphasis on regular catechism services.[9] In the Pays de Vaud, the catechism was only taught during the spring and summer, because of the difficulties of getting people together for catechetical instruction during the winter months.[10] Not surprisingly, the end result was that the core beliefs were sometimes slow to take hold, in spite of civic and church authorities' reminders of the need to go to catechism services. In 1545, for instance, the Bernese overlords issued the following decree to the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud: "Once again, we order all fathers, mothers, and guardians to send the children able to learn the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments to church on the day and at the time when the ministers hold the catechism sessions. Otherwise, the penalty for the first three times is imprisonment and the fourth time, banishment from the Bernese lands."[11] The severity of the penalties signaled both the value the Bernese leadership placed on catechetical teaching and the difficulties the leadership faced in getting the inhabitants of the region to comply.

Although it could be hard to make sure that people went to catechism services, one tool that tended to foster more consistent instruction was a common teaching text that could convey the basics of the Reformed faith to a wide audience. The first Swiss catechisms included the Zurich wall-catechism of 1525, the St. Gallen catechism of 1527, the large and small catechism produced in Zurich by the pastor Leo Jud in 1534 and 1535, the Bernese catechism of 1536 (officially translated into French for the Pays de Vaud in 1551), the Basel catechisms of 1537, 1538, and 1544, and Calvin's Genevan catechisms of 1537 and 1542.[12] Zurich's *Wandcatechismus* or wall-catechism of 1525 is particularly interesting as a teaching tool. It measured about 1'×2', and included the texts of the Ten Commandments, the Great Commandment, the Lord's Prayer, the

9 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 55.

10 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 354–55.

11 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 354.

12 On printed catechisms in the Swiss lands and allied territories, see Jan-Andrea Bernhard, "'Una cuorta et christiana fuorma da intraguider la giuuentüna:' Der erste Katechismus Bündens als Zeugnis der Ausstrahlungen der Zürcher Reformation," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 45–72; Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 355–61; and Arnold Rüegg, (ed.), *Der Kindergottesdienst in der Schweiz mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Entwicklung in Zürich von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart* (Zurich: Evangelische Gesellschaft, 1913).

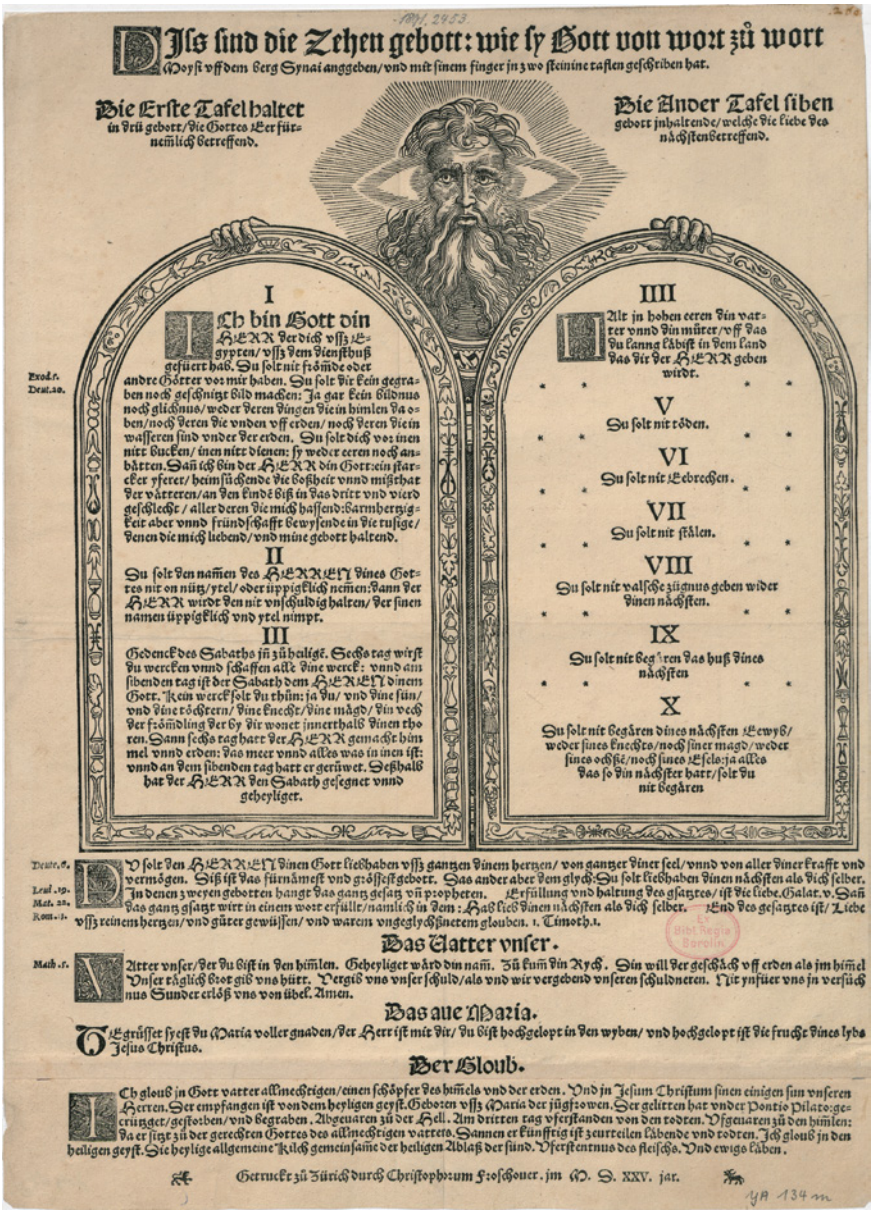

FIGURE 13.3 *In 1525 Leo Jud (1482–1542), pastor of St Peter's in Zurich, produced one of the earliest evangelical catechisms. Intended to be hung on the wall, it contained four catechetical pieces: the Ten Commandments (translated from Exod. 20 rather than the traditional medieval text), the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the first part (from Luke 1) of the Hail Mary; the second, intercessory part of this popular Marian prayer is omitted*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK BERLIN

Apostles' Creed, the angelic salutation to the Virgin Mary, and verses from Galatians 5 and 1 Timothy 1. The idea was to put it on the wall in people's homes and in schoolrooms, as a replacement for images of saints. Thus the poster had a double function: both to instruct and to re-direct the faithful from the contemplation of religious images to the contemplation of sacred text.[13] The wall-catechism simply presented the texts themselves, without commentary or explanation: later catechisms in book format were more explanatory and soon adopted the standard question and answer format. Catechisms could also be used as identity-forming tools in confessionally-mixed areas, as was the case in the Three Leagues (modern Graubünden/Grisons), one of the allies of the Confederation in the south-east. The first catechism intended for Protestant use in the Three Leagues was published in German in 1538 and was based on the 1534 Zurich catechism prepared by Leo Jud. The first Reformed catechism in Romansch (the regional dialect) appeared in 1552, but there are no surviving copies. A second edition appeared in 1571.[14] In both cases, the influence of Heinrich Bullinger and Zurich on the content of the catechism was predominant, particularly in terms of the important place given to covenant theology.[15]

Many of the catechisms bridged the gap between church-run education in the faith and academic instruction provided in the schools, as catechisms were also used as key texts in vernacular and Latin schools following the Reformation. In Basel, for instance, the Latin school curriculum included regular instruction in the catechism. Both the 1546 and the 1589 curricula made use of the work in its German and Latin versions, with the 1589 curriculum emphasizing the need to convey to the upper-level students the doctrinal teachings and scriptural underpinnings of the catechism.[16] In Geneva after 1559, the Latin school curriculum featured weekly instruction on the catechism on Saturdays, except in the upper two grades, where the students presumably had memorized the text by that point, and moved on instead to selections from the New Testament in Greek.[17] Thus those who attended school regularly could expect to gain a thorough grounding in the catechism as part of their instructional program.

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13 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 355–56.

14 Bernhard, "'Una cuorta et christiauna fuorma," 45–56; see Chapter 8 above.

15 Bernhard, "'Una cuorta et christiauna fuorma," 67.

16 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 93–5.

17 "L'Ordre estably en l'escole de Geneve…" in *Le Livre du recteur de l'académie de Genève (1559–1878)*, (eds.) Sven and Suzanne Stelling-Michaud, vol. 1 (Geneva: Université de Genève, 1959), 70–1.

13.3.2 *Vernacular and Latin Schools*

Evidence for the existence of private vernacular schools is as sparse following the Reformation as it was beforehand, as their ephemeral existence depended both on the continued availability of the school teacher and on the willingness of the authorities to allow the person to open and operate a school within their jurisdiction. Once again, these establishments only tended to surface in the records when there was a problem or a concern. For instance, in March 1556, John Calvin appeared before the Genevan Small Council to voice his desire for greater control over the *petites escolles* or private vernacular schools. He asked the city authorities to ensure that the teachers in these schools be made to bring their students once a week to the *grande escolle* or public Latin school. He also requested that enrollment in the *petites escolles* be limited to those who could not yet attend the Latin school, presumably because they were still struggling with learning to read and write in the vernacular. He clearly was concerned about potential competition from the vernacular schools cutting into the Latin school's enrollment. Two days after his visit, the Small Council decided to limit the number of the private vernacular schools in the city to six, and ordered that the teachers' proficiency be examined.[18] Vernacular schools also operated in Zurich, where Heinrich Bullinger proposed in 1552 that these should be viewed as the proper entry point for those wishing to enroll in the city's Latin schools. In other words, he wanted to ensure that those coming into the Latin schools had gained basic literacy skills during their time in the vernacular schools, rather than having to start the entire educational process from scratch.[19]

The records from post-Reformation Swiss cities are much more extensive when it comes to the Latin schools. In many instances, as in Zurich, Bern, Schaffhausen, and Basel, the city and church authorities simply took control of the pre-existing official Latin school, hired new instructors, and revised the curriculum to reflect the new confessional outlook of the community. In other cases, new Latin schools were set up, either because the previous school had foundered during the first years of the Reformation, or because there really had not been any officially-established Latin school prior to the Reformation. Across the board, the reformers valued the creation of these schools, both as a means to prepare future leaders, and as a way to inculcate virtue and sow true faith in students' hearts. As Heinrich Bullinger noted in a letter to the St. Gallen reformer Joachim Vadian in 1539, "Just as righteousness is damaged

18 Archives d'état de Genève, Registres du Conseil de Genève 1556, vol. 1, fol. 52v-53r and 55v–56r.

19 Kurt Rüetschi, "Bullinger als Schulchronist," in HBGA, 305–22, esp. 308; idem, "Bullinger and the School," in Gordon/Campi, *Architect*, 215–29.

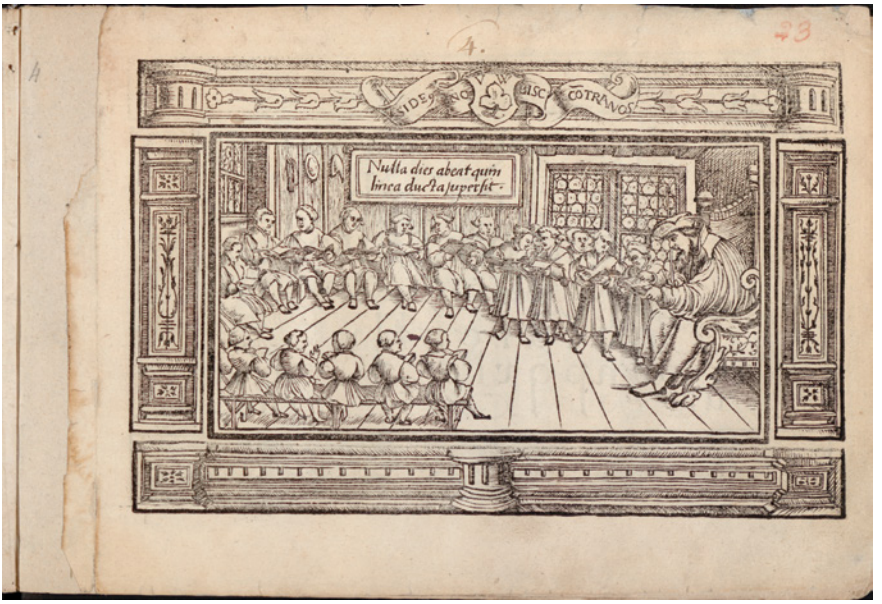

FIGURE 13.4 *School lesson, from Urban Wyss,* Libellus valde doctus, elegans et utilis (*Zurich, 1549*). *Note that the boys in this classroom are of differing ages*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

when there are no laws, so religion falls into an uproar when there are no schools."[20] Zurich's church upheld Bullinger's insight by providing assistance to the Three Leagues to establish a Latin school in Chur, one of the chief cities of the area. Specifically, Zurich located and sent a schoolmaster to the Chur school and subsequently provided financial support for students from the Three Leagues to pursue their studies in Zurich.[21] Because the Three Leagues was a confessionally-mixed area, Reformed leaders in Zurich were anxious not to overlook anything that might help tip the balance towards the Protestant side. Yet in spite of their efforts and those of local Reformed leaders in the territory, the lack of consistent sources of funding hampered the effectiveness of the Chur school. There were too few scholarships, and the amounts available could only support a student for three years, whereas the curriculum of most Latin schools stretched over at least seven years.[22] As a result, the Reformed pastors in the Three Leagues tended to be under-trained and could not make

20 Conradin Bonorand, *Die Entwicklung des Reformierten Bildungswesens in Graubünden zur Zeit der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Thusis: Roth & Co., 1949), 24.

21 Bonorand, *Die Entwicklung*, 24 and 31–2.

22 See for instance the detailed curriculum of the Latin school section of the Genevan Academy in Stelling-Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur*, 1: 69–71.

much of an impact in terms of converting the Catholic population to the Reformed faith. Thus in spite of their best efforts, Reformed leaders in the Three Leagues could not overcome their educational deficit due to lack of investment in schooling.

In contrast, other schools benefited from careful thought and investment in instruction. One good example comes from Zurich, where the city's church and civic authorities used financial resources very effectively to promote education from the Latin school level upwards, and ensured that their educational institutions attracted students from Zurich itself and from further afield.[23] Zurich had two Latin schools that predated the Reformation, one based at the Grossmünster (Zurich's main church) and one at the Fraumünster, on the other side of the Limmat River that flows through the city. By 1532, the funding for the two Latin schools, the student scholarships, and the public lectureships that had begun in 1525 was in jeopardy. Indeed, the city government had decided to take over the income of the Grossmünster cathedral chapter (that was paying for all this schooling) to recoup their war costs following the disastrous Zurich defeat at the Battle of Kappel in 1531. However, Heinrich Bullinger, who had only recently been named Antistes or chief pastor of the Zurich church, was able to convince the city authorities not to go ahead with their plan on the grounds that they would cause irreparable damage to the cause of education in the city. The city leaders were convinced by his arguments, allowing the Grossmünster chapter's income, especially the money that previously supported the canons, to continue to underwrite education in Zurich.[24] There were several sources of funding available to the students of the Zurich Latin schools, from scholarships paid in cash to free food and drink provided by the *Almosenamt*, or charity fund of the city.

By 1538, Zurich's educational offerings at the Latin school level had been enriched by the establishment of the *Alumnat*, or boarding school, located in the house of the former abbess of the Fraumünster. This boarding school came about when the city authorities became increasingly concerned about their inability to oversee directly the schooling that took place in other towns of the canton, specifically the school at Kappel. In a radical move, the Zurich city council decided the best strategy to ensure adequate oversight was to move the school's pupils to Zurich and set up a boarding school for them.[25] Although

23 For more on the Zurich system of funding education in the 16th century see Karin Maag, "Financing Education: the Zurich approach, 1550–1620" in *Reformations Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470–1630,* (ed.) Beat Kümin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 203–18.

24 Rüetschi, "Bullinger and the Schools," 222.

25 Heinzpeter Stucki, "Bullinger, der Zürcher Rat und die Auseinandersetzung um das Alumnat 1538–1542," in HBGA, 291–303.

the Alumnat initially housed and funded only sixteen boarders, the number of students increased over time, reaching forty-five by 1547 and ninety by 1573.[26] The Zurich authorities hoped that their investment in the Alumnat and the Latin schools of the city would bear fruit, especially as the Latin schools were increasingly seen as the preparatory stages for higher study. Indeed, after a trial year to assess their ability, schoolboys who were deemed eligible to receive support from the scholarship fund for their studies had to promise to serve the Zurich city and church as a teacher or pastor after completing their education. The families of boys who failed to complete their studies through the *Lectorium*, or who were disobedient to the educational authorities, or who later opted for another career, would have to repay to the city the amount of scholarship funding they had received.[27]

Zurich's model of education at the Latin school level proved popular in other Swiss cities that adopted the Reformed confession, including Bern and Basel.[28] As in Zurich, the Bernese funded their city's Latin school through income generated from the former Catholic canonries of the city.[29] Like Zurich, Bern's longer-term aim was to encourage students to attend the Latin school followed by its upper level *Obere Schule*, in order to prepare them primarily for ministry. Indeed, Bern had around two hundred parishes in its territory that needed pastors.[30] Officially-funded and organized schools also took root in other urban centers in the canton, including in Thun, Zofingen, Brugg, Aarau, and Burgdorf, meaning that there was some local provision of Latin school education outside the walls of the city of Bern itself. In spite of the geographic distance, the Bernese city authorities oversaw these schools, both through the activity of the *Schulherr* or school superintendent, who was responsible for educational matters throughout the Bernese territory, and through financial contributions to some of the schools, including in Thun, Zofingen, and Brugg.[31]

From Bern, the vision of an integrated and well-funded Latin school system spread to the French-speaking territories, as in the case of the Latin school established in Lausanne in 1537, as part of a dual-purpose institution. The *Haute école* combined both a lower-level Latin school and an upper-level academy

26 Rüetschi, "Bullinger and the Schools," 225.

27 Maag, "Financing Education," 209.

28 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 92–8.

29 Ulrich Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern: vom Gründungsjahr 1528 bis in die zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," in Historische Verein des Kantons Bern, (ed.), *450 Jahre Berner Reformation: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel* (Bern: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1980), 194–225, esp. 199.

30 Ulrich Im Hof et al., (eds.), *Hochschulgeschichte Berns 1528–1984: Zur 150-Jahr Feier der Universität Bern 1984* (Bern: Universität, 1984), 28–9.

31 Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern," 195, 199, 201.

that offered university-level instruction. Lausanne was the chief city of the Pays de Vaud, the area conquered by Bern in 1536. The fact that the Bernese authorities were already working to create a fairly complex center of higher education in their new territory a year after they took it over speaks volumes about the importance of education in the period. Although the Bernese worked hard to recruit a principal for the Latin school and professors for the academy, the school had a slow start until the mid-1540s. Part of the problem was that it took a number of years to get the students to a basic level of learning for them to be able to benefit from the instruction in the *Haute école*.[32] To make the school more attractive to prospective students, the Bernese authorities invested in scholarships, providing financial assistance for twelve students to receive room and board, as well as clothes and school supplies at the government's expense. These students lived together in one building, under the supervision of a tutor paid by the government.[33] By the mid-1540s, some very eminent figures began teaching in the Lausanne Latin school, including the Italian humanist Celio Secondo Curione and the renowned French educator Maturin Cordier, both of whom served as principals of the Latin school.[34] The reputation of the *Haute école* flourished from that point on, so much so that by 1558, in a letter to John Calvin, Theodore Beza (who was teaching Greek in the Lausanne Academy at the time) reported that the school had over seven hundred students.[35] The intentional investment and recruitment policies of the Bernese government over the course of twenty years had borne significant fruit.

Along the lake from Lausanne, Geneva too sought to develop its Latin school, the *collège de Rive*, following the Reformation. Unfortunately, the school faced major challenges due to the lack of significant investment, including the dilapidated state of its building (a former monastery) and the constant turnover in its instructors, not helped by the quarrels and rivalries that at times split the teaching staff. Although the *collège de Rive* was the city's official Latin school, the city authorities only paid minimal salaries to the instructors, leaving them to recoup some of their costs from fees charged to pupils and boarding charges for schoolboys who came from out of town. Unlike in the other

32 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 399. For a more recent and comprehensive study of the impact of Lausanne's educational system after the Reformation, see Karine Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne entre Humanisme et Réforme* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

33 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 400–01, Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 78–80.

34 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 402–05; Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 80–3.

35 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 426–27. Vuilleumier notes that Beza's report does not clarify how many of these students were in the Latin school, and how many in the upper-level academy.

cities' Latin schools, Geneva did not set up any scholarship system for those attending the *collège de Rive*. It is hardly surprising, given all these factors, that the school limped along, at times proving more attractive when a competent and renowned instructor was put in charge, as in the case of Mathurin Cordier, who taught there from 1537 to 1539, and at times floundering under teachers who failed to work together effectively.[36] Only in 1559, with the creation of the Genevan Academy, did Geneva set its Latin school on a firmer foundation. Thanks to funds acquired by donations and by confiscations following the failed riot of 1555, the city authorities began fully covering the salaries of the instructors and ordered the construction of a purpose-built school that offered a safe and salubrious location for classes.[37] As a result of this investment, the *schola privata*, as the Latin school was known, began to thrive, reaching an enrollment of 1,200 students by 1564.[38]

Clearly, therefore, the key factors that led Latin schools to flourish in some communities and struggle in others following the Reformation included the amount of attention and funding available to sustain the institutions in their early years. Without investment in buildings, instructors' salaries, and student scholarships, the schools struggled. However, in cases where the government and church leadership agreed on the importance of investment in education and found the necessary funds, the Latin schools were highly effective conduits for student learning.

Whether in Zurich, Basel, Bern, Lausanne, or Geneva, the post-Reformation Latin schools followed a similar curriculum. The schools were divided into grades, with yearly examinations determining which pupils were allowed to move to the next level. It was not uncommon for students to spend more than one year in a given grade.[39] Following the model of other early modern Latin schools, students were immersed in a humanist context, focusing above all on learning from ancient classical texts in Latin and Greek how to express themselves, articulate arguments, formulate propositions, and engage in debates.[40] Except for the first grade, in which some use of the vernacular was allowed, all instruction took place in Latin. Preferred authors included Cato, Cicero,

36 William Naphy, "The Reformation and the evolution of Geneva's schools," in Kümin, *Reformations Old and New*, 185–202, esp. 194–200.

37 Karin Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), 9–13.

38 Charles Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève: l'académie de Calvin 1559–1798* (Geneva: Georg, 1900), 63.

39 Rüetschi, "Bullinger and the Schools," 223–24.

40 Borgeaud, *L'Université de Genève*, 27–8.

Plutarch, Virgil, and Xenophon.[41] Other subjects of study included the catechism (as noted above) and books of the Bible, often studied in Greek in the upper grades. In Geneva and Lausanne, the curriculum included daily Psalm singing.[42]

By the end of his time in one of these Latin schools, a student would have an excellent grasp of the Latin language and literature, and would have some knowledge of Greek. Yet the training provided by these Latin schools was not enough preparation for the pastorate or other professional careers in law or medicine or civil service. Thus the Swiss cities and their allies and dependent territories had to consider other avenues to provide the higher education needed to prepare their young men for these key careers.

13.4 Academies and Universities

As in the case of the Latin schools, post-Reformation higher education in the Swiss cities had a strongly confessional flavor, not least because one of the main desired outcomes from the creation or re-establishment of a center of higher education was the formation of clergy to serve in the canton or territory. Thus the university-level education provided in Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva focused on the training of pastors above all else. None of these cities elected to pursue the creation of a university, both because of the unlikelihood of receiving the necessary papal or imperial charter, and because the University of Basel was already in operation in the region following its re-foundation in 1532. Unlike full-fledged universities founded in the 15th century, where a student could go from the faculty of arts to one of three higher faculties (law, medicine, or theology), the academies were smaller-scale institutions.[43] They typically provided training in the humanities and in theology, but did not offer official degrees. At the end of his studies, a student could obtain a letter from the academic authorities (usually the pastors), certifying that he had diligently attended the lectures, had provided convincing evidence of his proficiency

41 For the curriculum of Lausanne's *Haute école*, see Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 408–11 and Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 359–82. For the curriculum of Geneva's *schola privata*, see Stelling-Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur*, 1: 69–71. For Zurich's Latin schools' curriculum in 1532, see "Ordination und ansehen, wie man sich fürohin mit den schuoleren, letzgen und anderen dingen halten soll in der schuol zum Münster (ze) Zürich 1532," in AZHR, 821–24, no. 1896.

42 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 410; Stelling-Michaud, *Le Livre du Recteur*, 1: 69.

43 On the structure of late-medieval universities, see Jacques Verger, "Patterns," in de Ridders-Symoens, *A History of the University in Europe*, 55–60.

and good doctrine, and had proven to be of good moral character throughout his time at the academy.[44]

The first Swiss city to set up opportunities for higher study was Zurich, where in 1525 the pastors of the city organized a daily session of biblical exegesis and preaching intended both for current clergy who were still making the transition from Catholic priests to Reformed pastors, and for young men who were planning on entering the ministry. This gathering was known as the *Prophezei*, and it served as the origins of the *Lectorium*, the more structured center of higher education established in the city in the 1530s.[45] The *Lectorium*'s curriculum focused primarily on the humanities (including natural sciences and ethics, taught by the renowned Conrad Gesner beginning in 1541), on the biblical languages of Greek and Hebrew, and on the exegesis of the Old and New Testament.[46] Because Zurich's curriculum remained quite limited and its priority was to prepare young men to serve in one of the 130 parishes in Zurich's territory, its impact was primarily regional. Although the matriculation records for the *Lectorium* are woefully incomplete, the numbers available suggest that the annual enrollment of new students was around fourteen a year.[47] Zurich's scholarship program, already discussed in the context of its Latin schools, also applied to the *Lectorium*. Selected students received financial support on a sliding scale, depending on their seniority, and the most advanced and proficient students could benefit from Zurich's well-developed travel scholarship scheme, whereby able students from Zurich were sent to other universities across Western Europe to continue their studies and benefit from opportunities that were unavailable at home.[48] Thus in spite of its small scale, Zurich's academy did find ways to link its students to the wider educational setting of its day.[49]

Zurich's educational influence also spread as other cities imitated its model for university-level training. The first to do so was Bern, where three professors were hired in 1528 to offer lectures in the humanities, biblical languages, and theology. In fact, two of these professors came from Zurich, thus directly

44 Maag, *Seminary or University?* 121–2.

45 Fritz Büsser, "Reformierte Erziehung in Theorie und Praxis," in idem, *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich: Zum 500. Geburtstag des Reformators Huldrych Zwingli* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 199–216; see also Chap. 2.

46 Rüetschi, "Bullinger and the Schools," 226–27.

47 Maag, *Seminary or University?* 131–38.

48 Maag, "Financing Education," 206–16.

49 For more on the *Lectorium* and its professors in particular, see Carrie Euler, "Faculty Recruitment and Retention in the Early Modern Era: the Zurich Lectorium, c. 1560–1610," *Zwingliana* 40 (2014): 113–26.

linking the two cities' educational approach.[50] As in Zurich, Bern's priority was to train future pastors for its numerous parishes. It has been noted the first generation of clergy following the Reformation was not distinguished for its quality: 59% of these men were former Catholic clergy, some with only minimal biblical knowledge.[51] It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Bern saw its *Obere Schule* as a top priority. Like Zurich, Bern provided scholarship funds to assist worthy local students, and over time, the project bore fruit by developing generations of young men able to take over the intellectual leadership in the city. Already six years after the establishment of the *Obere Schule*, the first Bernese professor began teaching there, though only by the end of the 16th century were all four professorial posts staffed by native-born Bernese.[52] As in Zurich, the primary subjects taught in Bern's *Obere Schule* were the humanities, taught via analysis of the works of classical authors, and biblical languages and exegesis. The students practiced their skills in speeches that honed their rhetorical abilities, and in debates that strengthened their logic and argumentation. At the end of their studies and following their successful examinations, students would be admitted as candidates to the Reformed ministry.[53] Estimates of the number of students in Bern's *Obere Schule* at any one time are difficult due to the absence of matriculation registers, but based on the calculation of the number of scholarship recipients, Ulrich Im Hof suggests there were about fifty students enrolled at any one time.[54]

Having set up their own center of higher learning, the Bernese then applied the lessons they had learned in the process when they exported the model to Lausanne. Officially, the oversight of education in Lausanne was carried out by the *Schulherr* in Bern, but in practice, the day to day running of the *Haute école* was in the hands of the academic council in Lausanne. Its membership included the four professors (arts/humanities, Greek, Hebrew, and theology), the two leading pastors of Lausanne, and the principal of the Latin school. This council elected one of the two pastors or four professors to serve as the rector of the *Haute école*.[55] As in Bern, students regularly practiced their rhetorical and logical skills in debates and disputations, and once again their curriculum focused primarily on the humanities (rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, and

50 On higher education in Bern, see Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern," 194; and Guggisberg, *Bern KG,* 166.

51 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 175.

52 Guggisberg, *Bern KG*, 203–04.

53 Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern," 196–97.

54 Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern," 210.

55 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 413.

natural sciences in particular), Greek, Hebrew, and theology (biblical exegesis, doctrinal instruction, and application to the teaching of the church and personal edification).[56] Students could freely choose which lectures to attend, though those receiving scholarships had to submit to the guidance and recommendations of the professors, based on their examination of each student's aptitude and knowledge base.[57] Once again, the lack of matriculation registers for Lausanne until the 17th century makes estimates of student numbers challenging, but the seven hundred students mentioned by Beza in 1558 would have included both the Latin school and the academy, thus making the *Haute école* significantly larger than the center of learning in either Zurich or Bern.[58]

Lausanne's academy flourished particularly during the later 1540s and 1550s, as it began to attract outstanding professors, including Theodore Beza, who taught Greek at the Academy from 1549 to 1558, and François Hotman, the renowned legal scholar, who taught humanities in Lausanne from 1550 to 1556. Yet by the later 1550s, the fundamental disagreements over church discipline between the clergy and teaching personnel of Lausanne on one side, and the Bernese authorities on the other led to the resignation of Theodore Beza in 1558 and the dismissal of the Lausanne pastors in 1559.[59] Nearly the entire teaching corps joined the Lausanne pastors in leaving the city, and many of them ended up instead in Geneva, teaching at the newly-founded Genevan academy, which opened its doors in 1559.[60]

Geneva's center of higher education followed the same curricular model as its predecessors in Zurich, Bern, and Lausanne. Here too, the emphasis was on studying the writings of ancient Roman and Greek authors, learning the biblical languages in depth, and absorbing exegetical instruction from Geneva's leading biblical scholars, including Calvin and Beza.[61] Unlike in the other institutions, students in Geneva had to sign their agreement to an extensive confession of faith that categorically rejected the teachings of other confessional groups, including Catholics, Anabaptists, and Lutherans.[62] The Genevan academy proved attractive to students from outside the city. Indeed, one of the biggest differences between Geneva's academy on the one hand, and Zurich's *Lectorium* and Bern's *Obere schule* on the other, was that Geneva's institution of

56 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 411–12; Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 382–415.

57 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 412.

58 See Crousaz's analysis of student numbers in *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 255–57.

59 Vuilleumier, *Histoire,* 1: 663–66; Crousaz, *L'Académie de Lausanne*, 101–26.

60 Vuilleumier, *Histoire*, 1: 666; for more on the political context see Chapter 9 above.

61 Maag, *Seminary or University?* 13–4.

62 Maag, *Seminary or University?* 16–7.

higher learning was not primarily geared towards preparing local students for the pastorate in Geneva's rural territory. Unlike in Zurich and Bern, Geneva's rural parishes were very few in number, and thus the academy's primary purpose was to train students from elsewhere in Europe for future careers in the service of the church and the government in their homelands. Swiss students were among those who enrolled in the Genevan academy, although in many instances, it seems that one of the overriding interests of those sending these students was to have them learn French—the content of the academic lectures was a lesser priority.[63]

These four academies offered young men from the Swiss and allied lands opportunities to engage in higher studies without having to travel great distances. As Im Hof points out, these institutions had some key similarities: they offered locally-based and supervised step-by-step progression from the Latin school level right up through university-level training; they emphasized the importance of a student's moral and religious formation as well as scholarly proficiency; they concentrated on biblical languages; and they focused primarily on preparing students for service as pastors, and yet they were open to all young men, even to those who had different career goals.[64]

A particularly fruitful comparison, therefore, is to analyze the educational opportunities offered to young Swiss Catholics in the same period. Indeed, the Swiss lands' confessional diversity meant that the territories each made their own choice whether to remain Catholic or become Reformed. The cantons in the geographic center of the Confederation, in particular, had remained Catholic and firmly defended their right to do so. Yet the Catholic areas were quickly aware of their need for clergy whose educational attainments matched those of their confessional rivals. The pre-Reformation strategy of sending young men from Lucerne to study at Basel's university was no longer a viable option after 1529 when the university became Protestant. The Catholic authorities in Lucerne ended up prohibiting their young men from studying in Basel, leading to a dearth of options for young Catholics wishing to pursue higher studies without leaving the Swiss or allied territories.[65] Although Lucerne did create its own municipal Latin school in 1543, this institution could not compete with the Reformed academies because it offered a lower level of instruction. Yet the challenges of finding sufficient funding and competent instructors for a more ambitious institution were such that Lucerne's Catholic college only opened in 1577.[66]

63 Maag, *Seminary or University?* 140–41.

64 Im Hof, "Die Reformierte Hohe Schule zu Bern," 212.

65 Boesch and Kottman, eds, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 19.

66 Pfister, *KGS*, 327, 329.

To find teaching personnel, Lucerne's city authorities turned to the Jesuits, who had experience at establishing successful schools and colleges. By late 1574, the first three Jesuit instructors arrived in Lucerne, but it took another three years to obtain suitable buildings for the college and enough funding to maintain the project.[67] The Jesuit college of Lucerne offered classes in grammar and humanities in Latin and Greek, but unlike in the Reformed academies, did not offer any upper-level theological instruction. As such, the Jesuit college was closer to the upper levels of the Latin schools and the humanities lectures of the Reformed institutions. While the Reformed schools had taught from a range of Reformed catechisms, the Jesuit college in Lucerne offered an hour of catechetical instruction a week, based on the catechism prepared by Peter Canisius.[68] Students at the Lucerne college attended worship daily, and were meant to receive the sacraments of confession and the Eucharist on a regular basis.[69] The Jesuits also made full use of drama as a teaching tool, performing plays both in Latin and in German on an annual basis. In a bid to use confessional history to their advantage, the first play put on by the Catholic students in Lucerne was a tale of the muses being chased out of Mount Parnassus and finding refuge in the Swiss Catholic lands.[70] By 1595, nearly twenty years after it first opened, the Jesuit college in Lucerne had two hundred students. Its model was successfully transplanted to other Swiss Catholic communities, including Fribourg, where the Jesuits opened a school in 1582, reaching an enrollment of two hundred students two years later. Finally, a Jesuit school opened in Porrentruy in 1591, with an opening enrollment of sixty students, reaching nearly four hundred only three years later.[71] Like the Reformed academies, the Jesuit colleges focused on offering a humanist-inspired curriculum that also stressed the development of moral and religious character among their students.[72] However, although their enrollment numbers were strong, these Catholic institutions were not on a par with the academies in Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva, as they did not offer university-level theological training: young Catholic men who wanted to become priests still had to pursue studies elsewhere in a seminary. By 1585, the Jesuits in Lucerne did begin to offer public lectures on topics of interest to clergy, including cases of conscience, to better prepare priests for their work as confessors. However, these lectures were separate from

67 Boesch and Kottmann, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 30–3.

68 Boesch and Kottmann, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 103.

69 Boesch and Kottmann, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 103–04.

70 Boesch and Kottmann, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 155.

71 Pfister, *KGS*, 329–31.

72 Boesch and Kottmann, *400 Jahre Hohere Lehranstalt Luzern*, 104.

the work of the Jesuit college and were not a formal part of the college curriculum until the 17th century.[73] In that sense, the closest model to these public lectures that provided continuing education for priests was the *Prophezei* in Zurich in 1525, albeit from a completely different confessional standpoint.

Both the Reformed academies and the Catholic colleges sought to remedy the dearth of local options for higher education in the Swiss cities and allied territories, in spite of the fact that the University of Basel remained available throughout most of the 16th century, at least for Protestant students. The early years of the Reformation were difficult for Basel's university. In 1529, a number of the professors who wanted to remain Catholic departed for Freiburg im Breisgau, and the city council took possession of the university's seal, staff, statute-books, and treasure, suspending all formal instruction in the university until 1532, when it reopened with new statutes that matched the Reformed confession of the city.[74] For the next seventy years, Basel's university became increasingly important as a training center for future pastors who later served in Basel's urban and rural parishes. The subjects taught in the arts faculty were similar to those taught in the academies, including rhetoric and dialectic, with a strong emphasis on the works of Aristotle.[75] Until the 1580s, many of the arts students who planned on a future career in the pastorate also attended theological lectures at the same time, rather than completing their curriculum in the humanities and subsequently matriculating in the faculty of theology.[76] This more permeable system also prevailed in the Reformed academies of Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva. Throughout the 16th century, the faculty of theology at Basel remained very small, with only two professors providing the instruction. As in the other institutions, the focus at the University of Basel was again scriptural exegesis, though less attention was paid to Hebrew than in the other schools, since Hebrew was taught in the arts faculty rather than being closely linked with theological instruction.[77] Throughout their academic career, students at Basel participated in declamations and disputations. Many of the theses presented for debate in the faculty of theology were printed and have been preserved, allowing for an analysis of the changes in emphasis in

73 Joseph Studhalter, *Die Jesuiten in Luzern, 1574–1652: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der tridentinischen Reform* (Stans: Josef von Matt, 1973), 134–36.

74 Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, 1460–1960* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1960). For a chronology of the changes, see http://www.unigeschichte.unibas.ch/550-jahre-im-ueberblick/zeitstrahl/(accessed 6 March 2016).

75 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 118–21.

76 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 124–25.

77 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 127–28, 118.

the theology curriculum over the decades, partly due to shifting patterns of support for a more broad-based, less confessional Protestantism versus a more strongly Reformed perspective that dominated by the end of the century.[78]

13.5 Conclusion

By 1600, therefore, many cities in the Swiss territories, mandated territories, and their allies, offered a range of educational opportunities, from private vernacular schools, through Latin schools, academies, and the re-established university in Basel. Those who had neither the time nor the aptitude for formal schooling still received training in the fundamentals of their faith through catechetical instruction. The first years following the Reformation were challenging for educational institutions, as old certainties were questioned and the previous sources of wisdom were cast out in many places.[79] Yet the need to give future leaders access to the intellectual tools to help them succeed meant that church and state authorities were quick to realize the importance of investment in education. Both Catholics and Protestants found funds, instructors, and suitable buildings, and their schools were a source of local pride. Given their achievements in preparing young men for careers as pastors, professors, and civic leaders, that pride was not misplaced.

78 Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 147–51.

79 In that regard, see the troubling article on the wholesale destruction wreaked against medieval Catholic book collections in the early Reformation years, especially in Zurich, in Martin Germann, "Zwischen Konfiskation, Zerstreuung und Zerstörung: Schicksale der Bücher und Bibliotheken in der Reformationszeit in Basel, Bern und Zürich," *Zwingliana* 27 (2000), 63–78.

CHAPTER 14

Swiss Society: Family, Gender, and the Poor

Kaspar von Greyerz

14.1 Introduction

Unlike modern society, marriage, family, house, and household formed an *ensemble* in the 16th century.[1] Marriage was to a large extent a public institution, and the family household was considered the basis of the smallest unit of society. A political commune was seen as constituted by the assembly of the heads of households. The patriarchal society of estates, the norm all across Europe in the 16th century, is based on the essential role of obedience within and outside the house and household.[2] Inside the house, all members of the household, including the wife, children, maids, servants, journeymen, and apprentices, owed their obedience to the master of the house. Prior to the 18th century, there is no word in German for the so-called nuclear family, consisting of husband, wife, and children.[3]

Unlike the modern family, if we exclude for a moment the patchwork-families of our own time, the 16th-century household was not necessarily based on kinship.[4] This was chiefly due to the fact that death was unpredictable and affected all age groups. One of the most salient aspects of the early modern family "is the discontinuity in the composition of its members."[5] However, it would be wrong to assume that the self-enclosed and self-sufficient household

1 For the following, see, for example, Andreas Gestrich, "Neuzeit," in *Geschichte der Familie*, (eds.) Andreas Gestrich, Jens-Uwe Krause, and Michael Mitterauer (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2003), 364–52; Hans Medick, "Zwischen Mythos und Realität—Die historische Erforschung der Familie," in *Die Zukunft der Familie,* (eds.) Susanna Mayer and Dietmar Schulte (Munich: Fink, 2007), 37–55.

2 Paul Münch, *Das Jahrhundert des Zwiespalts. Deutsche Geschichte, 1600–1700* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1999), 68.

3 Michael Mitterauer, "Problematik des Begriffs 'Familie' im 17. Jahrhundert," in *Familie und Gesellschaftsstruktur. Materialien zu den sozioökonomischen Bedingungen von Familienformen*, (ed.) Heidi Rosenbaum, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1980), 73–82, here at 78.

4 Michael Mitterauer, "Familie und Arbeitsorganisation in städtischen Gesellschaften des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit," in *Haus und Familie in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt,* (ed.) Alfred Haverkamp (Cologne: Böhlau, 1984), 1–36, here at 7.

5 Anette Völker-Rasor, *Bilderpaare—Paarbilder: Die Ehe in Autobiographien des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg/Br.: Rombach, 1993), 118.

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represented the omnipresent socio-economic, as well as legal-constitutional unit of early modern central European society, as the historian Otto Brunner (1898–1982) chose to see it.[6] His very influential theory of the *Ganzes Haus* has by now been unredeemably discredited.[7]

While criticism of Brunner's concept has revealed a much more intricate complexity of the socio-economic and legal organization of early modern society, research during the last four or five decades has also made clear that the early modern household did not, on the whole, comprise members of several generations living under one roof, at least not in central and western Europe.[8]

14.2 The Reappraisal of Marriage and Sexuality by the Reformers

In the last decades, Susanna Burghartz, Rüdiger Schnell, Andreas Gestrich, and others have revised older views, which aimed at distinguishing between late medieval and Reformation treatises on marriage, by pointing to continuities between the two periods.[9] Burghartz has summarized this position as follows:

> The new formation of the field of discourse [...] was not brought about by new ideas and arguments [...]. It was rather the radical rejection of celibacy and the change of values this entailed, which [...] resulted in a far-reaching reevaluation of the relationship between the sexes:

6 Otto Brunner, "Das 'Ganze Haus' und die alteuropäische 'Ökonomik'" [1956], in idem, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*, 2nd rev. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 103–27.

7 See, for example, Joachim Eibach, "Das Haus: Zwischen öffentlicher Zugänglichkeit und geschützter Privatheit (16.-18. Jahrhundert)," in *Zwischen Gotteshaus und Taverne. Öffentliche Räume in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, (eds.) Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 183–205, esp. 185–6.

8 See Medick, "Zwischen Mythos und Realität," 43–5.

9 Rüdiger Schnell, *Frauendiskurs, Männerdiskurs, Ehediskurs. Textsorten und Geschlechterkonzepte in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus Verlag, 1998), 283. See also Susanna Burghartz, "Wandel durch Kontinuität? Zur Moralpolitik von Reformation und Konfessionalisierung," in *Traverse. Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 1 (2000), 23–34; eadem, "Ordering Discourse and Society. Moral Politics, Marriage, and Fornication during the Reformation and Confessionalization Process in Germany and Switzerland," in *Social Control in Europe*, vol. 1: *1500–1800*, (eds.) Hermann Roodenburg and Pieter Spierenburg (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 78–98; eadem, *Zeiten der Reinheit, Orte der Unzucht. Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der Frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999), 90–1; Gestrich, "Neuzeit," 369–71.

> As purity could no longer be ascertained through celibacy, a pure [i.e. irreproachable—KvG] sexuality henceforth, if at all, was only possible within marriage.[10]

Marriage thus acquired a new and more important social role. In Protestant towns and territories, especially those of a Zwinglian or Calvinist persuasion, the matrimonial court or consistory, institutionalized at an early date in the local Reformations, henceforth (especially from the later 16th century onwards)[11] also assumed the function of an institution whose business it was to seek out and punish cases of fornication. This went against traditional popular conceptions of marriage shared by a large part of the population. Pre-marital sexual contact had hitherto been considered acceptable under the condition that it was accompanied by a mutual promise of marriage. This now became a practice that matrimonial courts increasingly sought to suppress. The attempt at suppression applied equally to the Reformed cities and the countryside.[12] However, it ultimately proved clearly more difficult to implement this change in the villages than in town.[13]

Clerical marriage was an almost logical consequence of the Reformation's rejection of the celibacy of priests and of the new discourse declaring marriage to be the only place for legitimate sex. Many priests got married as early as only a few years after the inception of the Reformation, and clerical marriage soon became a standard generally expected of ministers of the Protestant churches.[14] One of the earliest to marry in Reformed Switzerland was Stephan Stör, the parish priest (*Leutpriester*) of Liestal, who publicly announced his intention to marry his concubine in November 1523. In the following January he got married, which prompted the cathedral chapter of Basel to dismiss him. For a

10 Burghartz, "Wandel," 27 (my translation).

11 See for example for Basel: Adrian Staehelin, "Sittenzucht und Sittengerichtsbarkeit in Basel," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germ. Abt. 85 (1968), 78–103, esp. 90; Thomas Max Safely, "To Preserve the Marital State: The Basler Ehegericht, 1550–1592," *Journal of Family History* 7 (1982), 162–79.

12 For Basel see Burghartz, "Wandel," 30; for the rural situation, see for example, Heinrich R. Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion. Reformierte Sittenzucht in Berner Landgemeinden der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Fischer, 1995), chiefly investigating sources related to the villages of Vechigen and Stettlen near Bern.

13 Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 220 et *passim*; Roland E. Hofer, *"Üppiges, unzüchtiges Lebwesen:" Schaffhauser Ehegerichtsbarkeit von der Reformation bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime (1529–1798)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993).

14 Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer, *From Priest's Whore to Pastor's Wife: Clerical Marriage and the Process of Reform in the Early German Reformation* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012).

disputation, which was to take place on 16 February 1524 but was boycotted by his adversaries, Stör prepared a number of theses, which, among other things, try to make clear that the Bible does not forbid marriage to any estate (*Stand*) and that it is, on the contrary, commended to all in order to prevent sexual impurity and fornication. Stör's theses culminate in the claim that a fornicator offends God's law and cannot therefore assume the office of priest.[15] It almost goes without saying that the Reformation also resulted in official suppression of prostitution. Brothels and whorehouses in Reformed cities and towns were shut down.

The Reformation also brought about radical changes in the number of sacraments, which were reduced from seven to two. Marriage lost its sacramental character. Theoretically, this allowed matrimonial courts in extreme cases to opt for a divorce, but it would be wrong in this instance to mingle theory with practice. Allowing for a divorce was an option that was rarely resorted to in the Protestant areas of Switzerland and Germany before this policy of caution slowly began to be eroded in the course of the 18th century. Every effort was made to try to keep even broken marriages at least superficially intact.[16] Furthermore, during the 16th century at least, legal actions aiming at a divorce only amounted to a relatively small percentage of the total of lawsuits. In Basel a total of 1344 cases were adjudicated by the matrimonial court between 1550 and 1592. Only 144 complaints were cases concerning divorce.[17] The great majority of legal actions were taken to court by women and focused on broken promises of marriage. Similarly, within the principality of Neuchâtel "suits to enforce marriage contracts were far and away the most common form of matrimonial litigation. The courts heard disputes over marriage engagements a total of 265 times [between 1547 and 1621—KvG], a number that far surpasses requests for divorces (90) and petitions to marry (111)."[18]

Although marriage lost its sacramental status, this does not mean that Protestants of the 16th century did not consider marriage to be a God-given and holy institution. What is more, the attempt to suppress pre-marital sex had a

15 Stör's theses are reprinted with an introduction by the editor in Ernst Staehelin, (ed.), *Das Buch der Basler Reformation, zu ihrem vierhundertjuahrigen Jubiläum im Namen der evangelischen Kirchen von Stadt und Landschaft Basel* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1929), 81–3.

16 See, for example, Gordon, *Swiss Reformation,* 263.

17 Thomas Max Safley, *Let No Man Put Asunder. The Control of Marriage in the German Southwest: A Comparative Study, 1550–1600* (Kirksville MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1984), 132.

18 Jeffrey R. Watt, "Marriage Contract Disputes in Early Modern Neuchâtel, 1547–1806," *Journal of Social History* 22 (1988), 129–47, here at 131.

chance of success only under the condition that marriage in church, which had not been the widespread norm in the Late Middle Ages, was now proclaimed as the only acceptable way to become husband and wife. In this respect, the aims of the Protestant churches and of the Roman-Catholic Church did not differ much from each other by the time the Catholic Council of Trent was concluded in 1563. Marriage within Catholicism, on the other hand, remained a sacrament, which has excluded the possibility of divorce down to our own time.[19]

14.3 Marriage in the Century of the Reformations

Marriages in early modern Europe were concluded for emotional as well as material reasons. In most cases, these two aspects were deeply connected with each other.[20] This concatenation did not, however, exclude a marriage out of love.[21] The most general expectation of contemporaries was that a marriage would lead to the creation of a family. In a world as insecure as that of the 16th century, considering epidemics, economic crises, famines, and war, family ties constituted an extremely important network of solidarity and security. But we must keep in mind that marriage in the early modern period was not only the act by which a family was founded and by which new family connections came into being; it was also the creation of a new household, which in one way or another was embedded in the local and/or regional economy.[22] At the same time, marriage was also a ritual and a ceremony whose enactment, at the behest of both the Protestant and Catholic churches, slowly changed its context from secular to ecclesiastical. This was, however, a slow process and not one completed by the end of the 16th century.[23]

19 See Barbara Henze, "Kontinuität und Wandel des Eheverständnisses im Gefolge von Reformation und katholischer Reform," in *"In Cristo ist weder man noch weyb." Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation und der katholischen Reform,* (ed.) Anne Conrad (Münster: Aschendorff, 1999), 129–51; Heide Wunder, "*Er ist die Sonn', sie ist der Mond.*" *Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Beck, 1992), 76–7.

20 Hans Medick and David Sabean, (eds.), *Emotionen und materielle Interessen. Sozialanthropologische und historische Beiträge zur Familienforschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984).

21 Kaspar von Greyerz, *Passagen und Stationen: Lebensstufen zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 145–50.

22 Richard van Dülmen, "Fest der Liebe: Heirat und Ehe in der frühen Neuzeit," in *Armut, Liebe, Ehre: Studien zur Historischen Kulturforschung*, (ed.) Richard van Dülmen (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1988), 67–106, here at 67.

23 Dülmen, "Fest der Liebe," 85–6.

Views of Protestant marriage during the century of the Reformation vary. Whereas Steven Ozment, concentrating on Luther and Lutheranism, has opted for a positive view of the effects of the Reformation on marriage,[24] others (for example Lindal Roper, Ulinka Rublack, and Merry Wiesner) have argued that the Reformation on the whole reinforced the patriarchal framework of marriage.[25]

Among the Swiss reformers it was Heinrich Bullinger who most clearly and in the vernacular advertised the new conception of marriage in a frequently consulted treatise, *The Christian Estate of Marriage* (*Der Christlich Eestand*) published in 1540.[26] Bullinger saw traditional forms of marital practice and their traditional theological interpretation as indications of a "dissolution of norms."[27] A central point in his theory of marriage was his treatment of the question of the origin of evil within marriage. Scholastic theology ascribed this to sexual desire which became part of marriage at the expulsion from Paradise. The Zurich reformer, on the other hand, located the origin of evil in the misuse of marriage.[28] Marriage in itself was not in any way tainted by evil. Evidently, this represented a radical departure from pre-Reformation norms.

14.4 Social Control by Matrimonial Courts

The first city in the Swiss Confederation to turn Protestant was Zurich. The celebration of the Lord's Supper on Easter 1525 is commonly taken as the date of the introduction of the Reformation. Not long thereafter, the burgomaster together with the Small and Great Councils issued an "Ordinance and Decision, as to how matrimonial matters are henceforth to be adjudicated in the city of Zurich."[29] The members of the new matrimonial court, replacing the episcopal

24 Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).

25 See the section on the patriarchal household below.

26 See especially Detlef Roth, "Heinrich Bullingers Eheschriften," in *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit,* (ed.) Emidio Campi (Zurich: TVZ, 2004), 275–309, a thorough new analysis; see also Burghartz, *Zeiten der Reinheit*, *passim*; Carrie Euler, "Practical Piety: Bullinger's Marriage Theology as a Skillful Blending of Theory and Praxis," in HBLTI, 661–670, a critical expansion of Burghartz's approach.

27 Evelyn Ingold, "Staatsbildung, Ehemoral und 'weibliche Zucht.' Heinrich Bullingers 'Christlicher Ehestand' im Spannungsfeld zwischen ständischen Eheschliessungsinteressen und frühneuzeitlicher Staatsbildung," in HBLTI, 289–312, here at 304.

28 Ingold, "Staatsbildung," 304–5.

29 Ordinance of May 10th, 1525, ZHKO, 1: 27–31.

Offizialat of the pre-Reformation period, were to be two members of the clergy and two members each from the two councils. The court was soon to become a general court of morals. This was confirmed by the *Great Mandate* of 1530.[30]

The matrimonial ordinance of 1525 stated in accordance with the legal tradition that the engagement was to be considered binding, provided it was accompanied by a mutual promise to marry. An engagement could only be dissolved by the matrimonial court. At the same time a provision for parental consent, lacking in the older canon law, was introduced and could only be waived if the man was older than 20 or the woman older than 18 at the time of engagement.[31] That which was clearly new, both in legal and political terms, was the general statement of norms, independently of estate or gender. As Evelyn Ingold has observed, this gave expression to new ways of governing in that it anticipated the ensuing trend toward the creation of locally defined groups of political subjects whose commitment to the same moral code the government strove for.[32]

Bern learned from the Zurich experience. It established a system of morals courts for city and countryside when introducing the Reformation in the spring of 1528.[33] In 1559 it was decided that every court in every parish of Bern's large territory was to consist of the local pastor and six members elected by the local commune. Two of these six members were called *Ehegaumer* and were explicitly in charge of marital cases, but, unlike in Zurich, they did not constitute a separate body.[34]

Schaffhausen, too, knew the institution of the *Ehegaumer*, although it materialized only very slowly in the countryside, even though the establishment was decided on 29 September 1529, two months after the introduction of the Reformation.[35] But, as in Bern's territory, little difference was made between matrimonial cases and matters concerning morals more generally, for a 1607 mandate explicitly stated that the *Ehegaumer*'s task was to make sure "that depraved people were to receive appropriate serious punishment […] and that

30 "Ordnung/ansehen und erkanntnus eines Ersamen Radts der Statt Zürich/wie hinfür über Eelich sachenn gericht/deßglychenn/Eebruch/Huory/Kupplery/unnd uneeliche bywonung gestraafft sol werden," ZHKO, 1: 107–121, no. 54.

31 For details see Walter Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, vol. 1: *Das Zürcher Ehegericht und seine Auswirkungen in der deutschen Schweiz zur Zeit Zwinglis* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932), 28–230.

32 Ingold, "Staatsbildung," 300.

33 Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 11.

34 Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 46–7.

35 Hofer, *"Lebwesen,"* 53, and on the *Ehegaumer* more specifically, 275–76.

therewith God's honor was to be enhanced, and our welfare in this and the other world to be promoted."[36]

In Basel, on the other hand, the *Reformationsordnung* of 1 April 1529, issued about seven weeks after the final breakthrough of the Reformation, stipulated that the control of morals was henceforth to be assured by the City Council, whereas the newly created matrimonial court was to have only a limited competence with regard to morals and was to deal chiefly with adultery and to enforce the confirmation of a promise of marriage in church.[37] Although Basel's reformer, Johannes Oecolampadius, had wished for more independence of the church in matters of banning people from participation in the Lord's Supper, Basel followed the example of Zurich and Bern in strengthening the hand of the secular authorities in the control of morals.[38]

In fact, as Walter Köhler demonstrated many decades ago, the Zurich matrimonial court "spearheaded the entire development of the Reformation consistories," including the creation of the consistory in Geneva, first institutionalized in 1538.[39] What Oecolampadius ultimately failed to establish in Basel was achieved in Geneva by Jean Calvin: the right of the consistory to ban people from the Lord's Supper—that is, to excommunicate them. However, the consistory institutionalized by the *Ordonnance ecclésiastique* of 20 November 1541 was a mixed body from its beginning, in which down to 1557 the lay members held a majority. The consistory was presided over by one of the four *syndics* who headed the Small Council, the central body of the city's government. The power in matters of judgments and penal action remained in the hands of the Council.[40] Although during the years 1559 to 1569, a period of intense activity, the clergy held a clear majority of seats in the consistory, their attendance rate varied greatly, whereas the attendance of the lay members was more steady.[41]

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36 Cited Hofer, *"Lebwesen,"* 276 (my translation).

37 BSKO, 13–42, no. 3, esp. 27–31; see also Staehelin, "Sittenzucht," 85–89.

38 Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht*, 1: 288; Amy Nelson Burnett, "Basel's Long Reformation: Church Ordinances and the Shaping of Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century," in *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 145–59, esp. 148–49.

39 Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht*, 1: viii.

40 See, for example, Heinrich R. Schmidt, "Die Christianisierung des Sozialverhaltens als permanente Reformation: Aus der Praxis reformierter Sittengerichte in der Schweiz während der frühen Neuzeit," in *Kommunalisierung und Christianisierung. Voraussetzungen und Folgen der Reformation, 1400–1600,* (ed.) Peter Blickle (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1989), 113–63, especially 128.

41 E. William Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 (1976), 467–84, esp. 469–70. Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995) offers an in-depth study of five cases brought before the consistory during the first two decades of its existence.

In Neuchâtel, where the Reformation began in November 1539 and soon conquered the whole county (with the exception of Le Landeron),[42] a mandate for the "reformation of vices" was issued in 1538. This was in fact an ordinance covering the whole of morals demanding, among other things, the presence at sermons in church, suppressing games involving money, dancing, wearing masks, and unnecessary expenses.[43] Of five consistories planned, only the one in the Val de Travers at Môtiers came into being by the mid-century. In the city of Neuchâtel the project ran into substantial opposition.

A second major consistory was created earlier (in 1539) in the neighboring *seigneurie* of Valangin, which was to be joined with the county of Neuchâtel in 1592. Meanwhile, smaller consistories came into being in individual noble fiefs within the canton, where the seigneurs saw the consistory as a means of attaining more autonomy.[44] The clergy did succeed, however, in institutionalizing the office of elders on the level of the parish according to the Genevan model. These elders were to have the right to admonish wrongdoers. Whereas the consistory of Valangin was responsible for settling matrimonial matters for both the town of Valangin and its rural territory, a matrimonial court for the county of Neuchâtel only existed in the city.[45]

In Vaud *consistoires* were installed by the Bernese lords after the conquest of the *pays de Vaud* in 1536. By the late 1550s and 1560s they were also institutionalized in the countryside. Matrimonial cases, however, were reserved to the judgment of the central *Chorgericht* in the city of Bern. The smaller consistories basically dealt with what they considered to be cases of immorality.[46] The leading Reformed theologian in Lausanne, Pierre Viret, tried in vain to introduce a stricter form of ecclesiastical discipline on the Genevan model, prompted by the fear that undeserving persons might attend the Lord's Supper. This led to a conflict with the Bernese authorities, who were unwilling to go

42 Cf. Pierre-Olivier Léchot, *De l'intolérance au compromis: La gestion d'une coexistence confessionnelle: Le Landeron XVIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Sierre: Editions à la Carte, 2003); Lionel Bartolini, *Une résistance à la réforme dans le pays de Neuchâtel: Le Landeron et sa région (1530–1562)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2006).

43 Michèle Robert, "Les nouvelles structures de l'Eglise," in *Histoire du Pays de Neuchâtel,* (ed.) Société d'histoire et d'archéologie du canton de Neuchâtel, 3 vols. (Hauterive: Attinger, 1991), 2: 282–99, esp. 287.

44 Robert, "Nouvelles structures," 289.

45 Robert, "Nouvelles structures," 289–91.

46 Regula Matzinger-Pfister, "L'introduction des Consistoires dans le pays de Vaud," in *Sous l'oeil du consistoire: sources consistoriales et histoire du contrôle social sous l'ancien Régime,* (eds.) Danièle Tosato-Rigo and Nicole Staremberg Goy (Lausanne: Études de lettres, 2002), 113–23.

along with Viret's demands. In the spring of 1559 this resulted in the dismissal of Viret who, on his way to Geneva, was joined in protest by fourteen other pastors from Vaud.[47]

A late case of the implementation of the Genevan model of the control of morals is its institutionalization within the Reformed Church of Graubünden in a long process beginning in the early 17th century and only completed by the 1710s.[48]

If William Monter has pointed to the Genevan consistory's "visible desire to uphold the dignity of marriage" and to the Genevan ministers' concern with "making marriage as general a condition as possible for the population of Geneva and for seeing that disagreements among married couples be settled,"[49] this observation applies—*mutatis mutandis*—to all matrimonial courts and consistories of Reformed Switzerland.

In older as well as more recent research (Christian Simon, Roland E. Hofer, Heinrich R. Schmidt), there is a consensus that the official Protestant policy of establishing a new sexual morality among the population clearly failed in the Swiss Protestant countryside. By the 18th century the campaign against pre-marital sex still had not been won. However, beyond this consensus opinions differ.[50] Simon and Hofer both observe that there was ultimately an unresolved conflict between the authorities' disciplinary policy and the traditional rural conception of sexuality. Schmidt, on the other hand, postulates that at the level of the village, the women turned out to be allies of the matrimonial court because they managed to use the court to discipline their men.[51] It must be added, however, that we are looking here very much at long-term consequences, which concern above all the 18th-century.[52]

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47 Bruening, *Battleground*, 211–55.

48 Ulrich Pfister, "Reformierte Sittenzucht zwischen kommunaler und territorialer Organisation: Graubünden, 16.-18. Jahrhundert," in ARG 87 (1996), 287–333.

49 Monter, "The Consistory," 473.

50 Christian Simon, *Untertanenverhalten und obrigkeitliche Moralpolitik. Studien zum Verhältnis zwischen Stadt und Land im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Basels* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1981); Hofer, "Lebwesen"; Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*.

51 Earlier variations of this view can be found in Safley, *Let No Man Put Asunder*, and in Thomas Robisheaux, *Society and the Search for Order in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), regarding the situation prevailing in the German princely territory of Hohenlohe in Franconia.

52 See Heinrich R. Schmidt, "Ehezucht in Berner Sittengerichten, 1580–1800," in *Problems in the Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Europe,* (eds.) Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Robert W. Scribner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 287–321, here at 318–19.

14.5 The Patriarchal Household and the Situation of Women

In an attempt to stem the tide of the new critical assessments of the situation of women in 16th-century Protestantism by nascent women's history, Steven Ozment argued a few decades ago that Protestant marriage laws, "especially those that recognized for the first time a mutual right to divorce and remarriage, became the most emphatic statement of the ideal of sharing, companionable marriage in the 16th century. The domestic legislation of the Reformation encouraged both spouses to be more sensitive to the other's personal needs and vocational responsibilities, thereby enhancing the status of both men and women."[53]

The message conveyed by non-normative sources, however, is more contradictory. The diary of the Basel deacon Johannes Gast (covering the years 1531, 1545–46, 1548 and 1551–52), who was a member of the city's matrimonial court between 1543 and 1548, shows that this court was extremely reluctant, even in cases of repeated violence of husbands against their wives, to concede a divorce.[54] A case in point is the plea for a divorce of Margret Ferin, the wife of the well-known printer Johannes Oporin. According to the record, she pleaded for a divorce on the grounds that he "mistreated her by beating and pushing [her around]" and that his beating had left her "bloody and lame." The accused in turn tried to cast a shadow on his wife by incriminating her frequent wine drinking and running up debts. Although this seems to have been a severely disrupted marriage, the matrimonial court decided to dismiss the couple with cautionary words and some threats. The husband was seriously reminded of the duties a pious husband owed to his wife.[55]

There cannot be any doubt that such verdicts reflected the current conception and social practice of the patriarchal household. But we should not overlook the fact that the patriarchy reinforced by the Reformation "not only made life harder on women in the home, but [...] also increased the burdens placed upon men. The need to execute multiple functions in the home extended the distance between the man and other members of the household and made it less inviting to disclose his failings and fragility. The strategy of protection and pacification, allegedly an advantage for both men and women, did not necessarily benefit either,"[56] as the case of Johannes Oporin and Margret Ferin vividly illustrates.

53 Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*, 99.

54 Paul Burckhardt, (ed.), *Das Tagebuch des Johannes Gast* (Basel: Schwabe, 1945), particularly 262 and 347–48 (esp. note 80).

55 Burckhardt, *Tagebuch*, 398, note 40.

56 Scott Hendrix, "Masculinity and Patriarchy in Reformation Germany," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56 (1995), 177–93, esp. 189.

While the consistory in Geneva during Calvin's time tried to apportion equal responsibility to fathers and mothers for bringing up their children, it was more often the fathers who were held publicly responsible in cases of negligence or misbehavior.[57] A pious man, in the eyes of Jean Calvin and the other Genevan reformers, "would not only earn a living in order to feed, clothe, and house his wife and children, but he would also ensure that his children (and his servants) were educated in the Christian faith at home and attended catechism services regularly. Some of these obligations pertained to women as well, but, generally speaking, Genevan men were more *publicly* accountable for the well-being and religious nurture of their children."[58] In all of Protestant Switzerland this principle also applied, on a different level to be sure, to illegitimate children, whose upbringing was invariably considered to be the man's responsibility.[59]

Patriarchy was far from being a prison for women. Many among them publicly raised their voice about the course of the Reformation in its early days,[60] like the well-known Nuremberg Poor Clare nun, Caritas Pirckheimer, who resisted the introduction of the Reformation in Nuremberg (to no avail, as we know). Jeanne de Jussie (1503–1561) made herself the advocate of the old order against the reformers of Geneva. She documented her position and actions in a chronicle.[61] What is more, Elisabeth Wengler's analysis of the individual cases of women called before the Genevan consistory reveals "the depths of women's participation in religious reform and, in some cases, tenacious dissent from the pastor's interpretation of it."[62] Wengler claims that "rather than being imposed on a 'pliable' community, the Genevan Reformation was negotiated. Women

57 Karen E. Spierling, "Father, Son, and Pious Christian: Concepts of Masculinity in Reformation Geneva," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era,* (eds.) Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 95–119, here at 100.

58 Spierling, "Father, Son," 96.

59 Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 187–88.

60 See Alice Zimmerli-Witschi, *Frauen in der Reformationszeit* (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 1981), who devotes the first part of her work to nuns in Zurich, St. Gallen, Basel, and Geneva and their resistance against the Reformation, and the second to well-known women in Geneva, Strasbourg, Constance, Basel, etc. who embraced the cause of reform at an early date. A case study of the response of ordinary women to the Reformation, similar to what Tom Scott has offered for four small German rural communities, has yet to be written for Switzerland. Cf. Tom Scott, *The Early Reformation in Germany: Between Secular Impact and Radical Vision* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2013), Ch. 5, 117–41.

61 Jeanne de Jussie, *The Short Chronicle*, trans. Carrie F. Klaus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Zimmerli-Witschi, *Frauen*, 30–41.

62 Elisabeth Wengler, "Rethinking 'Calvin's Geneva:' Women, Agency, and Religious Authority in Reformation Geneva," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 35 (2007), 55–70, here at 57.

participated by engaging their pastors in a discussion of religious ideas, and in so doing they required the clergy to refine their message."[63]

Women also played an active role in the peasants' revolt of 1525, which in terms of its transregional program was deeply connected to the early Reformation.[64] And this observation applies even more to the Radical Reformation, as was most visibly demonstrated, for example, by the role of women in the ecstatic and antinomian forms of Anabaptism in the region of St. Gallen and Appenzell.[65]

Where does all this leave us regarding the role of gender in assessing the social aspects of the Swiss Reformation? Many 16th-century autobiographical accounts—not least from Protestant Switzerland—convey the impression that next to the disharmonious and, on occasion, dramatic household scenes that court records tell us about, there were plenty of married partnerships that were defined by mutual respect between the spouses.[66] The situation of many women cannot be described as patriarchal subjugation, but was characterized rather by the fact that their social radius was clearly limited to the house and household.[67] This observation is all the more important because doubts have been cast on older claims that during the Middle Ages and "at the dawn of the modern age" women in Germany were "to a considerable extent" (*in grossem Umfang*) active in crafts and trades, although already by the late 15th century and especially after the Reformation, there was a continuous reduction in numbers.[68] More recently, Kurt Wesoly has claimed that the participation of women in urban crafts during the period in question had been much

63 Wengler, "Rethinking," 69.

64 Marion Kobelt-Groch, *Aufsässige Töchter Gottes. Frauen im Bauernkrieg und in den Täuferbewegungen* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 1993). See also eadem, "Von 'armen frowen' und 'bösen wibern'—Frauen im Bauernkrieg zwischen Anpassung und Auflehnung," ARG 79 (1988), 103–37.

65 This is chiefly documented by the chronicle kept by the St. Gallen reformer Johannes Kessler, entitled *Sabbata*. Cf. Kaspar von Greyerz, "Reformation, Gender and Sexuality in Switzerland: Two Case Studies," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 17 (2015), 167–80. Furthermore, many Anabaptists considered a divorce legitimate if an unbelieving spouse refused to convert to the faith, and this provision was also taken advantage of by women. However, as this is not part of my assignment, I will not go into this any further.

66 Cf. Völker-Rasor, *Bilderpaare—Paarbilder*.

67 Völker-Rasor, *Bilderpaare—Paarbilder*, 214. Cf. also the discussion by Schmidt, "Ehezucht in Berner Sittengerichten," 290–93.

68 Barbara Händler-Lachmann, "Berufstätigkeit der Frau in den deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters und der beginnenden Neuzeit," in *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 30 (1980), 131–75, here at 136. See also 171–75.

exaggerated.[69] Unfortunately, he has not addressed the question of the influence of the Reformation on this situation. It cannot be denied, on the other hand, that "by the end of the 16th century" the ability of widows "to run businesses and own property had been severely curtailed. The Reformation emphasis on social order and discipline, combined with male-oriented structures of power, served to confine the place of women in Swiss society."[70]

14.6 Sexuality

One would assume that personal documents, such as diaries, autobiographies, and family chronicles, might give some indication as to how contemporaries lived, and conceived of, their sexuality. Unfortunately, we learn almost nothing about sexuality within marriage from these texts before the 18th century. The diary written by Johannes Rütiner during the years 1529–1539 is a rare exception. He devotes much attention to gossip; in stories having to do with sexuality, his informants, whose name he faithfully notes in his pages, are almost invariably women. One of the targets of this gossip is Heinrich Mötteli, a member of a well-to-do St. Gallen family. Heinrich's first wife, with whom he had many children, allegedly complained at one point that he was most probably capable of getting even a pile of dust pregnant. Rütiner adds that Mötteli surpassed his three sons-in-law in three respects: in drinking, dancing, and adultery.[71] On the other hand, there is not one single word concerning the author's own sexuality in this cloth merchant's diary.

The majority of diaries and autobiographies extant from the 16th century were written by Protestants. Considering the official condemnation of any sexual contacts discussed above, the information they offer us is paradoxical: "Extra-marital sexuality presents itself as normal. If the author is himself involved in it, the theme of sexuality is not touched upon at all. If other persons are the actors, the goings-on are observed closely and with unabashed curiosity. Sexuality within marriage, on the other hand, appears to be a problem, even

69 Kurt Wesoly, "Der weibliche Bevölkerungsanteil in spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Städten und die Betätigung von Frauen im zünftigen Handwerk (insbesondere am Mittel- und Oberrhein)," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 128 (1980), 69–117, especially 116–17.

70 Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 267.

71 Johannes Rütiner, *Diarium, 1529–1539*, in the Latin original and with a German transl., (ed.) Ernst Gerhard Rüsch, 3 vol. in 5 (St. Gallen: Vadianische Sammlung, Kantonsbibliothek, 1996), 2: 2, 381–2.

though the first one is forbidden and the latter one allowed! [...] That which is forbidden is being revealed, what is allowed is kept uncovered."[72] More information, which we cannot go into here, can be gleaned from consistorial records, especially if even sexual jokes risked consistorial censure.[73]

Likewise, we know very little about homo-eroticism and homosexuality in 16th century Reformed Switzerland. Here, I must limit myself to invoking the case of the humanist and reformer Werner Steiner, a friend of Heinrich Bullinger. He was incarcerated and eventually put under house arrest after some former lovers, who had been blackmailing him, revealed their homo-erotic relationship with Steiner, a married man since 1529.[74] Steiner's life, it has been argued, "resonated by, was shaped by, and ultimately failed to bring into harmony different masculine codes [...]: military masculinity, the masculinity of academics and clerics, the masculinity of the family patriarch, as well as the masculinity operating in the milieu of humanist and reformed Zurich."[75]

14.7 Poor Relief and Social Welfare

As has been shown in the first part of this contribution, there has been a debate in recent research as to whether the Reformation in and of itself brought about changes in attitudes towards marriage and sexuality, or whether such changes were already on their way in the course of the 15th century and then clearly accelerated by the Reformation. Part of this debate has to do with the fact that we tend to be influenced by "Swiss timing" in our view of paradigm changes in earlier centuries: such changes were often slow, sometimes piecemeal, and almost never overnight occurrences.

In looking at research on poor relief we are likewise faced with the well-researched argument that shifts in the society of central and western Europe in dealing with the sheer necessity of a more efficient organization of poor relief took place decades before the inception of the Reformation. One scholar has argued that "changes in the attitudes concerning begging and alms became visible as early as the beginning of the 15th century, first as regards foundations of urban welfare. [...] A social interest began [...] to be associated to the

72 Völker-Rasor, *Bilderpaare—Paarbilder*, 266. Cf. also Franz X. Eder, *Kultur der Begierde. Eine Geschichte der Sexualität* (Munich: Beck, 2002), 19.

73 See, for example, Monter, "The Consistory," 483.

74 Helmut Puff, "The Reform of Masculinities in sixteenth-century Switzerland. A Case Study," in Hendrix and Karant-Nunn, *Masculinity,* 21–44, at 33.

75 Puff, "Reform of Masculinities," 33.

FIGURE 14.1
Conrad Meyer, The frail beggar (1654); copy by Jacques Callot
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

religious, which henceforth grew in importance."[76] Regarding the situation prevailing in South German imperial cities at the turn of the 15th century Peer Fries has pointed out that "the number of needy, poor, and sick people had grown in such a dramatic way that the traditional institutions of medieval poor relief and health care" could not cope with the new situation. It was the Imperial Diet, assembled at Lindau in 1497, he argues, that spearheaded reform in these matters and not any ecclesiastical institutions.[77] Robert Jütte has claimed more generally that "the Reformation created neither the communal nor the governmental system of poor relief, since both had their counterparts in Catholic countries."[78] However, it has been pointed out with good reason that we should not throw out the baby with the bathwater in dichotomizing secular and religious motifs in 16th century reforms of poor relief, as they did not exclude each other at the time.[79]

Must a "secularizing" concept of poor relief in the century of the Reformation be charged to repercussions that the work of Max Weber had on latter day

76 Thomas Fischer, *Städtische Armut und Armenfürsorge im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert: Sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Städte Basel, Freiburg i.Br. und Strassburg* (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1979), 155 (my translation).

77 Peer Fries, "Poor Relief and Health Care Provision in South-German Catholic Cities during the Sixteenth Century," in *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief*, (ed.) Thomas Max Safley (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 76–91, here at 77.

78 Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 108. See also idem, "Poor Relief and Social Discipline in Sixteenth-Century Europe," *European Studies Review* (1981), 25–52; idem, "Disziplinierungsmechanismen in der städtischen Armenfürsorge der Frühneuzeit," in *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disiplinierung. Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik*, (eds.) Christoph Sachsse and Florian Tennstedt (Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1986), 101–18.

79 See Thomas Max Safley, "Introduction," in idem, *The Reformation of Charity*, 1–14.

scholars?[80] I think not, as Weber's idea of occidental "rationalization" is just one among several concepts of a more or less linear development of European society and civilization on the way to modernity. But more recent research makes abundantly clear that the reform of poor relief was not exclusively the work of the Reformation.[81]

14.8 A New Work Ethic

Max Weber cannot be faulted for attributing a new work ethic to the Reformation.[82] On the other hand, there is no need here to rehearse the seemingly endless debate as to whether there was a connection between this new work ethic and the emerging spirit of capitalism in early modern Europe.[83] Whereas Weber pointed to Martin Luther's new notion of *Beruf* (calling) as God's plan for the inner-worldly station of the individual believer, as well as to the repercussions of the dogma of predestination in the everyday life of Reformed Protestants, we might more generally assume, as regards Zwinglianism and Calvinism, that the new work ethic was a direct expression of the considerable weight that Upper German and Swiss reformers put on the Christianization and sanctification of the community.[84] The reorganization and tightening of the network of social welfare, and in particular of poor relief, was a direct expression of this new attitude. In its beginning (like the Swiss and German Reformations more generally speaking) this was an urban phenomenon. However, while city councils largely spearheaded this reform, we have rightly been

80 This is a point argued by Safley, "Introduction," 1 and 3.

81 The differences between Protestantism and Catholicism in terms of poor-relief measures taken during the 16th century are discussed by Sebastian Schmidt, "'Gott wohlgefällig und den Menschen nutzlich': Zu Gemeinsamkeiten und konfessionsspezifischen Unterschieden frühneuzeitlicher Armenfürsorge," in *Norm und Praxis der Armenfürsorge in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, (eds.) Sebastian Schmidt and Jens Aspelmeier, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Beiheft 189 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 61–90.

82 Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [1904/1905], trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958).

83 For an overview see Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, transl. Thomas Dunlap (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 217–24.

84 The classic statements in this regard are by Bernd Moeller. See idem, "Die Kirche in den evangelischen freien Städten Oberdeutschlands im Zeitalter der Reformation," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 112 (new series 73), (1964), 147–62, esp. 149–50. See also idem, "Imperial Cities and the Reformation," in idem, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, (eds.). H.C. Eric Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972).

cautioned against interpreting the changes effected by it as a purely secular phenomenon. Peer Fries may well be right in arguing that by the end of the 15th century the secular authorities within the Holy Roman Empire first recognized the urgent need for reform, but by the advent of the Reformation a *combination* of socio-political, as well as religious, factors played a role. On the one hand, there was an acute sense of crisis in the face of the social problems of vagrancy and begging, which had multiplied from the 15th century; on the other hand, there was a very obvious religious response to the problems of poverty and begging, for example, in sermons of the early Reformation. For Huldrych Zwingli the poor were the "true images of God" and their better integration into the community was to be achieved by an intensification of the Christian love of one's neighbor.[85] It is interesting to note, however, that none of the disparaging remarks regarding "unworthy" poor, which became part and parcel of the ensuing Protestant urban mandates re-ordering poor relief from the mid-1520s onwards, can be found in Zwingli's early sermons. This is yet another indication that we must account for an amalgam of religious as well as secular motifs. The Reformation was not the cause of the changes in social welfare, for these had been underway already long before. It did, however, help to accelerate implementation of new measures.[86]

During the 1520s, one author wrote, "Protestant cities like Wittenberg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, began to reform poor relief; a few years later they were followed by Catholic cities like Ypres, Lille, Oudenaarde, Mons or Valenciennes. Communalization, rationalization, bureaucratization, as well as a pedagogical turn (*Pädagogisierung*) now became the hallmarks of early modern poor relief."[87] While not being completely off the mark, this is far too general a description.

The precise composition of the different motifs leading to changes in poor relief depended to a large extent on regional and local conditions, as Timothy G. Fehler has shown for Emden. The Reformation of the first half of the 16th century brought about new legislation and new institutions in social welfare; this did not, however, result in "practical innovations in Emden's poor relief."[88]

85 Wandel, *Images*, esp. 36–76.

86 Christian Moser, "Institutionelle Armenfürsorge in Zürich, 1520–1600. Die Almosenordnung 1525 und Vorstösse der Pfarrerschaft zur Almosenbekämpfung," in *Reichtum und Armut in den schweizerischen Republiken des 18. Jahrhunderts*, (eds.) André Holenstein, Béla Kapossy, and Danièle Tosato-Rigo (Geneva: Slatkine, 2010), 33–49, here at 41.

87 Martin Rheinheimer, *Arme, Bettler und Vaganten: Überleben in der Not, 1450–1850* (Frankfurt/M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2000), 94 (my translation).

88 Timothy G. Fehler, "Refashioning Poor Relief in Early Modern Emden," in Safley, *The Reformation of Charity*, 92–106, here at 93.

Fehler cautions us against taking 16th century mandates as a mirror of reality. Ultimately, in Emden, it was "the rapid social and economic change of mid-century, triggered by the arrival of thousands of Calvinist-leaning refugees, [that] altered the course both of the Reformation and of the organization of poor relief."[89] Church discipline and poor relief now "became closely connected. Supervision of the poor now involved not just control of moral behavior but also control of religious belief."[90]

14.9 The New Organization of Poor Relief

The rule of thumb concerning the interpretation of early modern mandates goes like this: The more frequently specific mandates were issued, the more certainly their purpose was not fulfilled. Without any doubt this can be applied to urban mandates trying to control begging. In Zurich the earliest one was promulgated in 1343, followed by several similar mandates in 1491, 1504 and 1515. In the last of these mandates the city council banned all foreign beggars. And in 1519 it institutionalized the function of a *Bettelvogt*, an overseer of the poor.[91]

In addition to these measures it forbade gypsies access to the city in 1498.[92] Gypsies began to appear in groups in central Europe from the early 15th century onwards. Chronicles from that period in Lübeck, Regensburg, and Paris share a stereotypical rejection of these people with their black hair, dark skin, and allegedly ugly countenance.[93]

For Basel, too, as well as for Freiburg im Breisgau and Strasbourg, Thomas Fischer has noted that the intensification of poverty in the course of the 15th century, both in quantitative and qualitative (decreasing qualification of the vagrants in craftsmen's skills) terms, added its share to hardening the borderline between the middling sort of urban craftsmen organized in guilds and the poor, as well as to an increasing rejection of begging.[94] These changes on the eve of the Reformation entailed a new separation between local indigenous people and foreign beggars, a growing differentiation in the welfare policy between "mere" poverty and real economic threats to one's livelihood, and—third—an increasing distinction between deserving and undeserving poor.[95] The

89 Fehler, "Refashioning," 93.
90 Fehler, "Refashioning," 103.
91 Wandel, *Images*, 126.
92 Wandel, *Images*, 126.
93 Rheinheimer, *Arme,* 176.
94 Fischer, *Städtische Armut*, 175–6.
95 Fischer, *Städtische Armut*, 179–80.

FIGURE 14.2 *Hans Fries, Fribourg,* The Works of Charity, *painting, c. 1505. The two wings of this altar retable illustrate the meritorious effect of alms-giving in the late medieval church. On the bottom left, bread is distributed to the poor, while on the top left and the right angels free souls from purgatory*
PHOTO © ETAT DE FRIBOURG SUISSE/MUSÉ D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE SUISSE (PHOTO: ROCO WEBER)

Alms Statute of Zurich of 1520, for example, witnesses to "the care of the town's council [...] to catalogue the variety of patterns of behavior undeserving of communal aid."[96] A tendency toward cataloguing different kinds of roguery is also prevalent in contemporary rogue literature. The well-known *Liber vagatorum* published in 1510 differentiates between a total of 41 types.[97] A majority of the urban "deserving" poor were most probably women, at least that is what the few figures we have indicate for Protestant and Catholic cities alike.[98]

96 Wandel, *Images*, 132.
97 Rheinheimer, *Arme*, 95.
98 Rheinheimer, *Arme*, 57.

Pre-Reformation relief for the poor rested heavily on mainly three pillars: on the monasteries, especially in rural areas, on the urban religious confraternities, and on individual alms-giving, which pre-Reformation theology considered to have a salvific effect for the donor.

We need not discuss at length the fact that Reformation theology, be it Zwinglian, Lutheran, or Calvinist, opposed the notion of any human contribution toward individual salvation. Faith in God's grace as witnessed by Christ and testified to by God's Word in the Bible was to be the only path toward salvation. It is obvious that this was to have serious repercussions in the conception and organization of poor relief, not least because the Reformation led to the closure of all convents and monasteries and eventually also to the dissolution of religious confraternities. The confiscated wealth of monastic houses was to be used for poor relief,[99] but the organization of the latter now had to be put on an entirely new basis. In the cities, this meant that the role of non-ecclesiastical, public institutions in the administration of poor relief was considerably strengthened and also that cities turned Protestant forbade all begging, something that did not occur to the same extent in Catholic cities. This is why, for example, Catholic Freiburg im Breisgau was only able to emulate Strasbourg and Basel (where such measures had been taken in 1523 and 1530, respectively), in terms of suppressing all begging as late as 1582, when—significantly for Catholic practices of almsgiving—a private foundation henceforth assured the support of the needy.[100]

The Basel alms ordinance of 10 September 1530 begins programmatically by invoking the need to distinguish between "the deserving [and] sick poor" and the "strong, lazy and mischievous beggars, spendthrifts and gamblers."[101] It reserves alms strictly for the deserving. The selection between "good" and "bad" candidates is to be made by the guilds and other urban associations. One of the criteria was adherence to the new faith. Begging was outlawed. The *Bettelvogt* and his servant were to enforce this and lead foreign beggars to the *Elendenherberge*, where they were given a meal and a place for the night, but they had to leave town the next day.[102]

Lazy spendthrifts and gamblers are equally excluded by the Zurich poor law of 15 January 1525, as well as those "who without good reasons do not attend sermons and who do not want to hear or see God's Word or divine service," and blasphemers and notorious quarrelers who are unable to live in peace with their neighbors. Beyond this, the list of undeserving poor is more specific than

99 See, for example, Wandel, *Images*, 135.

100 Fischer, *Städtische Armut*, 316.

101 BSKO, 43–5, no. 4, here at 43.

102 BSKO, 43–44.

the Basel one and also incriminates bad householders, those wearing sumptuous clothes, matchmakers, and drunkards.[103] Both ordinances, however, are equally concerned to get "the poor people off the streets," as the Zurich poor law formulates it.[104] Given the changes in the theological and religious valuation of monastic, confraternal or individual almsgiving discussed above, the Reformation brought about a communalization and centralization of almsgiving. In Zurich, the center of this new policy was henceforth the so-called *Mushafen* based at the *Predigerkirche*. In Basel, too, the *Muesglocke* announced every morning at ten o' clock the distribution of bread and vegetable soup to the local deserving poor.[105] This may be seen as a largely secular measure, especially since its funding was mainly based on the secularization of ecclesiastical (especially monastic) property.[106] However, it should not be overlooked that it strengthened in the local context the sense for the social demands of Christian love of one's neighbor.[107]

Many of these new measures and institutions had a history going back to the late Middle Ages; the same can be said for Geneva. Here, the *Hôpital-Général* became the central institution of poor relief and social welfare. "It was established in 1535 in one of a series of measures by which Geneva broke all connections with the Roman Catholic Church and established a Protestant regime."[108] It can be said to be the central element in "trends toward rationalization and laicization of the administration of social welfare," which in Geneva, as elsewhere, went back to the pre-Reformation period.[109] It was not Jean Calvin's creation and, unlike other Swiss reformers, Calvin left comparatively little in writing connected with the organization of poor relief—perhaps, as Robert

103 Wandel, *Images*, 190–191.

104 Wandel, *Images*, 190–191. Cf. also Moser, "Institutionelle Armenfürsorge," 35.

105 Susanna Burghartz, "Im Angesicht der Armut: Ordnung, Regulierung und Fürsorge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Armut und Fürsorge in Basel. Armutspolitik vom 13. Jahrhundert bis heute*, (eds.) Josef Mooser and Simon Wenger (Basel: Christian-Merian-Verlag, 2011), 49–72, here at 60.

106 However, Leonhard von Muralt made clear in this connection that, following the creation of the *Obmannamt* in 1533, which was henceforth to administer secularized monastic property, a good part of these funds were used for serving the city's debts, so that Zwingli's demand that ecclesiastical and, specifically, monastic property was to belong to the Reformed church *and* to the poor was not fully realized: Leonhard von Muralt, "Renaissance und Reformation," in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Berichthaus, 1972), 1: 389–570, here at 453.

107 Fischer, *Städtische Armut*, 263.

108 Robert M. Kingdon, "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 50–69, here at 52.

109 Kingdon, "Social Welfare," 53.

Kingdon has suggested, because he could entirely rely on the four *procureurs* in charge of the administration of the hospital.[110] Its headquarters were in the former convent of Sainte-Claire, whose inhabitants had moved to Annecy. It proved remarkably resilient and survived well into the 19th century in spite of some serious crises from the 1540s onwards.

14.10 The Problems of Poor Relief

Geneva had special problems in caring for its poor on account of the steady and increasing influx of refugees from France and elsewhere. In 1540, a year before Calvin's return to Geneva, the city appointed a guard whose task it was to drive out some of the refugees because the Hospital could no longer cope with their number. The situation was indeed dramatic: "In the period from October 1538 to 1539, the city hospital assisted 10,657 poor strangers as they passed through Geneva," a city of about 12,000 inhabitants at that time with 600 local poor people to support.[111] But it was only in 1546 that there was a marked shift in relations between the city's population and the refugees, partly because many of them, poor and rich alike, were intent upon staying in Geneva and partly because relations between the local population and the many French ministers of the church began to deteriorate. Furthermore, Charles V's campaign against the Protestants in Germany created a general climate of insecurity.[112] The exacerbating problems with the constant influx of poor refugees brought about the creation of the *Bourse Française*, which henceforth shouldered some of the assistance to refugees.[113]

As central and western Europe experienced severe subsistence crises and even famines in 1570–74 and 1594–97, poor relief anywhere was severely strained. Already from the mid-century onwards "the problem of begging all across the Swiss Confederation became an acute problem."[114] In Zurich, the initial reaction of the leading members of the church was to tighten the control of morals and

110 Kingdon, "Social Welfare," 64.

111 William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*, second ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 122.

112 Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation*, 123.

113 Gordon, *Calvin,* 200–02. See also Jeannine Olson, "John Calvin's only Public Office for Women, the Care of the Poor: Wet Nurses, Widows, and Welfare among French Refugees and in the Reformed Tradition," in *Mythes et réalités du XVIe siècle: Foi, Idées, Images. Etudes en honneur d'Alain Dufour,* (eds.) Bernard Lescaze and Mario Turchetti (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2008), 51–69.

114 Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 241.

the prohibition of begging, as well as to reorganize the raising of money and its distribution.[115] At the same time, however, they began to think about economic measures by which the increasing problems of poverty might be stemmed. As a result, Heinrich Bullinger and Rudolf Gwalther recommended in 1572 for the first time the public creation of new labor opportunities in textile production and in construction.[116] This did not, however, result in the creation of houses of correction where (supposedly idle) poor were forced to work. The first such institutions came into being in the Netherlands (Amsterdam) and North Germany (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) at the turn of the century.[117] Poverty in early modern Europe was endemic. The almost constant repetition of mandates against begging by the Zurich and Basel authorities in the course of the second half of the 16th century indicates the degree to which the men in charge in church and state failed in even getting near to controlling the problem.[118]

14.11 Conclusion

From the vantage point of the modern welfare state it is relatively easy to say what social welfare means: first, public support for invalids, the unemployed, and the poor; second, a public state pension scheme and a tax policy allowing for relative social equilibrium; and third, the maintenance of security in the public space. For sound methodological reasons we should hesitate to apply these categories blindly to 16th-century society. However, if we ask what the conception of public welfare looked like in the eyes of contemporary churchmen and urban councilors, we are faced with a much wider array of areas that they considered to be part of welfare:[119] education and schools, not least because these were needed for the training of the clergy; teaching the catechism, especially among children and young people, with all the difficulties this apparently presented in the countryside; the reduction of saints' days and feasts, which had religious as well as economic implications; the suppression of the local church-patron feasts, which reformers from Oecolampadius to Bullinger

115 For the measures taken between the 1570s and the mid-17th century see Philipp Wälchli, "Gedruckte Zürcher Mandate zum Armenwesen von der Reformation bis 1675," *Zwingliana* 35 (2008), 101–15, here at 104–06.

116 Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 275; Moser, "Institutionelle Armenfürsorge," 44–45.

117 Rheinheimer, *Arme*, 106.

118 ZHKO, 1, *passim*; BSKO, *passim*.

119 Regarding the following observations, it suffices to peruse the newly edited church ordinances in ZHKO and BSKO.

considered occasions for excessive drinking and fornication. In this last instance the Zurich reformer failed in gaining secular support: the *Kirchweih* feasts were not abolished.[120]

But the secular authorities by and large cooperated with the representatives of the Reformed church in matters concerning the control of morals. Bernd Moeller pointed out a long time ago that this really was the realm of activities that distinguished the Upper German and Swiss cities from the rest of the Protestant towns within the Holy Roman Empire: "the passionate and tenacious promotion of morals (*Sittenzucht*), of the moral sanctification of burgher society."[121] *Sittenzucht* aimed at the maintenance of Christian discipline and the punishment of wrongdoers identified by the Bernese authorities as "blasphemers, healers claiming supernatural power (*Segner*), conjurers of the devil, absentees at sermons and the Lord's Supper, young people opposing the will of their parents, fornicators and adulterers, matchmakers, drunkards, dancers, usurers, [card-]players, idle people, persons dressed above their station, all who attended patron's feasts, or disguised themselves or engaged in the celebration of Carnival, who were a public nuisance at nighttime, irresponsible innkeepers, 'and all other mischievous persons who overstepped the demands of Christian discipline and sobriety.'"[122]

It is clear that measures tending in this direction were already taken before the Reformation. However, it is the systematic nature of such social disciplining that distinguishes the post-Reformation period from the 15th century and the first two decades of the 16th. And in this respect we cannot really differentiate (as I have tried above for the sake of clarity) between the control of marriages and sexual morals, on the one hand, and more general social control on the other. This clearly increased toward the end of the 16th century. The Basel matrimonial court now tried to seek out cases of illegitimate sexuality wherever it possibly could,[123] and for the Genevan consistory it has been argued that after Calvin's death in 1564 "the consistory was not interested so much in religious orthodoxy as in social control—down to minute points of behavior."[124] There were unmistakable signs that social control began to go through a process of secularization. However, as shown above, this clearly does not justify the claim that the Reformation had nothing to do with the 16th-century changes in matrimonial policy and the control of morals.

120 Bächtold, *Bullinger vor dem Rat*, 80–2.

121 Moeller, "Die Kirche in den evangelischen freien Städten," 155.

122 Schmidt, *Dorf und Religion*, 11.

123 Burghartz, "Wandel," 30.

124 Monter, "The Consistory," 483. For the larger context of European Calvinism see Benedict, *Christ's Churches*, 460–89.

CHAPTER 15

Reformation Culture

Irena Backus

15.1 Introduction

This chapter does not aim to retrace the chronology of the Zurich Reformation, which has been more than adequately covered in the past.[1] Those who are interested in the specific question of Reformation culture in Zurich are by and large less well served. While Bruce Gordon's still recent work *The Swiss Reformation* contains a very clear and informative section on Swiss religious culture in the Reformation, studies focusing on Zurich's exact contribution to this are much scarcer. We might mention here Lee Palmer Wandel's books on images of the poor in Zwingli's Zurich and on iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg and Basel, which devotes some fifty pages to Zurich iconoclasm.[2] More recently, Rebecca Giselbrecht has published several articles on the Zurich Reformation's view of women,[3] while Emidio Campi made a substantial contribution to the Reformation's links with classical antiquity and Swiss patriotism.[4] Christine Christ-von Wedel and Urs Leu have for their part shed some light on the reception of Erasmus in Zurich with a volume that appeared in 2007.[5] Other contributions on these and other aspects of Zurich Reformation culture will be mentioned further on.

However, there is still no global study of Zurich's cultural specificity in the course of the 16th century. The present study has no pretensions to fill this lacuna but rather will consider certain aspects of Reformation culture that make Zurich distinct from Geneva, which at the time was not a part of the

1 Notably in AZHR. For the most recent publication on the Swiss Reformation see Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*.

2 Wandel, *Images;* Wandel, *Idols*.

3 See, for example, Rebecca Giselbrecht, "Zwingli und Bullinger: Väter des reformierten Wybsbilds," in *Kirche, Theologie und Politik im reformierten Protestantismus: Vorträge der 8. Emder Tagung zur Geschichte des reformierten Protestantismus*, (eds.) Matthias Freudenberg and Georg Plasger (Neukirchen: Foedus-Verlag, 2011), 28–40.

4 Emidio Campi, "*Brutus Tigurinus.* Heinrich Bullinger's Early Political and Theological Thought," in idem, *Patterns*, 35–55.

5 Christine Christ-von Wedel and Urs B. Leu, (eds.), *Erasmus in Zürich* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2007).

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Confederation, although it maintained close links with Zurich and the rest of Switzerland, especially after Calvin took over its church.

There are two aspects to Reformation culture in general that are very well illustrated by the case of Zurich. The first is properly theological culture, in other words certain characteristics that account for some of the reformers' methods, their use of some sources at the expense of others, etc. The second is the cultural impact of the Reformation on the daily lives of its citizens and on some aspects of artistic and literary production in the period ca. 1520–1575. Of course, the two are not easily separable, especially in Zurich. To take just one example, the humanist exposure of the Zurich reformers meant that they tolerated quite well the presence of classical antiquity in vernacular theatre. However, so as to keep the faithful "on the straight and narrow," plays such as *A Lovely Play on the History of Lucretia*, performed and then published anonymously in Basel in 1533, are given a local slant to conform to some of the values of the Reformation. Heinrich Bullinger wrote the play, most likely during his time at Kappel, and intended it to be staged by pupils.[6] Although based on books I and II of Livy and on books IV and V of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romae,* the play—which was in parts no more than a verse paraphrase of its sources—also strives to portray pre-Reformation Zurich. Thus Bullinger insists that Tarquin, the foreign invader, deprived the honest burghers of Rome of their rights, a thinly veiled allusion to the Old Zurich War, which had forced the city into an alliance with the Habsburgs until the conclusion of an indecisive peace in 1450 and the readmission of the city and its territories into the Confederation. Drawing on the local *Fastnachtspiel* tradition as well as his classical sources, Bullinger also manages to introduce purely local figures such as the honest farmer deprived of his rights or coarse soldiers. The vocabulary is also revealing. Brutus, after seizing power, is called *Herr Burgermeister* and the senate becomes the *Rat*. Moreover, much of the dialogue is in dialect and the metre (*Knittelvers*) is one traditionally used for folk plays. This suggests a particular view of the Reformation as a movement that strengthens Zurich's autonomy within the Confederation and raises its profile as a city breeding solid, decent citizens.

It would therefore be artificial to split Zurich's culture of the time into "learned culture" and "lay culture," as the two inevitably intertwine. We shall therefore examine a series of cultural features roughly in chronological order focusing on the Bible, prophecy, the supernatural, and education. For the

6 [Heinrich Bullinger,] *Ein schön spil von der geschicht der edlen Römerin Lucretiae* (Basel: Wolff, 1533); see also Campi, "Brutus Tigurinus," 35–55, and Irena Backus, "Bullinger and Humanism," in HBLTI 2: 637–60 (here at 650–2) and literature cited there.

FIGURE 15.1 *Title page of Heinrich Bullinger's* A Lovely Play on the History of Lucretia (*Basel: Oporinus, 1533*)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

sections on the Bible and education respectively we shall be referring, among other sources, to Ludwig Lavater's manual *On the Rites and Institutions of the Zurich Church,* first published in 1559 and published again in 1702 by Johann Baptist Ott, who enriched it with other sources showing the evolution of Zurich religious culture up until Ott's time.[7] Indeed, there is no record of this manual having been used by modern historians to illustrate Zurich culture of the period, although it provides an excellent source for such studies.

15.2 Prophecy

It is well-known that Zwingli was led by his humanist studies to convert to the Reformation and that he was interested from very early on in the writings not just of Erasmus but prior to that of Italian humanists such as Giovanni and Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola.[8] From the results obtained until now of the analysis of Zwingli's marginal annotations in the works of the two Picos, especially Giovanni, it appears that prior to his conversion to the Reformation he drew on Pico as an authoritative source for his conviction that the power of God was total and so great that it escaped the realm of human reason. He also used Pico as a source for scholastic theology, for John of Damascus' teaching on the two natures of Christ, and for anti-Gnosticism. Moreover, he also considered Pico and, through him, Florentine humanism as a model for relating theology and philosophy. What he did not take from Pico was the latter's high estimate of human dignity, his passionate defense of Origen, or his harmonization of Plato and Aristotle, all aspects that constitute the quintessence of the Italian humanist. This confirms that while humanism was an important component of Zwingli's thought-world, it was mixed with other components from a variety of origins such as Scotism, Biblicism, and a version of Augustinism, not forgetting classical authors.[9]

Zwingli in fact had acquired his knowledge of these very early on thanks to his Latin teacher at Basel, Gregor Bünzli. As Oswald Myconius put it in his *Life* of Zurich's first reformer, [from Gregor Bünzli] "he obtained his first

7 *De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae tigurinae* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1559); a modern annotated German translation of the manual in its 1702 edition was published fairly recently; Ludwig Lavater, *Die Gebräuche und Einrichtungen der Zürcher Kirche,* (ed. and transl.) Gottfried Albert Keller (Zurich: TVZ, 1987).

8 Cf. Irena Backus, "Randbemerkungen Zwinglis in den Werken von Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," *Zwingliana* 18 (1990/1991), 291–309.

9 On Zwingli and Duns Scotus, see Bolliger, *Contemplatio.*

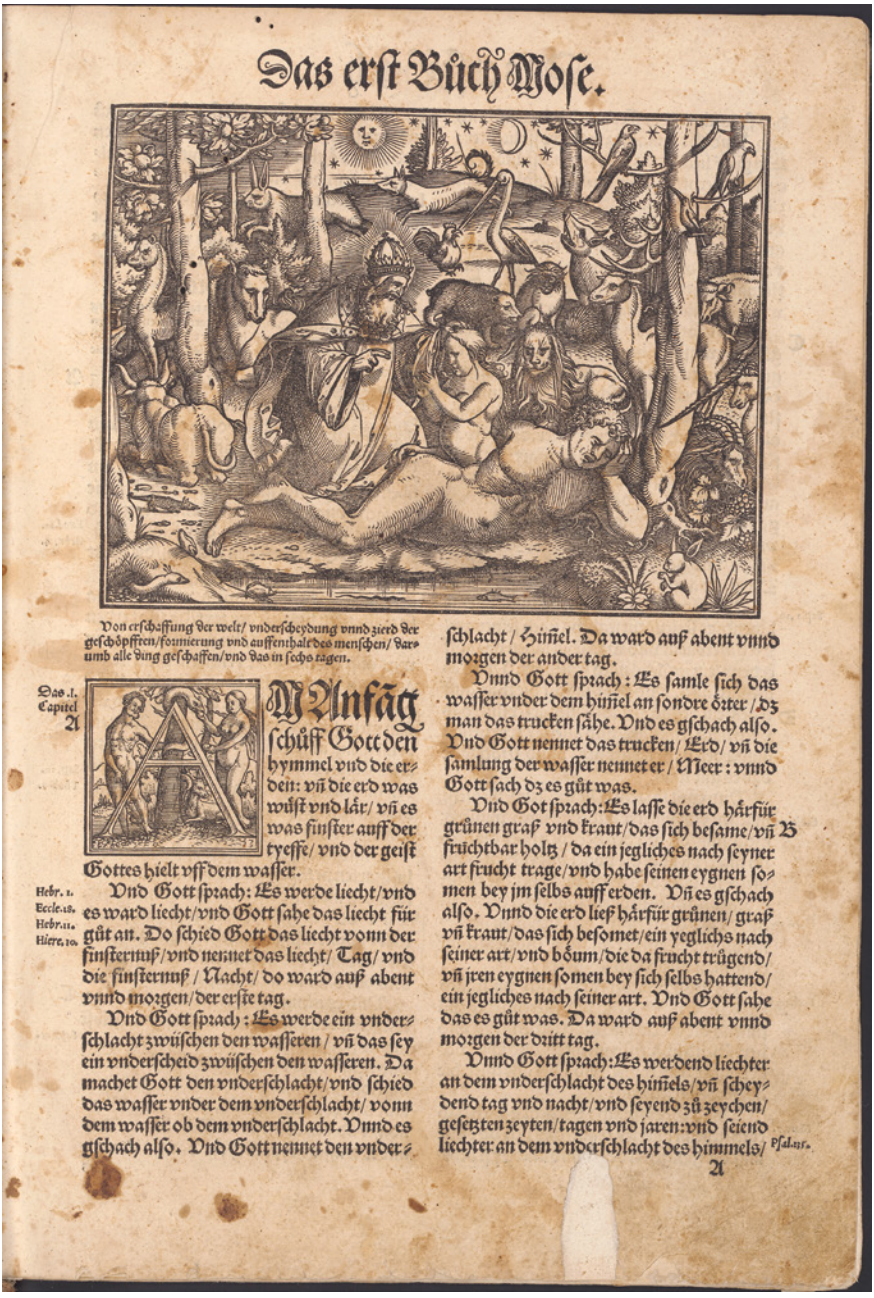
knowledge of the classical authors (so well preserved through so many centuries), acquired a flowing, harmonious style, and learned how to distinguish facts and exercise his judgment upon them."[10] Myconius also drew attention in the same work to the fact that Zwingli, amidst his many duties as *Leutpriester* perfected his knowledge of Greek through the study of Homer, Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, and Thucydides, as well as Lucian, Theocritus, Hesiod, and Aristophanes. These studies led him to learn Hebrew under the tutorship of Andreas Böschenstein, who had just come to Zurich to open a school. Having thus begun Hebrew, he waited until the city council authorized him to open a college (*gymnasium*) for the teaching of the three languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), to summon Jacob Ceporinus to Zurich and to complete his study of Hebrew grammar under that "trilingual young man."[11]

While there is nothing remarkable about Zwingli's interest in pagan letters, it is far more remarkable that he saw an intrinsic link between the study of pagan Latin and Greek and the study of biblical Hebrew. Although there is no conclusive proof, we are justified in conjecturing that Zwingli's linguistic syncretism possibly determined one general direction of Zurich's theological culture and its particular association of the sacred and the profane, as well as its general interest in the question of prophecy. For Zwingli a key initiative was the development of the *Prophezei.* This school was held early in the morning at the Grossmünster on every day except Sunday and Friday. Konrad Grebel, Felix Manz, George Blaurock, and others who later became Anabaptists were founding members. The school became notable not only for its education of preachers but also for its Bible translation (Zurich Bible, 1531) and the commentaries it produced between 1525 and 1531. Working with the biblical text in Latin, Hebrew, Greek, and German, the *Prophezei* group compared all these versions of the scripture in an effort to seek out its sense and preach on it.

Why then was a group for Bible reading, preaching, and exegesis (which constituted the basis for the founding of the Zurich Academy) called *Prophezei* or prophecy? Two reasons may be given for this, one theological and the other cultural. Theologically there was a need for the institutionalization of the preaching ministry on the model of Acts 7, where Stephen upbraids the Jews for rebelling against the Holy Spirit by killing Jesus whom the prophets have

10 See Oswald Myconius, *Vom Leben und Sterben Huldrych Zwinglis. Das älteste Lebensbild Zwinglis*, (ed.) E.G. Rüsch (St. Gallen: Fehr'sche Buchhandlung, 1979).

11 See Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe. Lives of reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 50, n. 3, and A.F. Neander, (ed.), *Vitae quatuor Reformatorum. Lutheri a Melanchthone, Melanchthonis a Camerario, Zwinglii a Myconio, Calvini a Theod. Beza conscriptae. Nunc iunctim editae* (Berlin: Eichler, 1841), 7–8.



Das erst Büch Mose.

Von erschaffung der welt/ vnderscheydung vnnd zierd der geschöpffen/ fourierung vnd auffenthalt des menschen/ Darumb alle ding geschaffen/ vnd Was in sechs tagen.

Das .I. Capitel

IN Anfäg schüff Gott den hymmel vnd die erden: vñ die erd was wüst vnd lär/ vñ es was finster auff der tyefe/ vnd der geist Gottes hielt vff dem wasser.

Hebr. 1. Ecclē.18. Hebr.11. Hiere.10. Vnd Gott sprach: Es werde liecht/ vnd es ward liecht/ vnd Gott sahe das liecht für gůt an. Do schied Gott das liecht vonn der finsternuß/ vnd nennet das liecht/ Tag/ vnd die finsternuß/ Nacht/ do ward auß abent vnnd morgen/ der erste tag.

Vnd Gott sprach: Es werde ein vnderschlacht zwüschen den wasseren/ vñ das sey ein vnderscheid zwüschen den wasseren. Da machet Gott den vnderschlacht/ vnd schied das wasser vnder dem vnderschlacht/ vonn dem wasser ob dem vnderschlacht. Vnnd es gschach also. Vnd Gott nennet den vnderschlacht/ Himel. Da ward auß abent vnnd morgen der ander tag.

Vnnd Gott sprach: Es samle sich das wasser vnder dem himel an sondre örter/ dz man das trucken sähe. Vnd es gschach also. Vnd Gott nennet das trucken/ Erd/ vñ die sämlung der wasser nennet er/ Meer: vnnd Gott sach dz es gůt was.

Vnd Got sprach: Es lasse die erd härfür grünen graß vnd kraut/ das sich besame/ vñ B früchtbar holtz/ da ein jegliches nach seyner art frucht trage/ vnd habe seinen eygnen sömen bey jm selbs auff erden. Vñ es gschach also. Vnnd die erd ließ härfür grünen/ graß vñ kraut/ das sich besomet/ ein yegliches nach seiner art/ vnd bőum/ die da frucht trůgend/ vñ jren eygnen somen bey sich selbs hattend/ ein jegliches nach seiner art. Vnd Gott sahe das es gůt was. Da ward auß abent vnnd morgen der dritt tag.

Vnnd Gott sprach: Es werdend liechter an dem vnderschlacht des himels/ vñ scheydend tag vnd nacht/ vnd seyend zů zeychen/ gesetzten zeyten/ tagen vnd jaren: vnd seiend liechter an dem vnderschlacht des himmels/ Psal.civ. A

FIGURE 15.2 *Eve's creation from Adam's rib, from the Zurich Bible. The woodcut illustrations for the Old Testament were designed by* Hans Holbein the Younger *and cut by Veit Specklin.*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

Warhaffte vnd wunderliche Geschicht/ so geschehen ist in disem 1556. Jar/ Am xxi. tag May. Vor der Stat S. Galla/ im Schweytzer Land gelegen/ Von einem Blaycher gesellen/ Peter Beßler von Rotmunda/ &c.

Nach dem es sich aber begeben vnd zugetragen hat/ am nechst verschienenen Sontag Trinitatis/ das ist der 21. tag May. Dises 1556. Jars. Das ein Blaycher gesell/ Peter Beßler genandt von Rotmunde/ erwe- [illegible] Bleichinstuhl wegs wo er von der Stadt S. Galla gelegen/ ein jarlang [illegible] einer Blaych daselbst gearbeyt hat/ Vnnd ist an gemeltem Sontag Trinitatis/ mit andern seinen Gesellen vnnd Zechbrüdern/ in die obgemelten Stadt zum Wein gangen/ vnnd allda mit jhn- [illegible] n gezecht/ etc. Nach dem sie aber nun ein zeytlang bey einander gesessen vnd getruncken/ vnnd sich mit vberfüllung des Weins beladen/ Haben sich etliche mit hönischen oder spöttlichen worten gegen einander eingelassen/ wie dann gemeinglich beym Wein/ oder sonst in andern zechen gut schicht.) Auß solchem ist als bald erfolgt/ das vorgenandter Peter Beßler/ sich etlicher wort angenommen/ vnnd mit schentlichem vnnd grewlichem Gotßlestern/ Schweren vnnd Fluchen gegen seinen Gesellen vernemen vnnd hören lassen/ Vnnd gesagt/ Wenn er mehr hinauß auff die Blaych gehe/ oder arbeyte/ So söll der Teuffel kommen/ vnd jm als bald zuzerren vnd zerreyssen/ etc. Vnnd also den selben tag jms seiner füllerey vnnd schentlichem Laster verharret. Nach dem aber folgendes des andern tags/ Er den Wein/ vnnd vberflüssiges trincken gedewet/ vnnd nüchtern worden/ Hat er selbs/ sich etlicher reden erinnert/ so er sich jms schentlicher voller weyse verwilliget hatte/ vnd bey jme gedache/ Was er Dann anfahen oder thun wölle/ er müsse doch arbeyten/ Vnd hat widerumb hinauß auff die Blaych gehen wollen. Als er nun auff dem Wege gewest/ ist jhm ein langer Schwartzer Man begegnet/ vnd hatte jhn angeredt/ vnd zu jhme gesagt: Höe Gsell/ Weyst du auch/ was du dich gestern verwilliget hast? Sihe/ jetzt bistu mein/ jetzt besitz ich dich wol zu ressen vnd zerzemen/ etc. Darob sich der vorgenandte gesell/ hart entsetzet/ vnd erschrocken. So bald hat jhn der selbige lange Schwartze Mann mit einer hande auff die Achsel geschlagen/ vnd so grewlichen angefahren/ das er als bald an Henden vnd Füssen erlahmet/ vnd ist also zwischen obgenandter Stadt S. Galla/ vnd der Blaych liegend blieben/ das jm darnach andere Leut/ so jhm alda liegent funden/ hinweggt getragen. Vnnd lige also noch/ vnd ist auff diesen tag/ in einem Bett/ das er weder Hende noch Füß/ noch keyn Glied an seinem Leyb regen oder wenden kan.

Darumb jhr lieben Christen/ Sehet an diß erschröcklich Geschicht/ vnd lasse euch zu hertzen gahn/ die trewe vnd Vätterliche Warnung vnsers lieben HERRN vnd Heylands Jhesu Christi/ der vns teglichen durch vil vnd erschröckliche Exempel/ zu einnerung vnd besserung vnsers Sündlichen lebens erscheynen vnd sehen lest. Vnd sonderlich die Jugent/ welche jetzt in allen Lastern vnnd vntugenden liegen tag vnd nacht/ mit Fressen/ Sauffen/ Gotslestern/ vnd mit vnzüchtigen/ leychtfertigen worten/ Dardurch der Allmechtige Got/ vnser getreuer lieber Vatter/ höchlichen erzürnet/ vnd solche grewliche Sünde vnd Laster nicht kan vngestrafft lassen/ wie dis augenscheinlich an diesem Blaycher gesellen geschehen ist/ der durch sein Füllerey vnd Gotslestern/ vnd andern vermessnen worten/ sich dem Teufel mit Leyb vnd Seel verpfendet hat/ &c. Darumb vns auch Paulus in seiner ersten Epistel an die Römer am 13. Capitel vermanet/ vnd spricht: Lasset vns erbarlich wandeln/ als am tage/ nicht in Fressen vnd Sauffen/ nicht in Kammern vnd vnzucht/ nicht im Hader vnnd Neyde/ Sondern ziehet an den HERREN Jhesum Christ/ vnd wartet des Leybs/ Doch also/ das er nicht geyl werde/ etc. Hie höressu/ O Christen Mensch/ wie der Heylige Apostel Paulus das schentliche Laster/ die Trunckenheyt/ so hoch verbeut/ vnnd vns so ernstlich darvon zu hüten warnet. Dann auß Trunckenheyt vnd Füllerey/ folgen alle andere Laster/ nemlich/ Gotschweren/ vnzüchtige vnd schampare wort/ vnd andere vermessenheyt. Vnd so bald der Mensch mit Trunckenheyt behafft ist/ so hat er seiner Zungen keyn gewalt mehr/ vnd stost herauß/ was Leyb vnnd Seel zu boden gehn.

Darumb jhr Eltern/ Last euch solch exempel vnd warnung ein Spiegel sein/ vnd ziehet ewre Kinder auff die Forcht des HERRN/ vnd nicht auff Fressen vnd Sauffen/ vnd vnzüchtige wort/ Sonder vermanet vnd lehret sie/ (wie Jhesus Syrach am 22. Capitel spricht/) Lieben Kinder/ Gewehnet ewrem Mund nicht zum Schweren/ vnd Gottes Namen zu füren/ etc. Dann gleych wie ein Knecht/ der offt gesteupt würdt/ nicht one striemen ist/ Also kan der auch nicht reyn von Sünden sein/ der offt Schweret/ vnd Gottes Namen vergeblich oder vnnützlich füret. Darumb so last vns Got den Allmechtigen bitten/ vnd Jhesu Christi seines lieben Sons willen/ Das er vns wöll verleyhen sein Göttliche gnad/ vnd seinen heyligen Geyst/ das wir von vnsers Sünden vnd aller vermessenheyt abstehen/ vnd inn ein rechtschaffen Bussfertigs leben tretten/ So werden wir von solchem anlauff des listigen vnd argen Feyndes/ des Sathans/ durch hülff vnd beystande vnsers lieben HERRN Christi/ wol errettet/ vnd von aller anfechtung erlöst/ die zeytlich vnd dort ewiglich/ Amen.

Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/ bey Hanns Kramer am Geyerßperg.

FIGURE 15.3 *True and amazing story that happened in this year of 1556, on May 21, outside of the city of St. Gallen in Switzerland to a bleacher's apprentice, Peter Bessler of Rotmund. The Zurich pastor Johann Jakob Wick (1522–1588) collected broadsheets, pamphlets, and handwritten accounts of news, often focusing on portents and apparitions. In this broadsheet, a linen bleacher's apprentice from St. Gallen swore while drunk that the devil could take him if he went back to work as a bleacher. On his way to work the next day, he met a tall black man who struck him and left him paralyzed. The broadsheet closes with a warning to young people to avoid drinking and swearing and to parents to raise their children in the fear of the Lord; From the Wickiana collection*

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

predicted and by continuing to persecute those who bear testimony to Jesus. Stephen's speech ends with his vision of Jesus in heaven and with his own martyrdom at the hands of his public. This was fundamentally the message and the image of the preacher that Zwingli wanted to convey to the Zurich faithful, with or without the vision of Jesus in the sense that Stephen experienced it. As both the Old and the New Testaments were the vehicles par excellence of this message, it was essential for the new clergy to know both, and to familiarize their faithful with both. This I should like to argue was the real purpose of the *Prophezei* meetings, which were anything but spontaneous gatherings of the "illuminated" few communicating their private revelations.

On another level, the term "prophecy" had rich connotations in Zurich culture, as the belief in divine signs, portents, etc., had been part of a common belief system prior to the Reformation; the Reformation did nothing to change this. Like others of his time, Zwingli believed in signs and portents and had a lingering faith in astrology. He took very seriously a communication from Schenkenberg, near Brugg in Aargau, written by the magistrate of the village and dated 29 July 1531, to the effect that on 24 July blood had been seen issuing in a stream from the earth. Zwingli received other such reports. At Zug, a shield had been seen in the air; on the Reuss River, which runs into Lake Zug, shots were heard at night; on the Bruenig Pass, some twenty-five miles south of Lucerne, flags flew in the heavens, and on the Lake of Lucerne phantom ships sailed filled with ghosts in warriors' garb. At Goostow, a poor peasant woman, Beatrice of Marckelssheim, bore a child that had two heads with faces, three legs, and three arms, but only one body. Two of the arms hung from the sides as usual, but the third came out of the back between the shoulders, and had on the end two hands clasped together. Two of the legs were also normal, but the third hung from behind like a tail! One of the heads died in the birth, the other lived a short time after it.[12] Some twenty years after Zwingli's death these beliefs were still very much alive. When Jacob Rüff, city physician of Zurich, who was responsible for the instruction and examination of midwives, wrote a work in six books intended for midwives, pregnant women and physicians, as well as for a general scholarly audience,[13] the fifth book contained a discussion

12 See S.M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of Switzerland* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 350–2.

13 Jakob Rüff, *De conceptu et generatione hominis, et iis quae circa hec potissimum consyderantur, libri sex* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1554). On Rüff see Irena Backus, "Connaître le diable: évolution du savoir relatif au diable d'Augustin à Martin del Rio," in *La mesure du savoir. Études sur l'appréciation et l'évaluation des savoirs,* (eds.) Pascale Hummel and Frédéric Gabriel (Paris: 2007), 33–54, and the literature cited there.

of monstrosities with problems of reproduction. Ruff combined Aristotle's and Albert the Great's theories on the causes of monstrosity with divine causes.

Equally significantly, Simler and Lavater, the two sons-in-law and ultra-protestant biographers of Heinrich Bullinger, both rely heavily on portents and signs to link certain (in their view) catastrophic historical events with the chronology of Bullinger's life.[14] Josias Simler (1530–1576) married Bullinger's daughter Elisabetta in 1551, then after her death in 1566, Magdalena Gwalther, Rudolf's daughter. Simler was a theologian and seconded Peter Martyr Vermigli as professor of theology in Zurich prior to succeeding him in 1563. Between 1560 and 1563 he held the chair of Old Testament studies at Zurich as Bibliander's successor. He was also the author of various theological tracts and an account of the Alps and translator of several of Bullinger's works into Latin. As well as his biography of Bullinger, he wrote a *Life* of Conrad Gessner and one of Peter Martyr Vermigli.[15] Ludwig Lavater (1527–1586) was born in Schloss Kyburg when his father Hans Rudolf Lavater was bailiff there. After studies in Kappel, Zurich, Strasbourg, Paris, and Lausanne, he became the first archdeacon of the Grossmünster in 1550. He married another one of Bullinger's three daughters, Margaretha, and in 1585 he became the *antistes* of the Zurich church.[16]

Lavater's biography of the reformer is basically a vernacular abridgement of Simler's Latin. But one feature of it that Lavater does not abridge are references to signs, portents, and the miraculous, which were a part of the cultural landscape in German-speaking countries at the time. Both biographers mention the "fiery sky" (northern lights[17]) as a presage of the reopening of the Council of Trent in 1561, albeit not quite in the same way. Simler limits its appearance to Switzerland.[18] Lavater, on the other hand, describes it in greater detail and extends its appearance to several countries.[19] Similarly, both mention a splendid

14 Franz Mauelshagen, *Wunderkammer auf Papier. Die "Wickiana" zwischen Reformation und Volksgaube* (Epfendorf: bibliotheca academica, 2011), esp. 65–85.

15 Backus, *Life Writing*, 67–71.

16 Backus, *Life Writing*, 111–6.

17 On this see esp. Wiebke Schwarte, *Nordlichter. Ihre Darstellung in der Wickiana* (Münster: Waxmann, 1999).

18 Josias Simler, *Narratio de ortu, de vita et obitu Reverendi viri d. Henrici Bullingeri* [...], (Zürich: Froschauer, 1575), fol. 36v: "Sub finem huius anni pluribus locis per Helvetiam coelum arsit. Anno vero qui hunc sequutus est, concilium Tridentinum a Pio IIII. papa rursus est instauratum ac permultę ea de re consultationes ubique agitatae sunt. Per Germaniam principes et reliqui status protestantium id recusarunt."

19 Ludwig Lavater, *Vom leben und tod dess Eerwirdigen unnd Hochgeleerten Herren Heinrichen Bullingers, dieners der Kirchen ze Zürich* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1576), fol. 24r: "Im ussgang diss jars ist der himmel fhürig erschinen, also dass man von einem flecken in

new star that appeared in the constellation of Cassiopeia around the time of the St. Bartholomew's massacre. Simler just says that it gave rise to various interpretations by learned men, but that some thought it a sign that God wanted to strengthen his own in the face of persecution. Lavater is more explicit. He affirms that people explained its appearance as signifying that God, massacres or no, will allow his light to shine on his churches and adds that some thought it was a portent of the Last Judgement when God would free his faithful from all persecution.[20] Still à propos of the same year, both mention the incident of the fire in the tower in the Grossmünster in almost identical terms.[21] However, Lavater removes a few details here from his Latin source. Simler specifies that the Grossmünster was where Bullinger preached and that most people found this a sad omen rather than a presage of their damnation, while Lavater does not mention Bullinger and does not comment further, simply stating that there was no damage.

Obviously, Lavater was writing for a public that was more sensitive to signs and portents, which explains his wanting to announce them more explicitly. It was far more effective to talk about the fiery sky in several lands and to describe it as having the appearance of great heat than to talk about a fiery sky in several parts of Switzerland. There was no point referring his readers to the "judgments of learned men" on the significance of the appearance of the new star, as they would only have found the reference confusing. The impact was bound to be far greater if he simply gave the two main interpretations.

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den anderen gloffen unnd mengklich vermeint, es sye ein grosse brunst verhanden. Diss gesicht ist zu einer zyt in vilen landen gesehen worden. Darnach ist das Concilium zu Trient widerumb angangen. Die Tütschen Fürsten und die Stand des rychs, ob sy glych beschriben vom Bapst, habend uff dem Concilio nit wellen erschynen."

20 Simler, *Narratio*, fol. 46r: "Visa est etiam hoc tempore nova stella in ipso Cassiopeiae sydere, tam splendida ab initio, ut caeteras omnes superare et cum Lucifero splendore certare videretur. De ea diuisa fuerunt doctorum virorum iudicia, quorum multa publice extant, plerique tamen existimabant Deum signum hoc dedisse ad confirmandos suorum animos in tam atroci persecutione"; Lavater, *Vom leben*, 29r: "Umb dise zyt ist ein nüwer sternen am himmel gestanden, welcher, wie es etlich ussgelegt, bedütet hat, on glychwol die fürnemmen lüten erschlagen, werde doch Gott siner kyrchen nichts desterminder sin sternen lassen glantzen. Andere sagend es sye ein verbott dess jungsten tags, an welchem gott sine gläubigen uss aller verfolgung ussfahren werde."

21 Simler, *Narratio*, fol. 46r: "Apud nos hoc anno altera turris summi templi in quo Bullingerus concionabatur de coelo tacta conflagrauit idque incendium non tam sui damno quam tristi omine animos hominum terruit." Lavater, *Vom leben*, fol. 29r: "In disem jar ist der ein thurn am grossen Münster Zürych von der straal zu oberist angezündt und on wyteren schaden abgebrunnen."

Similarly, it was important for his public to know that the conflagration of the tower in the Grossmünster did not mean that Protestantism was in danger.[22]

None of these accounts of portents are intrinsically linked to *Prophezei* meetings or to the Bible. However, they do show how deeply anchored was the belief in the significance of earthly manifestations of God's providence, so much so that it also touched the reformers themselves. The same belief does not seem to manifest itself so flagrantly in Calvin's Geneva during the Reformation period, but this does not mean that it was absent altogether from Calvin's city, despite the reformer's well-known skepticism and reticence about prognostications from the stars or from natural phenomena.[23] Be that as it may, it is not unreasonable to suppose that by adopting the name of *Prophezei* for the training of preachers, Zwingli was not just identifying the preacher's function with the Old and New Testament prophets, but was also playing on the general belief in signs, portents, and personal revelation in order to win popular support for his endeavors to reform the city.

15.3 Witchcraft, Magic and the Godly Life

Zwingli left no treatises that dealt specifically with the power of the devil in this world. The only treatise on the devil and witchcraft that Bullinger wrote dates from about 1571[24] and coincides with the sharp increase of witch hunts in Geneva and Zurich that was at least partly related to the outbreak of the plague. Independently of this, Bullinger's *Diarium* or diary frequently mentions hailstorms, which the reformer saw as the work of witches.[25] In the year 1571 there was a hailstorm in Zurich and a woman was burnt to death for witchcraft. Initially, she had confessed only to casting sickness spells on humans and cattle by the terms of her pact with the devil. However, it was suspected at the time that her dealings with the devil were also responsible for the storm. If contemporary illustrations are anything to go by, Bullinger himself was present at her

22 For detailed discussion of these biographies from a rather different standpoint, see Backus, *Life Writing*, 47–96.

23 See e.g. Jean Calvin, *Avertissement contre l'astrologie judiciaire*, (ed.) Olivier Millet (Geneva: Droz, 1985).

24 Heinrich Bullinger, *Wider die schwarzen Künste* (1571), (ed.) Rainer Henrich, on-line: http://www.rainer-henrich.ch/schwarzkunst.html (accessed on 4 March 2016), with details of modernized editions.

25 Otto Ulbricht, "Extreme Wetterlagen im *Diarium* Heinrich Bullingers" in *Kulturelle Konsquenzen der "Kleinen Eiszeit,"* (eds.) Wolfgang Behringer, Hartmut Lehmann, and Christian Pfister (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 149–78, here at 167.

death.[26] Between 1571 and 1630, 122 women in all were accused of witchcraft in the Swiss canton of Zurich, and at least 50 of those ended up at the stake.[27]

Bullinger himself refers to his work in his *Diarium* as his *Treatise on Forbidden Arts,* which remained unpublished in his lifetime.[28] A very defective text of the tract was published in 1586 in *Theatrum de veneficiis*. The composition of *Wider die schwarzen Künste* also coincides with Bullinger's sermon series on the Acts of the Apostles in the years 1568–73.[29] The date of 1571 corresponds

FIGURE 15.4 *The burning of Verena Trost, Barbara Meyer, and her daughter Anna Lang in Bremgarten as witches on 13 September 1574, from the Wickiana collection*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

26 Ulbricht, "Extreme Wetterlagen," 165–8.

27 See Otto Sigg, *Hexenprozesse mit Todesurteil. Justizmorde der Zunftstadt Zürich* [...] ([Zurich]: Offizin-Zürich-Verlag, 2012), 13–4.

28 *Tractaetli... von verbotenen kunst*; Johannes Wick's copy of it is extant today in the ZZB, (Hs. F 63, 356r-363v).

29 See Bruce Gordon, "God killed Saul: Heinrich Bullinger and Jacob Ruef on the Power of the Devil," in *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits: Traditional Belief and Folklore in Early Modern Europe,* (ed.) Kathryn A. Edwards (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2002), 155–80.

specifically to his preaching on Acts 19–20, the account of Paul's confrontation of the Ephesus sorcerers. Bullinger's general view of witchcraft was probably influenced by Johann Rüff. Be that as it may, when asked for advice on witch persecution by Count Ludwig von Wittgenstein in 1574, Bullinger referred him not to his own work but to Peter Martyr Vermigli's commentary on Samuel and to Thomas Erastus' disputations with the Paracelsians. Both Vermigli's commentary and Erastus' disputations of course went into the ontology of witches much more than Bullinger's treatise.

In *Wider die schwarzen Künste*, the reformer contends that the healings, miracles, and exorcisms worked by Paul at Ephesus awoke a taste for the miraculous in his public. Thus while constituting signs of divinely conferred authority on Paul, they involved a certain amount of risk-taking on the apostle's part. Without necessarily acting deliberately, Paul, in Bullinger's view, raised the question of manifestations of God's power in this world and encouraged a certain number of wrong popular beliefs. The people who witnessed his miraculous deeds got the idea that the extent of divine power was synonymous with godly ability to influence and change the course of nature. This made them vulnerable to devilish abuse, as the devil often takes advantage of such beliefs to work his own false miracles. However, Bullinger insists, referring to Acts 20:14–16, God can always turn the devil's power to the good.[30] As regards the more specific question of witchcraft, Bullinger is of the opinion that such practices should be punished by death. He supports this contention with biblical references to Lev. 20:27: "A man or woman who is a medium or spiritist among you must be put to death. You are to stone them; their blood will be on their own heads," and Exod. 22:18, "You must not allow a sorceress to live."[31]

He considers all forms of magic as *Teufel's Kunst* and lists those as including "*magia, mathematica, venefica, divinatio, incantatio, augurium, aruspicia, goëtia, geomantia, necromantia, hydromantia, pyromantia und noch vil dess tüfels mer…*"[32] However, as will be shown, he condemns witchcraft more severely than the other black arts because, in his view, witches conclude a voluntary pact with the devil.[33] Witchcraft is discussed in Section 6 of the tract, after Bullinger's discussion of the lesser instances of devilish ploys, starting with Roman Catholic blessings in the name of saints or relics (e.g. the cross) of Jesus Christ[34] and blessings used by popular healers. Both these categories are the devil's tricks intended to turn people away from the worship of God.

30 Backus, "Connaître le diable," 45–6.

31 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 363v.

32 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 358v.

33 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 362r.

34 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 359r.–v.

He then examines exorcisms, for which he refers his readers to Vermigli's commentary on Samuel. Anticipating the question of what should be done in cases of suspected possession, Bullinger replies that one should not have recourse to human agency but ask Christ for help. Like most theologians of his era Bullinger does not deny the reality of possession; he simply questions the means used to deal with it.[35]

His third object of attack is astrologers whose arts deceive people into turning to the stars instead of to God. Fourthly, he scrutinises and condemns those who conjure the spirits of the dead and, fifthly, divination in the shape of fortune tellers and prognosticators.[36] While clear that all these categories of devilish agency are both evil and inefficacious, as God only uses them to condemn the faithless, Bullinger does not feel that any of these devil's agents should be condemned to death. This penalty is reserved for witches and sorcerers (male and female), who are the real, the emblematic practicians of black magic,[37] This is because sorcerers and witches assign their souls deliberately to the devil, willfully forsaking God and turning their back on their faith in him so that they can take full advantage of the devil's assistance to do both good and harm. He condemns the female witches more severely than the male as they have sexual relations with the devil, having forsaken baptism and having received the devil's bite or some other sign of his power to which they become totally enthralled. Bullinger grants that women in particular are sometimes driven to these measures by poverty, desire for revenge, or envy of others, and that giving in to temptation is made easier for them by the devil's initial false promises and his splendid appearance. He naturally abandons them after a while, leaving them in even greater misery, thus punishing them (without intending to) on God's behalf for their faithlessness and wicked ways.[38]

It is interesting to ask here why Bullinger does not consider this as sufficient punishment but pleads for the death penalty for witches. As we saw, he considers that it is the Bible that orders the death penalty for witches and sorcerers. In the closing paragraphs of his tract, he answers questions that were obviously commonly raised at the time. To the question: do witches have any real power, which was posed and answered in the negative by some physicians such as Johann Weyer and probably also by some members of his public, he replies that the Bible shows they do. He refers especially to Exod. 7:1, 22; 8:7,

35 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 359v.

36 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 360r.–361v.

37 "Die rechten hauptschwarzkünstler, die man zauberer und zauberen oder häxen nempt," ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 362r.

38 ZZB, Hs. F 63, fol. 362r.–362r.

18f; 9:11 and to 1 Sam. 28:11–20 as showing that the pharaoh's soothsayers had recourse to symbols and signs also used by Aaron and Moses whose power was divinely conferred. The only difference between the two consists in their respective purpose. God gave the power to Aaron and Moses so as to proclaim his goodness and power, while the soothsayers had the same powers given to them by the devil so as to try and turn divine power into an object of ridicule. Similarly the witch of Endor called up the authentic Samuel in the flesh, but for devil-motivated reasons. Not that the devil has the power in his own right, explains Bullinger: God simply grants it to him to punish the wicked on his behalf for reasons which he only knows. The devil would damage the entire universe, if it were up to him. However, as the devil is ultimately in God's power, he only does the damage that God allows him to do. Moreover, Bullinger notes, the death penalty for sorcerers and witches is dictated clearly by divine law as transmitted in the Old Testament.

Bullinger's tract is important as it shows as much about popular practices as it does about his own attitude toward black magic in general and witchcraft in particular. Obviously, there was a significant gap between popular practices in Zurich and the Bible-based precepts of the reformer. Bullinger shows himself fully aware of reasons that might have driven people to turn to black magicians for help or indeed to turn to the practice of the art themselves. At the same time, he insists that the Bible is superior to any extraordinary phenomena of human agency and so the ultimate authority to which the community has to submit. This explains the basic thought pattern behind his condemnation of any kind of human "magic art," but it does not explain why he demands the death penalty for witches but not for necromancers, pyromancers, and all soothsayers. His argument that witchcraft is a more serious offence because it consists in a voluntary pact with the devil could equally well be applied to all and any form of human prophecy. Moreover there is no reason why natural prophetic phenomena could not be thought of as devil's work as an outcome of a voluntary pact between a human and the prince of darkness. We should like to suggest that the reformer's particularly severe judgement on witchcraft partly shows the abiding influence of the *Malleus maleficarum,* while at the same time pointing to the frequency of the practice among ordinary people. Bullinger would have seen many "witches," but it is highly doubtful that he saw as many geomancers, necromancers etc. Although the reformer apparently had no intention of publishing his tract, which would have meant giving it programmatic value, he did view it as a pastoral tract, the aim of which was to frighten his faithful into correct Bible-based behavior rather than turning to black magic to attempt to solve their life problems. The tract also shows the limits of the condemnation of the supernatural in 16th-century Zurich. While

not altogether unfavorable to the existence of prophecy alongside biblical prophecies and while seeing presages via natural phenomena as something to be taken seriously, the Zurich reformers saw the practice of witchcraft as deeply damaging to the culture of godly life that they were trying to install.

Ludwig Lavater's *De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae tigurinae* of 1559 provides a guide to what this godly life should consist in. Whether it did or not is another matter. What matters in this context is the norm that the reformers wanted to impose so as to improve the religious and cultural standard of the faithful. Lavater is all the more important in the present context, seeing as he also published in 1569 a treatise against purgatory entitled *A Short Report on Ghosts, Monsters, Occurrences and other Wonders that often Appear when Men are Supposed to have Died or when other Important Events and Changes Take Place*.[39] Lavater argues there that the apparitions of ghosts are often due to tricks of superstitious monks who want to make people believe that the souls of the dead can and do return to wander on earth while they are in purgatory. However, Lavater does not deny the reality of some ghostly-seeming apparitions.[40] These he claims are in fact not ghosts but either good or bad angels, sent respectively to console and to punish the faithful. Like Bullinger and other reformers, he cites 1 Samuel 28 and the story of the witch of Endor to show the difference between the actions of the bad and the good angels, considering the apparition of Samuel to have been a demonic specter, since the Spirit of God follows God in condemning necromancy, whereas evil spirits have no power over the dead and so cannot make "real" specters appear. The dead are wherever God has ordained them to be and their souls do not move. Without going into issues of medicine, Lavater then argues that the ghost of Samuel was an illusion brought about by the witch.

We may note here that Lavater parts company here with his father-in–law who, as we saw, was to argue slightly later that the witch of Endor conjured up the *real* Samuel, but the purpose of the apparition was to turn Saul from good to evil. This suggests that there was a genuine difference among the Protestants about the amount of witches' power. While Bullinger thought God had granted them enough power to make real predictions and to conjure up "real spirits"

39 *Von gespensten/unghüren/fälen/u. anderen wunderbaren dingen/so merteils wenn die menschen sterben söllend/oder wenn sunst grossen sachen unnd enderungen vorhanden sind/ beschähend/kurtzer und einfaltiger bericht* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1569).

40 See Bruce Gordon, "Malevolent Ghosts and Ministering Angels: Apparitions and Pastoral Care in the Swiss Reformation," in *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* (eds.) Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87–109.

for an evil end, his own son-in-law thought that all witches could bring about was demonic illusion serving evil. Referring to Lavater and not mentioning the difference between him and Bullinger, Bruce Gordon claims that had the real Samuel appeared, he would have served a pastoral role instead of confirming Saul's worst fears, thus driving him to despair.[41] However, this is a difference concerning the purpose of the vision, not its illusory nature, and this argument could equally well have been used by Bullinger. Moreover, what Lavater actually says is that, had the real Samuel appeared, he would have exhorted Saul to repent and seek help from God. But Lavater has already said that the real souls of the dead do not appear to the living, as God does not wish them to and the devilish spirits have no power to make them rise.[42] Therefore, in his view the real Samuel could not have appeared to Saul. The latter therefore, so Lavater implies, should have known that it was not the real Samuel but a ghostly illusion, as that was all that the witch could effect with her limited diabolical powers. What Lavater is saying, therefore, is that a good Christian does not turn to witches or any other human agency for help but goes directly to God to seek help as the Bible teaches. The "real Samuel" is no more than a rhetorical flourish, and the role of the Christian minister is passed over in silence.

We are thus confronted with a culture torn between beliefs in the supernatural, which the Catholic Church was thought to encourage with its insistence on human agency and certain "magic" rituals such as transubstantiation, and the godly life as envisaged by the reformers. What did the latter promise by the mid-16th century that could make ordinary Christians choose it in preference to the magic of witchcraft and the Catholic Church?

This is where Lavater's manual comes in. We shall examine here the sections on care of the poor, heresy, and education while drawing on other sections as necessary. Although, as we said before, the manual is purely prescriptive and does not reflect what was actually practiced, it does provide a very good description of the aspirations of the Zurich reformers as regards the type of culture they wanted to inculcate in their faithful. It seems as if solidarity, compassion, solidity and order are the key words and that the church is in perfect harmony with the state, the ultimate law-giver. The emphasis on order is no less than in Geneva, usually viewed by historians as the quintessence of godly orderliness.

41 Gordon, "Malevolent ghosts," 99.

42 Ludwig Lavater, *Von gespensten/unghüren/fälen/u. anderen wunderbaren dingen/so merteils wenn die menschen sterben söllend/oder wenn sunst grossen sachen unnd enderungen vorhanden sind/beschähend/kurtzer und einfaltiger bericht* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1569), 68v, 70r.

Thus as regards the care of the poor, Lavater emphasizes that church goods have neither been handed over to the state treasury nor taken by a few private individuals. Instead stewards or deacons have been appointed in each convent or monastery. Their role was to distribute what was formerly monastic money for specific ends as defined by civil authorities, and they had to produce receipts. Most of the money in fact went to priests, chaplains, and monks who were no longer able to perform a service or do manual work because of sickness and old age. Apparently, according to Lavater, nuns who married received an annual pension from the same funds.[43] The one exception to this was the income of the canons of the priory of SS. Felix and Regula, which went partly to the ministers and partly to professors of languages and other subjects. Some of it was also used to help students and to maintain the church fabric.[44] The income of some monasteries went towards the costs of running the general hospital, the leper hospitals, and for public charity.[45]

In short, the Reformation wanted to do everything in its power to replace the Catholic culture of personal consolation and godly aesthetics by the culture of a compassionate and even-handed godly society under the joint leadership of the church and the godly magistrate. It is obvious that iconoclasm and the executions of Anabaptists in Zwingli's time were still in people's memory and that they struck a discordant note in this godly paradise of social harmony.

Indeed, Lavater does his best to either whitewash or dismiss both, as he says nothing about the waves of iconoclasm that demolished many of Zurich's church ornaments between 1519 and 1523.[46] These waves of iconoclasm were ostensibly in favor of the poor. Indeed some iconoclasts thought it was unfair for the churches to harbor gold and silver ornaments "when so many poor people, who sat before the church door and anywhere else they could and who had nothing but went very hungry, could be helped by these costly adornments."[47] Initially the Council opposed iconoclasm and treated it on par with blasphemy, punishable by beheading.[48] After the first Disputation of January 1523, this rule was applied les strictly, and the Council grew to tacitly condone iconoclasm within the city limits by the end of that year. The problem

43 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 91.

44 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 91–2; on this reallocation of funds from the Grossmünster chapter, see Chapters 2 and 13 above.

45 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 92.

46 Wandel, *Idols*, 60.

47 Cf. Wandel, *Idols*, 65–6 (my own translation of StAZ, Ms. A 27, 4 quoted by Wandel, ibid., notes 32–33).

48 Wandel, *Idols*, 53.

was one of pacing the Reformation, with private citizens regularly taking it upon themselves to speed up the process that the Council imposed by destroying or despoiling church ornaments. The movement spread to the countryside by late 1523. This forced the church and the city authorities to regulate the redistribution of church wealth more strictly, so as not to label the Reformation as synonymous with the culture of anarchy and thus to marginalize it. By 1559, if Lavater's manual is anything to go by, the memories of iconoclasm were best kept quiet. The culture of order had to be imprinted in people's minds as having been forever a part of the official Reformation.

The persecution and death penalty for Anabaptists left no good memories either, as Lavater's short chapter on how to deal with sects is overtly apologetic and tries to dissociate the Reformation from its early persecutions of the Anabaptists.[49] Felix Manz was executed by drowning in January 1527. Konrad Grebel was imprisoned in 1525; he died the following year from the plague. Two years later George Blaurock was tortured to death by burning in the Tyrol. At least five other Anabaptists were executed in Zurich at about the same time as Manz, and the practice continued until 1614, when Hans Landis became the last Anabaptist publicly executed on Zurich soil. In short, although the practice had not been abolished in 1559, Lavater writes as if it is very much a thing of the past. Although he does admit that punishment is necessary for those who are accused of damaging the official religion, he claims that the authorities apply it with the greatest circumspection, taking persons and the nature of their errors into account. First of all they bring these "dissenters" face to face with a minister who tries to get them to recant and instructs them. When this proves of no avail, they are put in prison. If that does not work either, they are condemned to a forced exile from the city and canton. He emphasizes particularly that Zurich authorities in the past had recourse to the death penalty in only a few cases of Anabaptism and only when the guilty parties had gone back on their oath of allegiance and caused a public disturbance.[50] Lavater does not mention the particular instances of the first condemnations to death of Anabaptists, let alone the public drowning of Manz. He also passes over in silence the burning of women accused of witchcraft, which had been identified with heresy since the founding of the Inquisition. Apparently, no attempt was made by the church to convert these women, be it in Zurich or anywhere else.

The section on schools in Lavater's manual makes it clear that Zurich, in common with other Reformation cities, wanted to bring humanist culture to the faithful. The schools are divided into two categories. The German primary

49 See Chapters 2 and 8 above.

50 Lavater, *Gebräuche,* 105–6.

FIGURE 15.5 *On 5 September 1528 the Anabaptists Jacob Falk und Heini Reimann were drowned in the Limmat. This was the second execution of Anabaptists in Zurich, after the execution of Felix Manz. From Bullinger's* Reformation History
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

schools are mixed, and their purpose is to teach reading and writing to both sexes and the basis of housekeeping and needlework to girls. They also aim to educate both sexes in piety, by order of the Council. There are two secondary schools (the Abbatissana and the Carolina) for boys only, which teach Latin and Greek. These are divided into five classes according to the pupils' level and age. According to Lavater, the two highest classes are taken up with the teaching of the "best Greek and Latin authors" whom he lists as Caesar, Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Hesiod, Homer, Xenophon, Herodian and others whom he does not name. These schools also teach the catechism in Latin and German.[51]

After finishing the Latin school, the pupil may then, if he and his family are so minded, pass on to the *Collegium publicum* or Gymnasium, which in fact constituted the foundation-stone of the Zurich University and which can be taken as the approximate equivalent of Geneva's *schola publica* or the Academy of Geneva. Again like the Academy of Geneva, the Zurich Gymnasium in the Grossmünster dispensed lectures in theology, classical languages, and allied subjects.

51 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 77–8. See Chapter 13 above.

Where Zurich differed from Geneva was in its attention to teaching Hebrew and biblical exegesis. In fact, the *Prophezei* was completely institutionalized by 1559.[52] The manual specifies that all books of the Old Testament are interpreted in chronological order beginning with Genesis. First of all a student reads the Vulgate translation of the text set for that particular day. Then the professor of Old Testament Studies reads the Hebrew. This is followed by a comparative reading of the Septuagint, which is carried out by the professor of Greek. The same professor then divides the text into paragraphs and reads these in order for the audience's instruction. Then church ministers present explain to the general public what has been read and translate it into the vernacular. As Lavater stresses, the church services took place in German only, the one language that could be understood by all.[53]

We note here that the purpose of these Bible readings at the Gymnasium went way beyond instruction to students engaged in courses on the Bible or its original languages. The results of the learned exegesis in the classroom were converted into the vernacular by ministers present, to be finally transmitted to the ordinary church goers. This means that the Reformation wanted to ensure as broad a biblical culture as possible, in which biblical exegesis and sermons each played a part. This shows that in 1559 the public lectures were intended not just for students but for the wider public. However, it is not clear how many members of the wider public, including ministers, actually attended and whether they attended lectures other than the Old Testament readings.

It seems that the New Testament received a rather more succinct treatment, as it was the object of a daily one hour-long lecture. Lavater notes briefly: "at three o'clock Josias Simler expounds the theology of the New Testament." This lecture came immediately after Gessner's lecture on natural philosophy according to Aristotle and other authors (which followed a two-hour lecture by Johann Jakob Ammann on logic and rhetoric) and before the lecture given by Rudolf Collin on different Greek prose and poetry writers.[54] Lavater makes no mention of a Latin public lecture but stresses that the task of the professor of Latin consisted in setting his audience Latin and German exercises so as to work on their linguistic skills. The professor of Greek was supposed to do the same for ancient Greek.

In a word, the Gymnasium was initially intended not just for students but also for the general public of ministers and laypeople. It was based on the humanist principles with ancient languages, including Hebrew and Bible reading,

52 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 81–3.

53 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 82.

54 Lavater, *Gebräuche*, 82.

and it did not encourage the medieval approach, as there is no mention of the medieval classics such as Lombard's *Sentences* entering anywhere into the curriculum, any more than they did at any other Reformed academy. The final purpose of the education thus acquired was, it is made clear, to read and interpret the Bible in several languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German.

This provides something of a contrast with the Geneva Academy, only just founded when Lavater's manual came out. In Calvin's city, the accent was not so much on comparative reading and exegesis of the Bible as on acquiring classical languages so as to express "the right doctrine."[55] Where Zurich presupposed that comparative reading of the Bible was in theory accessible to all committed Christians, Geneva was more preoccupied with training ministers who would then spread the evangelical message all over Europe, especially in France. This is a small but revealing difference. Neither Zwingli nor Bullinger ever wrote a programmatic sum of theology that Calvin's *Institutes* was considered to be. Moreover, from 1539 onwards Calvin himself claimed in his introduction to the work that one of its purposes was to separate doctrine proper from biblical exegesis. Vermigli, as we know, did not do this, and this is finally why Gwalther and others extracted the commonplaces from his biblical commentaries so as to form a handbook of dogma.[56] What this shows was that lay and clerical Zurich alike saw dogmatic theology as a natural continuation of philologically grounded biblical exegesis and established no clear distinction between the two, whereas Calvin's Geneva did. Indeed, the rules of the Geneva Academy dating from 1559 specify clearly:

> The public school dispenses in all 27 classes per week, according to the academy rules and statutes; that is, three hours of theology, eight hours of Hebrew, three hours of Greek (based on Aristotle's *Ethics*), five hours on Greek orators and poets, three in physics and mathematics, and five in dialectic and rhetoric. But it is the private school subdivided into seven classes that teaches the Septuagint every week.[57]

There were no Bible readings and no teaching of the Septuagint, which the Genevan students were expected to learn while still at the high school level.

55 On this see among others Irena Backus, "L'enseignement à la fin du seizième siècle: le cas genevois" in *Recueil de l'Escalade 1602–2012,* (ed.) Gabriel Schmutz (Geneva: s.n. 2012), 31–47.

56 See on this Irena Backus, "*Loci communes*, and the role of Ramism in the European Diffusion of Calvin's Reformation," *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (2010), 233–47.

57 See Charles Borgeaud and P.E. Martin, *L'Histoire de l'Université de Genève 1559–1956,* 4 vols. (Geneva: 1900–1956), 1: 51.

Moreover, no classes are earmarked as including not just students but also the general public. Furthermore, three hours a week are devoted explicitly to the teaching of theology. Zurich's intensive and extensive biblical culture is obviously particular to its orientation and to its practices.

15.4 Conclusion

Zurich's religious culture during the Reformation was, we may conclude, a patchwork of elements that evolved. The early intolerance and harsh treatment of splinter groups such as Anabaptists was a source of official embarrassment later on. Zwingli's *Prophezei* meetings became institutionalized into full-scale public lectures on the Old Testament, which advertised clearly the church's and the Council's wish to make biblical culture available to all, so that it would help remove traces of all remnants of former "superstitions."

This concern marks all phases of the Zurich Reformation throughout the 16th century. The first reformers' humanist training impinged on education, which was very largely focused not just on the Bible but on the acquisition of ancient languages and literature. The persecution of witches, viewed as the adversary of godly society and the devil's associates, did not abate any more than the authorities' determination to inculcate biblical culture and ethics into the population. However, the effective power of witches was a source of some disagreement between notably Lavater and Bullinger. It is impossible to say at this stage whether the traces of the disagreement between father-in-law and son-in-law were ever more than just this, but this could be a subject of future research. Another striking feature that remained untouched by the authorities' wish to impose the image of bourgeois solidity and order as synonymous with the Reformation was the belief in the prophetic value of natural phenomena. Although soothsayers and magicians of all kinds were sharply condemned, natural phenomena such as earthquakes and fires were considered manifestations of God's providence on earth.

As we said at the beginning, this short study did not set out to explore all aspects of Zurich's religious culture during the Reformation. We hope, however, that the aspects selected throw enough of a light on the whole to allow further research.

CHAPTER 16

Religious Stalemate and Confessional Alignments: Dynamics and Stagnation in the Confederation from 1531 to 1618

Thomas Maissen[1]

16.1 Introduction

In 1513 Appenzell became the 13th full member of the Confederation.[2] Basel and Schaffhausen joined the Confederates, who had already proven their military prowess in the hinterland of these two imperial cities during the Swabian War of 1499, a decade earlier. It seemed it was only a matter of time until other associated district allies (*Zugewandte Orte*)—satellites of the League already

1 I am most grateful to Angela Roberts and also to Felicitas Eichhorn and Amy Burnett for their help in editing this paper in English.

2 For the political and religious structure of Switzerland in the 16th century, see Hans Berner, Ulrich Gäbler, and Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Schweiz," in *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung,* vol. 5: *Der Südwesten,* (eds.) Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (Münster: Aschendorff, 1993), 278–323. For the state of the art in Swiss historiography consult the articles in HLS, accessible in German, French, and Italian at http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/index.php. Still useful for the factual history is Peter Stadler, "Das Zeitalter der Gegenreformation," in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte,* 2 vols. (Zurich: Berichthaus, 1972), 1: 571–672; and for the constitutional history, see Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz* (Zurich: Schulthess Polygraphischer Verlag, 1978). For religious and church history in general, see Pfister, KGS; Lukas Vischer and Rudolf Dellsperger (eds.), *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz* (Fribourg: Paulus Verlag, 1998); Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*; recent scholarship is discussed in Thomas Maissen, "Konfessionskulturen in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft. Eine Einführung," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 101 (2007), 225–46; and André Holenstein, "Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in der Geschichtsforschung der Deutschschweiz," ARG 100 (2009), 65–87. For recent overviews in English, see Clive H. Church and Randolph C. Head, *A Concise History of Switzerland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 73–103, and the contributions of Andreas Würgler, "'The League of Discordant Members' or How the Old Swiss Confederation Operated and How Has it Managed to Survive for so Long?," and Francisca Loetz, "Bridging the Gap: Confessionalisation in Switzerland," both in *The Republican Alternative. The Netherlands and Switzerland compared,* (eds.) André Holenstein, Thomas Maissen, and Maarten Prak (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 29–50 and 75–97 respectively.

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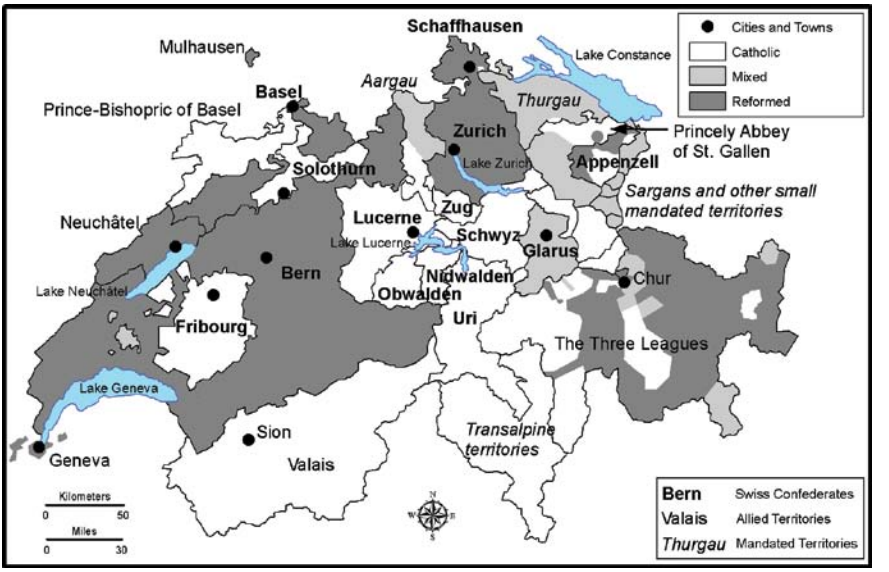

MAP 16.1 *Religious divisions within the Swiss Confederation in the 17th century*

from the 15th century—would become full members as well. The most likely of these associates to enter the league next was St. Gallen. At this time there were actually two St. Gallens: the city and the abbey. This schism in St. Gallen was made irremediable during the Reformation when the prince-abbot remained loyal to the Roman Church while the city followed the Protestant reformer Joachim Vadian. One motive for this choice can be ascribed to simple territorial ambitions: the burghers of the city, which still ended at the town wall, saw the Reformation as an opportunity to win a territory of their own if they could secularize the abbot's state that surrounded the city.[3]

St. Gallen's burghers embraced a rationale similar to that of many other cities in the Holy Roman Empire, among them Basel, Geneva, Chur, Constance, Strasbourg, and Augsburg: they followed the Protestant faith, among other reasons, to liberate themselves completely from their bishops who also acted as traditional secular lords. In St. Gallen's neighboring region of Allgäu, the imperial city of Kempten was able to purchase the sovereign rights from its own prince-abbot after the Peasants' War had weakened him considerably. Kempten subsequently formed a small territory and became a prominent representative of the early Reformation; it was among the first to sign the Augsburg Confession. Given the close ties that had been established by the Confederates in the preceding decades to urban and rural areas north of the Rhine such as

3 See Chapter 6 above.

Basel and Schaffhausen, it seemed likely that in the early 16th century the Reformation would further strengthen alliances that opposed the predominance of the Habsburgs and the Swabian League in southwest Germany, a predominance that had already been affected by the Swabian War.

16.2 The End of Territorial Expansion during the Reformation

In the aforementioned cases, both the prelate and his city were seen as potential allies of the Confederates. However, after the Reformation there were fundamental disagreements in preferences: the Catholics sided with the prelates, the Protestants with the burghers. The only thing the Swiss eventually agreed upon was to receive neither in a closer partnership that could have dangerous and unpredictable consequences. This was even the case for the city of Biel (Bienne), which was directly adjacent to Bern's territory. While the Reformation reinforced the Biel burghers' autonomy from their lord, the prince-bishop of Basel, their Protestant creed also meant that they could not strengthen relations with the Confederation because the Catholic cantons formed the majority and resisted an increase in the number of their religious opponents. Still, Biel retained a particular alliance (*Burgrecht* or *combourgeoisie*, granting citizenship to non-residents) with Protestant Bern and with the Catholic cantons of Solothurn and Fribourg; it was also a regular guest at the Confederal Diet.

Such visits to the Diet became rare in the case of Rottweil in Swabia and Mulhouse (Mülhausen) in Alsace, two allies who, despite their distance from the Confederation's territories, had participated in several military campaigns and had entered into formal treaties with the Confederation by 1463 (Rottweil) and 1515 (Mulhouse). Rottweil remained Catholic because, inter alia, it housed an imperial court of law (*Hofgericht*). However, even the Catholic cantons detached themselves from the exposed Rottweil during the Thirty Years' War, whereas Mulhouse, after joining the Reformed in 1528 and not least because of its strong contacts with neighboring Basel, managed to remain an ally of the Protestant cantons until 1798, when it was integrated into revolutionary France. By the early 16th century, the Confederates had severed their links to other external territories that were sometimes labeled *Zugewandte* in the preceding century, including the Duchy of Württemberg, the counties of Montbéliard and Arona, and the imperial city of Besançon.

Among the irregular guests of the Diet there were also two other confederations whose constitutions were similar to the Swiss: the Valais (Wallis) and the Three Leagues of Graubünden (the Grisons)—namely, the Grey League in the west, the League of God's House in the south and east, and the League of

the Ten Jurisdictions in the northeast. Both the Valais and the Three Leagues had subjects who spoke Romance languages: the French Lower Valais and the Italian Valtellina, respectively. Both also depended formally on an ecclesiastical prince: the bishops of Sion and Chur, respectively. However, the mostly rural communities (*Gerichtsgemeinden* in the Grisons, *Zenden*—tithings—in the Valais) were sovereign, even in religious matters; they therefore found themselves increasingly split by religious strife during the 16th century. The Three Leagues eventually formed a confessional rag rug while the Valaisan patricians, who flirted with Protestantism around 1600, later turned back to the Catholic Church. In spite of comparable challenges, the political bonds with the Swiss were, in general, looser than they had been in the 15th century because the communities were busy with their own religious affairs and because joint military campaigns stopped after 1512 (Graubünden) and 1536 (Valais) when the aforementioned subject territories were conquered.[4]

With the conquest of the Vaud and other Savoyard territories in 1536, the Reformation brought an end to territorial expansion not only for the Confederation but also for its allies. Together they formed a shape that is similar to present-day Switzerland and demonstrates unusual territorial continuity. The Confederation in its strict sense remained, until 1798, within the "natural" borders formed by the thirteen full members, the cantons between the Rhine, the Jura, and the ridge of the Alps.

16.3 The Option of a Reformed Alliance in Southwest Germany

In the 1520s the situation was quite different. The German Peasants' War of 1525 was often inspired by a desire to "turn Swiss," a lure that was particularly attractive to rural communes that sought to follow the model of Schwyz or Appenzell, where those in rural areas lived free from princely, noble, or urban rule.[5] However, it is important to note that the Swiss authorities usually did not foster social unrest in their own neighborhood for the obvious reason that it could harm them. The cities, and their elites in particular, depended on a system of soccage, and serfs still existed in several places including Zurich. Facing social unrest in its own rural territories in the form of Anabaptism, among others, and very isolated within the Confederation between 1523 and 1527, Zurich

4 *Bündner Geschichte*, vol. 2: *Frühe Neuzeit,* (eds.) Jürg Simonett, Roger Sablonier, and Georg Jäger (Chur: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, 2000); see also Chapters 7 and 8 above.

5 Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

did not limit its search for religious alliances (*Christliches Burgrecht*, hence a *combourgeoisie* among fellow Christians) to the regular Confederates. Its first ally in faith was Constance in 1527. Eventually, Zurich's most important ally would become Bern. It entered into a *Burgrecht* in 1528, as did the city of St. Gallen; Basel, Schaffhausen, Biel, and Mulhouse followed in 1529 and Strasbourg in 1530. In the same year, Zurich signed a treaty with Philipp I, Landgrave of Hesse, the Protestant leader who tried in vain to reconcile Zwingli and Luther in Marburg in 1529. Zurich also supported the Protestant Duke of Württemberg, Ulrich, whom the emperor had banned in 1519 and whom Philipp of Hesse managed to restore to power in 1534.

Like these princes, the cities in the southwest were closely tied to Zwingli's memorialism in the Lord's Supper and often formed their church ordinances according to the model established in Zurich. Several cities tried to establish a middle ground between Zurich and Wittenberg. With this aim, and supported by Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, Strasbourg's reformers, Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito, penned the Tetrapolitan Confession in 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg. The First Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Prior*), written by Bullinger and the leading reformers of Bern, Basel, and Zurich in 1536, met with the approval of Bucer and Capito, at least in the Latin version; Leo Jud's German translation was more unambiguously Zwinglian. Later in the same year Bucer and Capito also signed the Wittenberg Concord with Luther, who remained very hostile to the Swiss "spiritualists" whom he held responsible for fostering religious and social unrest. Bullinger had equally negative feelings about his adversary in Wittenberg, especially after Luther refused a Zurich Bible that was offered to him as a gift in 1543. By that time Upper Germany had slowly moved towards Lutheranism by accepting the Wittenberg Concord. This was reflected in the Duke of Württemberg's dismissal of Ambrosius Blarer, the Zwinglian reformer of Constance whom he had employed to reform the University of Tübingen, in 1538.

Although the Lutherans eventually prevailed, for more than two decades Upper Swabia, from Constance and Kempten down to Ulm and Augsburg, remained open to Zwinglian theology and to ministers from Zurich who continued to influence both the pastors and secular authorities.[6] It seemed a distinct possibility that the Swiss "large league of lands in Upper Germany" (*großer Pund obertütscher Landen*) could become a vast federation centered around Lake Constance. This was a development that could still be imagined within the encompassing framework of the Holy Roman Empire. The Swiss cantons

6 Peer Friess, "Der Einfluss des Zwinglianismus auf die Reformation der oberschwäbischen Reichsstädte," *Zwingliana* 34 (2007), 5–27.

had not adopted the imperial reforms of 1495, but they always acknowledged the emperor and Empire as the legal origin of their political power and asked newly elected emperors to confirm the privileges that granted their dominion. The political constitution of the cities, often dominated by the guilds, and their political aims, such as social control by means of marital courts, were very similar in Swabia and Switzerland. Furthermore, the economic interdependence and commercial ties—for example in grain trade—between these areas was very strong.

Constance, Zurich's ally in the first *Christliches Burgrecht*, was not only eager to inherit the territories of the prince-bishop of Constance, who left for Meersburg in 1527; it also aspired at winning the Thurgau, which formed its natural hinterland but had become a mandated territory (*Gemeine Herrschaft*) of seven cantons in 1460. Of these Zurich was the closest and the strongest. The six other lords—Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Glarus—were almost all firm Catholics and lived in constant fear that Zurich would hand over the common territory to Constance in order to establish a vast Reformed network. Indeed, since Constance was situated on the left bank of the Rhine it was not inconceivable that it should seek to fulfill the old dream of many of its burghers and join the Confederation, as neighboring Schaffhausen, located on the right side of the Rhine, had done in 1501. Such changes would have undermined and possibly overstretched the defensive alliance that protected the autonomy of the small cantons in central Switzerland. They would also have threatened Habsburg possessions in Swabia, including the districts (*Oberamt*) of Stockach and Altdorf and could have potentially formed a wedge between Austria and its *Vorlande* in Alsace and the Breisgau. Since the Confederates, though still members of the Holy Roman Empire, were almost autonomous in their foreign and military policy and since their mercenaries regularly fought for France, a development along these lines would have been seen as a threat to the Empire as a whole and in particular to the Austrian and Swabian circles.

16.4 The Reaction of the Catholic Cantons in Central Switzerland

This perspective met with opposition from Zurich's allies in central Switzerland who insisted on the common historical tradition and shared rules both with a religious and a political perspective. In the *Christliche Burgrechte*, Zurich had left out the usual proviso of its Swiss Confederates. Its new religious alliances announced a radically changed Confederation that would be characterized by Reformed faith and dominated by the cities, notably by Zurich and Bern.

A large league of Protestant towns in the Swiss plateau and Swabia would have reduced the Catholic cantons to peripheral actors in every sense. This fear led to a kind of *renversement des alliances* when the Catholic cantons drew closer to the house of Habsburg: Lucerne and the inner cantons had always been the fiercest opponents of this "arch enemy," whereas Zurich, in spite of its Swiss obligations, had often acted as a Habsburg partner or at least mediator in the 15th century. This was certainly true during the *Erbeinung*, the permanent peace contracted in 1477 and renewed in 1511 as well as in 1519, when Zurich became the leading supporter of Charles V's claim for the imperial crown, and in 1521, when it rejected the alliance with France. It is telling that it was the prince-bishop of Constance who brokered the *Christliche Vereinigung* of 1529, a pact between Archduke Ferdinand I, the brother of Charles V, and the *Fünf Orte*, the five cantons in central Switzerland—Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug.[7] The political opposition between the ecclesiastical prince and the city of Constance was clearly reflected in the religious decisions and the respective foreign alliances made at the time.

If Zurich and Bern had won the War of Kappel in 1531, Zwingli would have continued his missionary policy of establishing a large network of Reformed partners in Southern Germany. His defeat relegated the Swiss to their own territories: not only did Zurich, now weakened, have to curtail its expansionism, but the Catholic cantons also broke off their unnatural alliance with the Habsburgs after Ferdinand I neglected to help them during the war. The Peace of Kappel (*Zweiter Kappeler Landfrieden*) stipulated that both the Protestants and the Catholics dismiss their recent confessional alliances, which were seen as contrary to the Confederates' past sworn treaties. This was particularly hard for Zwinglian Constance, which until Kappel had aspired to full membership in the Confederation, or at least to the status of a *Zugewandter Ort*; the Catholic cantons now vetoed the promotion. By establishing, for the first time in history, the principle that would later be called *cuius regio, eius religio*, the Swiss resigned themselves to a Confederation that accommodated religious plurality, half-heartedly preferring this to a continuing war over true religion that could be decided only with help from foreign allies. In spite of the many crises that were to come, the confessional parties felt relatively secure in maintaining this shaky equilibrium. The Protestant cities of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen, together with their allies in Glarus, Appenzell, and some *Zugewandte*, were economically strong, demographically superior,

7 Bettina Braun, *Die Eidgenossen, das Reich und das politische System Karls V* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1997), 311–41.

FIGURE 16.1 *Meeting of the Confederal Diet in Baden, 1531, from Andreas Ryff,* Cirkell der Eidtgnoschaft (*1597*)
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE MUSÉE HISTORIQUE MULHOUSE

and militarily powerful. But they had lost in Kappel against the deeply committed *Fünf Orte*—Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug—which could count on support from Fribourg, Solothurn, a part of Glarus and Appenzell, and important *Zugewandte*, especially the ecclesiastical princes; they could also hope for support from the powerful Catholic monarchs in the neighborhood.

The Peace of Kappel did not set aside religious strife, least of all in the mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*) where dominion, the *regio*, belonged to lords of different faiths. But in spite of its initial provisional character, the second Peace of Kappel managed to politicize metaphysical questions by defining the *status quo ante* and guaranteeing clear border lines, by prohibiting religious slander and provocations, and by neutralizing conflict zones, in particular the bridgehead areas for alliances with German partners—Aargau, Thurgau, and St. Gallen. The mandated territories were administered alternately and thus most of the time by a bailiff from a Catholic canton. In the mandated territories, the Protestant subjects were free to keep their faith or to convert if they wanted, while the Catholics were no longer permitted to convert. This entangled coexistence could sometimes be very difficult, particularly

in Thurgau, where, for example, the two confessions sometimes had to share the single church of a village in a so-called *simultaneum*.[8] The Toggenburg, Zwingli's native region, had to acknowledge again the abbot of St. Gallen as its overlord, though the valley was to a large extent Protestant. After Kappel, the rural subjects of Zurich complained about the losses and peacefully revolted in order to avoid suffering further as victims in religious wars. They also insisted that the councils not only keep the ministers away from political decisions but also that they distance themselves from the Swabians.[9] The peasants did not want to have to pay the bloody price for a religious and foreign policy that served the political and religious needs of the city a second time.

16.5 The Missing Common Ground

In spite of its fragility, the new post-Reformation structure of the Confederation, settled in 1531, was crucial for perpetuating an internal equilibrium and in keeping the country out of international conflicts until 1798. This was the case, however, only as regards the Confederation as a "state," because hundreds of thousands of Swiss mercenaries fought on foreign battlefields both in Europe and overseas. The Confederation as a whole, utterly divided in itself and lacking a common authority, was unable to practice foreign policy in an age where alliances followed confessional lines and where new military technologies—especially firearms—and changed strategies asked for clear and unique military leadership. The Swiss cantons, which had already followed differing aims during the Italian Wars of the early 16th century, could never have agreed on a territorial direction for expansion or on a common partner.

The only eventual exception to this was France. The alliance of 1521 granted the French king up to 16,000 Swiss mercenaries, and from 1530 onwards a French ambassador resided permanently in Solothurn and influenced Swiss politics through advice and pensions. Still, after Zwingli preached against the immoral mercenaries and "pensioners" (receiving bribes) who exported death

8 Frauke Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis. Reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005); Randolph C. Head, "Shared Lordships, Authority, and Administration. The Exercise of Dominion in the Gemeine Herrschaften, 1417–1600," *Central European History* 30 (1997), 489–512; Randolph C. Head, "Fragmented Dominion, Fragmented Churches. The Institutionalization of the Landfrieden in the Thurgau, 1531–1610," ARG 96 (2005), 117–44. For additional literature see Maissen, "Konfessionskulturen," 231–2.

9 For the revolt, see Bächtold, Bullinger vor dem Rat, 15–29. See also Chapter 2 above, 91–2.

to others and imported the subversive luxury of princes and noblemen to their own country, Zurich (in 1521) and Bern (in 1529) decided to abstain from the French alliance. Thus, the two most important Protestant cantons did not participate in the French alliance until 1564 (Bern) and 1614 (Zurich). By then France, and in particular Henry IV, had gained a reputation as a reliable arbiter in internal conflicts. Through the 16th century, the French sought to avoid any turmoil in Switzerland that would impede the recruitment of soldiers or open the neighboring flank to a hostile intervention from Austria. The French alliance was the only "institution," besides the Confederal Diet, that eventually included all the cantons and thus gradually replaced the Holy Roman Empire as a constitutional framework. In the 16th century the Swiss no longer visited imperial Diets and slowly moved toward exemption from the imperial chamber court in Speyer, a privilege that was granted to them in 1648 as part of the Peace of Westphalia and was later interpreted as sovereignty.

It is important to remember that there was no constitutional contract uniting all the cantons. The Confederation was a network of alliances with specific "eternal" pacts (*Bundesbriefe*) between some members, but it lacked a unitary structure. Until the Reformation, the regular ritual of delegates confirming the pacts by oath every fifth year had been extremely important. The German name *Eidgenossenschaft* made clear that this was a commonwealth that relied on the shared oath (*Eid*). And it was precisely this oath that became impossible after 1526, when Protestant Zurich refused to utter the reference to the saints that was part of the traditional formula. Furthermore, because Zurich was the presiding canton (*Vorort*) of the Confederation, according to the protocol it had to pronounce the oath before the others. If Zurich abstained from this duty the metaphysical basis for the Confederation was lost and, as there was no real institutional backing, this meant that little was left over of the Confederation itself. This explains why Basel, for example, fearing a Habsburg intervention, suggested a reiteration of the common oath in 1543, as did the French king Henry II when he tried to unite the cantons against Charles V in 1548—these attempts failed.[10] The alienation was not limited to a symbolic level: the less the Confederates communicated with one another, the less they knew about each other and the higher was the risk of dangerous misunderstandings and misinterpretations of each other's intentions.[11]

10 Hans-Ulrich Bächtold, "'Das uns gott helff und die heiligen': Zürich im Streit um die eidgenössische Schwurformel," in Campi FS, 295–346.

11 Thomas Lau, "Der Konfessionskonflikt als Kommunikationsproblem—die Alte Eidgenossenschaft zwischen 1531 und 1712," in *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform,* (eds.) Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010), 28–40.

Confessional differences created eternal debates at the Swiss Diet, not least over many practical questions.[12] Any local conflict could potentially become an issue for the whole Confederation to fight over if it was brought into the dichotomies of religious controversy.[13] Luckily for the continuation of the Confederation, however, confessional antagonism followed dividing lines other than the formerly constitutive difference between the urban and rural cantons. In 1481, after the so-called Sow-banner campaign (*Saubannerzug*), the *Stanser Verkommnis* had put only a provisional end to the conflicts characterized by this predetermined breaking point. Zurich and Schwyz represented the two camps and were the main antagonists throughout the 15th century. It was no coincidence that they opposed each other again in the confessional age, but it was decisive that henceforth Lucerne, Solothurn, and Fribourg sided not with their fellow patricians in Bern and the other cities, but with Schwyz and the other rural cantons of central Switzerland to form a league of burghers and countrymen. Likewise, Zurich found its religious allies among the peasants of Glarus, Appenzell (to become Appenzell-Außerrhoden), the Toggenburg, and the Grisons. These religious ties were strong, but they did not completely cover the structural and political differences between urban and rural cantons within both camps. Further heterogeneity stemmed from traditional rivalries, like the one between Zurich and Bern, which were exacerbated by theological differences, especially in the 1540s.

16.6 Shared Interests and Joint Enterprises

On the other hand, many cantons shared interests that transcended their religious differences, such as the control of epidemics or the trade of grain, salt, and mercenaries with neighboring states and major powers. The existence and survival of the Confederation depended on the cantons' commonalities, if they wanted to continue their defensive alliance of petty republics located between the mighty princes of Austria, Milan, and France and in order to act as a collective lord over the territories they had conquered together. The mandated territories thus formed a syndicate, particularly between the small Catholic

12 Andreas Würgler, *Die Tagsatzung der Eidgenossen. Politik, Kommunikation und Symbolik einer repräsentativen Institution im europäischen Kontext 1470–1798* (Epfendorf: Biblioteca academica, 2013).

13 Ulrich Pfister, "Konfessionskonflikte in der frühneuzeitlichen Schweiz. Eine strukturalistische Interpretation," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 101 (2007), 257–312.

cantons and Zurich. The former depended on and profited most from revenues and offices, whereas Zurich was closely interconnected with the surrounding mandated territories in the Aargau (Baden, the *Freie Ämter*), Sargans, the lower Rheintal, and the Thurgau.

In general, and in spite of their differing beliefs, urban, rural, and even princely authorities faced similar challenges and threats as lords of unprivileged subjects. The often fragmented and intersected territories made arrangements between the different cantons unavoidable: for example, who could share jurisdictional rights? Peaceful solutions, prepared by negotiations and tedious bargaining, compromise, and even compliance, were usually the better option for maintaining stability than the intervention of dangerous foreign powers.[14] Therefore, Basel was not the only Confederate that relied on the arbitration of its fellow Confederates and aimed at "good correspondence" in its relations with a Catholic neighbor, in this case the prince-bishop residing in Porrentruy (Pruntrut), who in turn depended economically and financially on the free city. Even when there was an opportunity to encourage Reformation after the bishop's death in 1553, Basel did not attempt it. For his part, the prince-bishop generally tolerated the Reformed subjects who lived in the southern region of his territories, and although he once threatened to change this policy in 1579, the Reformed cantons were successful in deterring him from taking this step.[15]

Bern proved the continuity of strategic commonalities in the most obvious way during the campaign against Savoy that it led with its traditional ally Fribourg in the 1530s.[16] The drive westward had led to an alliance between the two towns in the 15th century, especially during the Burgundian Wars, when they conquered territories that they then ruled jointly. While still engaged in the Italian Wars, the Confederates temporarily, from 1512 to 1529, occupied the county of Neuchâtel and administered it through bailiffs. Thanks to this situation, Bern began a policy of reforming francophone territories by supporting Guillaume Farel from the Dauphiné, a follower of Zwingli and Bucer who won

14 See Daniela Hacke, "Zwischen Konflikt und Konsens. Zur politischen konfessionellen Kultur in der Alten Eidgenossenschaft des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005), 575–604; on the culture of conflict, see also Andreas Würgler, "Aushandeln statt Prozessieren. Zur Konfliktkultur der alten Eidgenossenschaft im Vergleich mit Frankreich und dem Deutschen Reich (1500–1800)," *Traverse* (2001/3), 25–38, and Thomas Maissen, "Disputatio de Helvetiis an natura consentiant. Frühneuzeitliche Annäherungen an die Schweizer Konsensbereitschaft," *Traverse* (2001/3), 39–55.

15 Hans Berner, *"Die gute Correspondenz." Die Politik der Stadt Basel gegenüber dem Fürst-Bistum Basel 1525–85* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1989), 97–102.

16 See also Chapters 3 and 9 above.

Neuchâtel over to the Protestant side in 1530. A printing press was installed shortly thereafter that enabled the first francophone Protestants to spread their written message in French, something that would have been impossible in France. Farel also preached in Biel and in the adjacent southern, francophone territories of the prince-bishop of Basel, which, under the protection of Bern, partly passed over to the new faith. Farel then went on to the Vaud, which belonged to the duke of Savoy but had already come under Bern's influence; he was joined there by a native son of the area, Pierre Viret. They both went on to proselytize in Geneva, an episcopal town that aspired to the status of an imperial city but lay isolated within the territories of the duke of Savoy, who installed a member of his family as the bishop of Geneva. In 1533 the burghers of Geneva finally expelled the bishop.

In the subsequent conflict, Geneva's search for independence from its overlord and from Savoy and the growing influence of Protestant preachers met with the expansionist tendencies of the alliance between Protestant Bern and Catholic Fribourg. Since 1526 a *combourgeoisie* had united them with Geneva, and in 1530 the two cantons occupied Geneva in order to protect it from the aggressions of the Savoyard nobility. In 1536 they not only backed the city against the duke, but also conquered the Savoyard Vaud and the prince-bishopric of Lausanne without meeting with much resistance. After a disputation in Lausanne, these territories soon passed over to the Protestant faith. Furthermore, Bern occupied the Pays de Gex around Geneva and the Western Chablais to the south of Lake Geneva, while its other Catholic allies, the Valaisans, advanced to occupy the eastern part of the Chablais. After Bern had weakened its long-time antagonist in this area, the French king Francis I completed the duke's defeat and occupied almost all of the remaining Savoy.

16.7 The Reformed Closing of Ranks between Zurich and Geneva

Bern aspired to incorporate Geneva into its own territory as it had done with the other former episcopal see, Lausanne. However, the Genevans did not wish to exchange the frying pan for the fire; instead they opted to inherit the bishop's overlordship and thus win their independence. This would become decisive for the further development both of the Reformed Confession and the Confederation when Farel invited Jean Calvin to Geneva. Calvin stayed there from 1536 to 1538 and definitely established himself in 1541. In the long run, his preaching formed the basis for the emancipation of the *Welsche* who spoke Romance languages. The *Große Pund obertütscher Landen* was decidedly German-speaking, as the elites of Fribourg had abandoned the French language

when they joined the Confederation. The Italian speakers in the Ticino were the cantons' subjects, just as those in the Valtellina were in the Grisons. Likewise, in the allied Valais the German-speaking eastern part of the valley had equally subdued the lower, western part that was francophone. Neuchâtel would eventually become a princely ally of its own but, as previously mentioned, it remained occupied by the Confederates until 1529. Likewise, the Vaud, a former subject of Savoy, was now the subject of Bern. Although it lacked a territory, tiny Geneva was a notable exception among these French-speaking dominions. It soon made up for its lack of territory through the international reputation earned by Calvin and the academy that was founded in 1559, which attracted some thousand international students in the following century.[17] Although Geneva could deal almost *pari passu* with Bern, the biggest and most powerful republic north of the Alps, the original Genevan elites paid a considerable price for this privilege. Many of them opposed Calvin and were later forced to emigrate, and some were even put to death. They were replaced by well-trained and skilled Calvinists, who acquired Genevan citizenship after fleeing from France, Italy, and the Netherlands.

Jean Calvin was born in 1509 in the Picardy and had little in common with the Toggenburger Zwingli who was 25 years his senior and already dead by the time Calvin was introduced to Protestantism. Unlike the Zurichers, Calvin had no animosity towards Luther, whose theological insights he largely shared, and he collaborated closely with Melanchthon. On the other hand, Calvin regularly contested the political authorities of Bern and their state-church Zwinglianism. His presbyterial model of church discipline organized in the parish was distinctly different from Zwingli's. On theological grounds, the doctrine of double predestination also caused disputes.[18] The area of the Vaud was a particular battleground for the different ecclesiological and theological concepts of Zwinglianism and Calvinism.

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17 There is an abundance of literature on the international influence of Calvinism. An ongoing bibliography is published annually in the *Calvin Theological Journal*. For a recent recapitulation see Ansgar Reiss and Sabine Witt, (eds.), *Calvinismus. Die Reformierten in Deutschland und Europa. Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Historischen Museums Berlin und der Johannes a Lasco Bibliothek Enden* (*1. April bis 19. Juli 2009*) (Dresden: Sandstein, 2009); Heinz Schilling, "Calvin und Calvinismus in europageschichtlicher Perspektive," in *Calvin und Reformiertentum in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Helvetisches Bekenntnis, Ethnie und Politik vom 16. Jahrhundert bis 1918*, (eds.) Márta Fata and Anton Schindling (Münster: Aschendorff, 2010): 1–21.

18 Guggisberg, *Bern KG,* 55–242; Emidio Campi, "Calvin, the Swiss Reformed Churches, and the European Reformation," in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509–2009*, (eds.) Irena Backus and Philipp Benedict (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2011), 119–43, here at 119–21; see also Chapter 9 above.

The political turnaround of 1547/48 in Germany was decisive for bringing Calvin and Geneva closer to the Swiss German Reformation.[19] In 1547, Charles V defeated the Schmalkaldic League of the Lutherans. Its prominent members were, besides princes like the two leaders John Frederick I of Saxony and Philip I of Hesse, the imperial cities of the southwest, from Strasbourg to Augsburg and from Lindau to Ulm. The victorious emperor forced new, conservative constitutions onto these towns. He ordered a religious decree, the Augsburg Interim, which imposed traditional Catholic beliefs and practices with two exceptions: priests did not need to be celibate and the flock could receive both the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper. While most territories and cities submitted to the Interim, Constance did not. Ambrosius Blarer and the council hoped that their Zwinglian associates would help them against the emperor. But when Charles V besieged the city and conquered it in 1548, the Protestant Swiss bowed to the fierce opposition of Lucerne and abstained from intervening. The Catholics wanted to avoid entanglement in the German conflict and in any ensuing civil war. They feared that the Reformed cantons, as imperial cities, would reintegrate into the Holy Roman Empire if they lost the war, and if they won that the Catholics would ask the emperor to intervene. Whatever happened, the Confederates would lose and the Habsburgs would win.[20] Still, not just the Protestants, particularly in Bern, but also some Catholic politicians like Aegidius Tschudi from Glarus warned that Constance, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, might become a Habsburg bridgehead to Swiss territory. Indeed, Constance lost its status as an imperial city and was reduced to an Austrian mediate town and re-catholicized. The Zwinglian ministers who had been preaching in cities such as Strasbourg, Ulm, and Augsburg had to follow Constance's Ambrosius Blarer and beat a retreat to Switzerland. They were not even reinstalled when German Protestants freed themselves from the Interim after 1552. Southern Germany now definitely and solidly became Lutheran, and the Rhine emerged as a religious borderline between the two evangelical traditions.

Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli's very well-informed successor as church leader (*Antistes*) of Zurich, observed the dangerous developments of 1547/48 very closely. Charles's momentary triumph menaced the Reformed movement as much as it threatened the Confederation itself—the Thurgau hinterland of Constance was just one of many former Habsburg territories in Switzerland

19 Thomas Maissen, "Die Eidgenossen und das Augsburger Interim. Zu einem unbekannten Gutachten Heinrich Bullingers," in *Das Interim 1548/50. Herrschaftskrise und Glaubenskonflikt*, (ed.) Luise Schorn-Schütte (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 76–104.

20 Lau, *Der Konfessionskonflikt*, 30.

that the Habsburg emperor might attempt to reclaim. A renewed Duchy of Swabia seemed a possibility that could reach far south of Lake Constance under a Habsburg prince. For this reason the Catholic cantons, even though they refused to countenance help for Zwinglian Constance, made it clear that they would respect the auxiliary promises of the old treaties and defend their liberty together with the Confederates of the other faith.

The crisis of 1547/48 not only strengthened the shattered ties among the Confederates but also created new ones between Zurich and Geneva. Bullinger and Calvin were both severe critics of the *Interim* and of those Lutherans, like Melanchthon, whom they suspected of giving in to imperial pressure. Calvin came to Zurich with Farel on Whitsun in 1548 and discovered that Bullinger's ideas of the Lord's Supper did not conflict with his own conviction. In 1549 the three Reformers signed the *Consensus Tigurinus*, which settled their differences concerning the Lord's Supper.[21] Eventually, after the Synod of Dordrecht (1618/19), this would become the basis for the union of the Reformed on a universal level, but for the moment it mattered most in the context of the Confederation. It is particularly significant that not only Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Neuchâtel, the Grisons, and Mulhouse accepted the *Consensus* but also, in 1551, the Bernese, although they felt offended by being out-maneuvered and went on in various quarrels with Calvin over different issues.[22]

Johannes Haller and Wolfgang Musculus were two ministers in Bern who played a decisive role in this closer union of the Reformed.[23] They had both been pastors in Augsburg until they had to flee the emperor and the Interim and thus were convinced followers of the Zwinglian model. Haller contributed significantly to the fall of Simon Sulzer, the pastor of Bern's Minster, who had successfully beaten his Zwinglian opponent Kaspar Megander back to Zurich in 1538 before trying to bring Bern's church closer to Luther and especially to Bucer. However, Sulzer was deposed and had to leave the city too; he went to Basel in 1548 where he became Antistes five years later.[24] Thus, it came as

21 *Cons Tig;* Gordon, *Calvin,* 179–80 and 204–9; Chapter 2 above.

22 See Chapter 9 above.

23 Rudolf Dellsperger, Rudolf Freudenberger, and Wolfgang Weber, (eds.), *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563) und die oberdeutsche Reformation* (Berlin: Akademischer Verlag, 1997), 281–98; Reinhard Bodenmann, *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563). Destin d'un autodidacte lorrain au siècle des Réformes* (Geneva: Droz, 2000); see also Chapter 3 above.

24 For Sulzer, see Amy Nelson Burnett, "Bucers letzter Jünger. Simon Sulzer und Basels konfessionelle Einheit," BZGA 107 (2007), 137–72; Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation,* and Chapter 4 above; on "Lutheranizing Basel," see also the seminal work by Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, *Basel in the Sixteenth Century: Aspects of the City Republic before, during, and after the Reformation* (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982).

no surprise that Sulzer's Basel refused to join the Consensus Tigurinus and distanced itself from the Zwinglians, as it did from Calvin after he clashed with the Erasmian religious refugees in Basel, notably Sebastian Castellio and Celio Secondo Curione. Thanks to the university and the printing press, which remained among the most important in Europe until the 1580s, Basel was an intellectual center in its own right and was heavily influenced by the humanist tradition, which invited the study of secular and divine texts less for the sake of doctrinal truth than for moral learning and erudition. It was symptomatic that Basel kept its distance from Zurich and Bern when it joined the mercenary league, which eleven cantons and many of their allies renewed with France in June 1549, almost simultaneously to the *Consensus.*

In fact, this treaty with Henry II was an alternative strategy used as protection against the overwhelming influence of Charles V. Ever since his triumph over the Schmalkaldic League the emperor had threatened the equilibrium of Europe and particularly of Basel, which lay partly on the right side of the Rhine and had joined the Confederation only after the reforms of the imperial Diet of 1495, and was therefore still included in the imperial registry. The result was that Charles ordered Basel to implement the *Interim*. This threat passed when the Lutheran princes, together with Henry II, drove the emperor out of Germany in 1552. Basel remained in the "Lutheran" camp until 1585, when Sulzer died and the orthodox Calvinist Johann Jacob Grynaeus succeeded him as *Antistes*. Basel approached Zurich and Bern also because in 1585 Confederate arbitration forced the city to compensate the prince-bishop with a high sum for the rights he had ceded during the Reformation.

The theological closing of ranks between Zurich and Geneva and its repercussions for the Confederation prefigured the political and geographical structure of present-day Switzerland extending from and limited by the lakes of Constance and Geneva, and thus including a considerable francophone area. Catholic princes in Austria, Milan, Savoy, and France surrounded the country and became increasingly hostile to the Reformed, as did the Lutherans who now dominated the Protestant areas in Southern Germany. They felt reassured by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg, which included the Lutherans but excluded the followers of Zwingli and Calvin in the Holy Roman Empire. The Swiss Reformed cantons became a refuge for their fellow believers, albeit often rather reluctantly. The case of Geneva had taught them that immigration could lead to the demise of the traditional elite. The expulsion of the Protestants of Locarno in 1555 had already posed serious problems for the Zurichers and Baslers, whose guilds were not disposed to share commercial activities with the arriving Muralto and Orelli families. Thus the Protestants were prone to observe the Peace of Kappel and the *cuius regio* rather than to provoke conflicts

that could harm their immediate interests. Instead of welcoming immigrants, they preferred to support financially the established Reformed parishes in the German-speaking mandated territories as well as their brethren in faith when they were persecuted abroad in Italy, France, England, Hungary, and Poland. Although Calvin and Bullinger may have felt equally sympathetic toward the persecuted, Geneva was far more hospitable to newcomers than Zurich. This was partly due to the fact that the guilds were rather weak in Geneva. Unlike the German urban reformation movement, the Genevan church was relatively free from state control, and it had a universal rather than parochial vision of its mission. Still, there were other routes that brought foreigners to Switzerland: the University of Basel attracted scholars from all over Europe, and the Valtellina and the Italian speaking valleys in the Grisons were the first destination for many Protestants fleeing from Italy.[25]

To cope with their manifest isolation after 1555, the Reformed reached out for religious allies all over Europe.[26] Bullinger left behind 12,000 letters that present him as the center of a vast transnational web made up of about a thousand correspondents. He kept up-to-date contacts with Philipp of Hesse, the champion of Protestant unionism, and sent him both the Consensus Tigurinus and the Second Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Posterior*).[27] The Second Helvetic Confession was a result of close ties with the Palatine elector Frederick III who started to draw the Palatinate into the Reformed camp in the early 1560s. For the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 the elector relied on experts with Melanchthonian, Calvinist, and Zwinglian backgrounds. After imposing the Heidelberg Catechism on his own subjects, Frederick III had Bullinger's Latin manuscript translated into German and printed in 1566. Thomas Erastus from Baden belonged to the Zwinglians at the Palatine court. As a champion of the state church, he eventually had to surrender to the Calvinists in the matter of church discipline. Similarly, the Dutch eventually preferred the Genevan model of ecclesiastic autonomy to Zurich's state church. Nevertheless, Bullinger remained in close contact with politicians and scholars of the Palatinate and the Netherlands.[28] And Johann Jacob Grynaeus, who became the orthodox Antistes of Basel in 1585, was not the only conspicuous Reformed to study or teach at Heidelberg University before continuing his career in Switzerland.

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25 Bundi, *Flüchtlingsschicksale;* see Chapters 7 and 8 above.

26 See also Locher, *Zwinglische Reformation*.

27 Text in RBS 2/2, 243–345. Andreas Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001), 74–96.

28 Mühling, *Kirchenpolitik*, 104–31.

Besides the Reformed territories in the Holy Roman Empire, the Zwinglians retained close ties with sympathizers in France and, more notably, in Scotland and England where Simon Grynaeus from Basel had already formed a friendship with Thomas Cranmer. Marian exiles, notably Peter Martyr Vermigli, fled from the island to Switzerland in the 1550s. In addition, several influential works, especially by Bullinger, were translated into English.[29] The Reformed in Hungary initially took their inspiration less from Calvin than from Bullinger's Second Helvetic Confession, which they adopted at the Synod of Debrecen in 1567, as did the Reformed in Poland after reformulating it and calling it the *Confessio Sendomiriensis*.[30] Except for Lutheranizing Basel, which adopted the Second Helvetic Confession only in 1644, the Swiss Reformed all joined, including Mulhouse and Geneva; abroad, besides the Hungarians and the Poles, the Scottish Kirk and the French Huguenots also adopted it.

16.8 The Catholic Reaction

Whereas the "Reformed International," in spite of lasting doctrinal differences between Zwinglians and Calvinists especially concerning double predestination, developed a common dogmatic basis and thus closed its ranks, the Swiss Reformed did not establish military alliances with their fellow Protestants. In addition to geographical distance, this was also due to the Zwinglian rejection of foreign mercenary service and to the relatively unthreatened position of the large Reformed cities within the Confederation. This began to change when the Catholic cantons engaged with the Counter-Reformation after the end of the Council of Trent in 1563, which had already provided a theological and intellectual catalyst for the Second Helvetic Confession. Although they hesitated for a long time, the Catholic cantons sent not only a theological representative, Joachim Eichhorn, the Abbot of Einsiedeln, to the last period but also a leading politician, Melchior Lussi of Nidwalden. Lussi was also a friend of Carlo Borromeo, the archbishop of Milan, and invited him to impose Tridentine reforms in the Catholic cantons. These cantons had at first been reluctant to adopt such reforms for fear of alienating their French patron, since the Gallican conciliarists opposed papalism and the publication of the decrees of Trent.[31] In 1586,

29 Mühling, *Kirchenpolitik*, 149–85; Gordon, *Swiss Reformation*, 299–304; see also Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

30 See Tamás Juhász, "'*Mirabilis est cursus verbi Dei!*' Die Entwicklung des Helvetischen Bekenntnisses in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," in Fata and Schindling, *Calvin und Reformiertentum*, 63–78.

31 See Delgado and Ries, *Karl Borromäus*.

Pope Sixtus V established a permanent nunciature in Lucerne, which subsequently became the institutional center of the Catholic reform in Switzerland. The Jesuits established a college there in 1578, and several cantons invited mostly foreign—that is, Italian—Capuchins to assume charge of pastoral care and reform the clergy; due to different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, this situation often created problems. The *Collegium Helveticum* was set up in Milan, offering university places for future Swiss priests who gradually caught up with the scholarly advantage achieved by the Protestants. In the same year, 1586, the Catholic cantons formed the "Golden League," also called the "Borromean League" after its spiritual father. A year later, they (without Solothurn) entered into an alliance with Philip II of Spain, the leading power of the Counter-Reformation. An ordinary ambassador represented him in Lucerne.

This close cooperation was not as obvious as it may seem at first glance. In 1559/60 the aforementioned Catholic politician and renowned historian Aegidius Tschudi almost provoked a war in his home canton of Glarus. The Catholic cantons, always afraid of being surrounded and destroyed by their Protestant neighbors, were ready to intervene in order to repress the Protestant majority in Glarus and to establish Catholic rule in the confessionally divided canton where—similar to the Three Leagues—the communities were almost autonomous in choosing their religion. The Catholics expected support from the pope and from Spain, which had just secured its predominance in Europe through the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis with France. However, Spain had gone bankrupt in 1557 and was not willing to risk another costly war that would put the exposed Spanish territory of the Franche-Comté in jeopardy. The Swiss, both Catholics and Protestants, officially vouched for the neutrality of the province, and in the case of a conflict between the two religious parties, there was the risk that Bern could invade the Franche-Comté.[32]

In the second half of the 16th century the general situation changed. Spanish foreign policy became increasingly ideological in a salvific war against the heretics in England and the defecting Netherlands. France was no longer a rival, as it was being torn apart by religious wars that endangered the existence of the Huguenot co-religionists of the Swiss Calvinists. This was made especially clear in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572 that shocked

32 Rudolf Bolzern, "Der 'Tschudikrieg' im Spannungsfeld der ausländischen Mächte, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Spaniens," in *Aegidius Tschudi und seine Zeit,* (eds.) Katharina Koller-Weiss and Christian Sieber (Basel: Krebs, 2002), 315–35; Markus René Wick, "Der 'Glarnerhandel.' Strukturgeschichtliche und konfliktsoziologische Hypothesen zum Glarner Konfessionsgegensatz," in *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Glarus* 69 (Glarus: 1982), 47–240.

Protestant Europe. The Reformed Confederates despaired of their former trust in the Valois dynasty, which sometimes used its Swiss mercenaries to eradicate Calvinist heresy. In the Catholic cantons, former Swiss exponents of the French alliance, such as Ludwig Pfyffer von Altishoffen from Lucerne, nicknamed "king of the Swiss," abandoned the maneuvering French king for the opposing Catholic League and its supporter Philipp II, who seemed to be the only reliable defender of the faith. What interested Spain most in this situation, besides the protection of its possessions in the Franche-Comté and Milan, was the *camino de suizos*, the transit routes that enabled Spanish troops to pass from Milan over the Gotthard Pass to the Rhine and onwards to Flanders to fight the Dutch. This was the alternative route to the *camino español,* which passed further west through the Duchy of Savoy, a long-time Spanish ally, and continued through the Franche-Comté.

This connection involved Switzerland in international affairs for different reasons: Swiss Catholics sympathized with Spain, and Protestant cantons favored the Dutch, the majority of whom were Reformed. Together Bern, Fribourg, and France had occupied most of the Duchy of Savoy in 1536, but in 1559, at the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, Henry II was forced to return his spoils. Under increasing pressure, Bern and its allies restituted conquests south of Lake Geneva and around Calvin's city in the 1560s, thus reestablishing the passage along the *camino español.* Geneva itself remained a thorn in the side of the duke of Savoy, both for political and religious reasons. This was well known to Bern, which had signed an *alliance perpétuelle* with Geneva in 1558 whereby both cities pledged to protect each other. By reentering the French alliance in 1564, Bern was following the same rationale of securing its flank against Savoy, which had built a league with the Catholic cantons (without Fribourg) in 1560 and renewed it in 1577 and 1581. Around the same time, 1579/80, the Catholic cantons also formed a close alliance with another long-term partner, the prince-bishop of Basel.

Unlike Constance, however, with its similar strategic and religious importance, Geneva was not conquered by a regional dynastic power. In 1579, Bern brought France and Catholic Solothurn together in an alliance to protect Geneva from Savoy. In 1584, Zurich also engaged in a formal *combourgeoisie* with Geneva, and in 1588 it signed, again with Bern, a defensive alliance for Strasbourg. In 1589/90, Bern and Geneva fought a war in Upper Savoy against Duke Charles Emmanuel I. Hence the importance of the opposing alliance that the Catholic cantons (without the Francophile Solothurn) formed with Spain in 1587: mighty Bern was now surrounded by potential enemies who had pledged to help each other in case one of them was attacked. Furthermore, they granted each other the right of transit and economic privileges. On the other side, already under Henry III, France started to turn away from its Counter-Reformation policy.

After Henry III was assassinated in 1589, the Huguenot king Henry IV opposed the Spanish party in France more than ever, ended the civil war in the realm, and, after his conversion to Catholicism, continued to support Protestants abroad. Unlike Spain, France was willing and able to pay the pensions it had promised, thus winning back many allies, even among the Catholic Swiss. Henry IV also won the war against the duke of Savoy who, after the failed "escalade" of 1602, had to accept Geneva's independence in the treaty of Saint-Julien in 1603.[33]

16.9 National Identity in a Time of Crisis

The struggle for Geneva formed the background for an ongoing Swiss propaganda battle in the 1570s and 80s, which was waged through pamphlets, theatre plays, and etchings like those by Christoph Murer from Zurich who engraved mythical scenes of Wilhelm Tell and Nicholas of Flüe (1417–1487). These historical references were symptomatic of a central and highly controversial question: Which party represented the real tradition of Switzerland and what did it consist of exactly? Nicholas of Flüe was a crucial figure in that regard: the

FIGURE 16.2 *Portion of an illustrated broadsheet by Christoph Murer showing Wilhelm Tell shooting the apple from his son's head, 1580*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE ZZB

33 See Chapter 9 above.

Protestants saw him as a peacemaker who warned of discord and foreign—Spanish and Jesuit—interference in Swiss affairs; the Catholics laid claim to the pious pre-reformation hermit who would be beatified in 1649 (veneration in his place of origin, Sachseln) and in 1671 (veneration in all of Switzerland); canonization followed in 1947.[34]

This clash over ancestors was a decisive turn away from the first generation of the Reformation, especially Vadian in St. Gallen and Bullinger, Johannes Stumpf, and Josias Simler in Zurich, who had closely cooperated with the prominent Catholic Aegidius Tschudi in historiographical projects that emphasized common ground and origins beyond confessional strife. The historical commonalities went back, allegedly, to Helvetian ancestors. The ethnic continuity was localized in the qualities of an alpine nation—an "*Alpenvolk*." Stumpf's *Description of the Deeds Worthy of Chronicling of the Common Praiseworthy Confederation of Cities, Lands and Peoples,*[35] an impressive folio printed in 1548 containing high quality maps, was the most conspicuous result of this collaboration, although Tschudi's research and theses about the foundation of the Confederation would eventually have an even larger impact in the 18th century, when the first printed edition of his *Chronicon Helveticum* became the source for Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.* This interdenominational cooperation ended as soon as the aforementioned historians died in the 1570s.[36] The little that remained of Swiss historiography unambiguously sided with one religious party, like the works of Frank Guillimann from Fribourg, a follower of Spain who emigrated to become a university professor in the Habsburg city of Freiburg im Breisgau.

The lasting tension and the conflicting orientation in foreign policy ended by establishing clear religious frontiers in Switzerland, including the *Zugewandte*, and connected the parties to the international networks that had emerged before the Thirty Years' War. France remained the only broker with access to both sides. The convert Henry IV had remained a reliable partner of the Protestant cantons who contributed many mercenaries to his armies, even from Zurich—albeit unofficially. In 1602 all cantons entered the renewed French alliance except for Zurich; this was a last obeisance to the city's ministers who defended the Zwinglian doctrine on mercenary service. However, Zurich sympathized with the French alliance and allowed volunteers from its territory to join Henry's IV troops. In 1614, Zurich finally also entered into this fundamental treaty and broke with an almost centenarian tradition—without

34 See Chapter 1 above.

35 *Gemeiner loblicher Eydgnoschaft Stetten, Landen und Völckeren chronickwirdiger thaaten beschreybung* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1548).

36 Moser, *Dignität*, 1: 308–11.

FIGURE 16.3 *"The old and new prophet of Switzerland," an illustrated political poem ca. 1607 showing the Confederate cantons, their allies, and foreign powers, Drawing on parchment paper*
PHOTO COURTESY OF ZZB, GRAPHISCHE SAMMLUNG

consulting the ministers or subjects, as had been done in preceding cases. This conversion was the result of an international situation wherein the Habsburg states, which encircled the Confederation almost completely, seemed to increasingly take the lead in an international Counter-Reformation offensive that only France could inhibit by military means. It also seemed appropriate to manifest a common foreign policy for the Confederation during dangerous times, at least through the French alliance that was also welcome because it promised guerdon and pensions.[37]

37 Christian Moser and Hans Rudolf Fuhrer, *Der lange Schatten Zwinglis. Zürich, das französische Soldbündnis und eidgenössische Bündnispolitik, 1500–1650* (Zürich: NZZ Verlag, 2009), 72–7.

16.10 International Networks before the Thirty Years' War

In 1612 and 1615, Zurich and Bern entered into further military alliances, first with the neighboring Margraviate of Baden-Durlach and then with Venice. While the former was a Lutheran territory and member of the Protestant Union that since 1609 had opposed the Catholic League, Venice was Catholic. Still, it was the fiercest opponent of Spanish domination in Italy and an important member in the chain of Habsburg enemies that stretched from England and the Netherlands over the Palatinate and Reformed territories in the Holy Roman Empire and Switzerland down to the Adriatic Sea. It remained so even after the assassination of Henry IV, who had been the mastermind of this informal alliance. Zurich and Bern's treaty with Venice granted mutual aid in times of crisis and reciprocal commercial privileges.

Using the same rationale, Venice had already formed an alliance with the Three Leagues in 1603 that was intended not only to profit their merchants and soldiers but also to block the passes linking the Habsburg territories of Milan and Tyrol. However, in 1613 a majority of the communes rejected a renewal of the alliance, not least due to political pressure from Spain on the Catholic Graubündners. A similar process split Appenzell in 1597. A year earlier, the Catholic communes of what would become Appenzell Innerrhoden adhered to the Spanish alliance of 1587 without considering the opposition of the Protestant communes who then formed a half-canton of their own, Appenzell Außerrhoden.[38] Arbiters from six cantons, half Protestant, half Catholic, moderated a surprisingly peaceful separation. These overpopulated alpine areas depended heavily on mercenary service and pensions, which also explains the "communalization" of foreign policy and the corresponding intensification of confessional identities.

Glarus later chose a similar path to Appenzell, after the Reformed majority imposed an alliance with Zurich and the predominantly Protestant League of the Ten Jurisdictions, one of Graubünden's Three Leagues. In 1623 the communes had the power to decide individually which camp they wanted to choose in mercenary business. This was part of an arrangement that clearly defined which offices were at the disposal of the Protestants and which ones were at the disposal of the Catholics. Thus Glarus, without openly splitting like Appenzell, became de facto a canton with two largely independent political entities.

38 Peter Blickle, "Verfassung und Religion. Voraussetzungen und Folgen der Landesteilung des Appenzell 1597," *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 115 (1998), 339–60.

The strong position of the communes in these alpine areas led to a religious plurality that depended on communal choice, but it also allowed these valleys to cohabitate without civil wars. The only exception to this was the Three Leagues, which became heavily involved in the Thirty Years' War after the revolt in the Catholic Valtellina in 1620, itself a reaction to Protestant repression culminating in the torture and murder of arch-priest Nicolò Rusca from Sondrio in 1618.[39] But the subsequent series of conflicts can more easily be explained by the strategic value that Graubünden's valleys and passes had for the Habsburgs, who sent their troops from Milan to Austria and Bohemia. France wanted to interrupt this supply, and thus the main antagonists of the spreading European war fought their battles in Graubünden with the help of many local politicians and military entrepreneurs.[40]

The other alpine confederation, the Valais, regained confessional—that is, Catholic—uniformity in the early 17th century. In 1600 the *Zenden* formed an alliance with the overwhelmingly Reformed Graubünden, despite opposition from both the bishop of Sion and the allied Catholic cantons. The pact was manifestly directed against Spain. Many influential Catholics in the Valais tolerated and even backed the Protestants, who were particularly strong among the patricians in Sion and Leuk and had the support of neighboring Bern. They were united in their opposition to the bishop's secular lordship, since religious liberty was considered a part of communal autonomy and sovereignty. But when the bishop lost his secular power and the Valais became a republic of its own in 1628, the Protestants had to convert or emigrate because the majoritarian Catholics controlled the prevailing *Zenden* of the Upper Valais and relied not only on help from the Catholic cantons but also from Spain and Savoy.[41] As in the rest of Switzerland, foreign policy and mercenary alliances triggered the clear bipolar boundaries and inimical identities of the two religious camps. Still, the traditional and well-established ties, the imperatives of everyday contacts, and the mediation of foreigners, especially France, prevented military clashes between the parties unless the powers themselves were directly involved, as they were in the Grisons.

39 *Bündner Geschichte*, 2: 113–202; for conflict and cohabitation among the communes in the Grisons, see Pfister, *Konfessionskirchen*, esp. 365–437.

40 Andreas Wendland, *Der Nutzen der Pässe und die Gefährdung der Seelen. Spanien, Mailand und der Kampf ums Veltlin (1620–1641)* (Zurich: Chronos, 1995).

41 Schnyder, *Reformation;* see Chapter 7 above.

16.11 Conclusion

The 16th century was not an easy time for city republics. Of the Italian communes, only the merchant republics—Venice, Genoa, and Lucca—survived on a peninsula dominated by the Spanish monarchy. The same Habsburg dynasty subordinated both the Spanish *comuneros* and the imperial cities of the Schmalkaldic League and later fought fiercely against the cities that defended religious and fiscal privileges in the Netherlands. The demise of the Hanseatic League proved that in order to remain independent notwithstanding superior princely powers, cities needed either a considerable territory of their own or adjacent territories in a league. This was the case for the Swiss Confederation, which as a defensive league was able to stand confessional schism. In the eyes of most of its contemporaries, diversity in confession was unsupportable from a religious perspective and harmful and paralyzing from a political perspective. How could a society achieve justice and concord if it disagreed on the essential matters of truth and salvation? How could a state find political solutions or wage war if neither a prince nor shared religious convictions imposed unity? If one party sided with Counter-Reformation Spain and depended on guerdon and pensions while the other oscillated between a Zwinglian refusal of any alliance and loyalty to the Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire and France, could there be any lasting political stability or even continuity?

Indeed, the Confederation did experience religious civil wars in both 1531 and 1656, but this was nothing compared with the French Wars of Religion or the Schmalkaldic War, let alone the Thirty Years' War. Rather surprisingly, the cantons managed to remain outside of these conflicts in their immediate neighborhood, despite the fact that many Swiss mercenaries served in the opposing camps. With the telling exception of Graubünden's passes, Switzerland was in the lee of the European monarchs' strategic interests. Its main contribution to the international power struggle was its mercenaries, both Catholic and Protestant, who fought for any state that paid them. France, which needed soldiers most, protected the Swiss equilibrium and mitigated the parties' differences during conflicts that could compromise its military reservoir.

Both in France and in the Empire, the religious wars were also about the political structure in which the estates and the high nobility on one side and the emperor and king on the other fought over an absolutist or a corporative constitution and the respective powers of disposal. The Swiss elites, on the other side, were saturated with their rights, their possessions and their archaic constitution. What diplomats started to label *corpus helveticum* essentially took Switzerland's present-day territorial shape in the 16th century in both its external borders with neighbors and its internal borders between cantons. Distant

FIGURE 16.4 *Nicholas of Flüe counseling the 13 Confederates while they take their oath at Stans. Painting by Humbert Mareschet (1586), based on a sketch by Christoph Murer*
PHOTO COURTESY OF THE HISTORISCHES MUSEUM BERN

commitments, such as Rottweil, were abandoned, while Vaud, Neuchâtel, and Geneva became part of the political and religious Swiss networks. Zwingli's expansionist agenda might have eventually toppled the league of coequal cantons, but after Kappel no military defeat implicated the loss of cantonal territories or a centralizing change of the Confederation's loose constitution, which essentially allowed the cantons to remain sovereign.

While there were many differences between the cantons, not only in religion but also in language, economic activities, and governmental structure, the respective rupture lines were incongruent. The cantonal elites did not differ significantly from each other socially, but they differed when compared with foreign princes and noblemen. They all feared interventions from abroad and increasingly barred access to citizenship and offices in order to exclude the

middling ranks from political participation and foreign immigrants from economic privileges.

What at first glance seemed deficient was, in fact, a rather flexible political framework. Most cantons were religiously homogeneous, hence stable. In religiously mixed areas, especially in the mandated territories, everyday pragmatism and arbitration prevailed over open conflict, even though familiarity with the neighbors of different faith decreased. This was also evident at the Diet where confessional plurality made a common foreign policy impossible. However, this plurality ultimately benefitted the Swiss because, uncertain as they were among themselves about eternal, divine truth, it allowed them to abstain from the destructive wars that were being waged over these issues in the rest of Europe.

Index

Aarau 429–30, 531. *See also under* councils/territorial assemblies
Aargau 38, 160, 432
abbeys. *See* monasteries/convents
Aberli, Heini 392
Adelphi, Johannes 218
adiaphora, and the supernatural 427
Adlischwyler, Anna, wife of Bullinger 94
Aebli, Hans 86
Aeschi district 151
Affair of the Sausages 3, 70–71, 392
agriculture 16–18, 251, 253–54, 258
Aigle district 132, 157–59, 369–71
Albulatal 342–43
Almens 344, map *307*
Almens-Rodels-Rothenbrunne map *307*
Alpine development 15, *16, 18,* 19–20
Altenbach, Hans 428
Althamer, Andreas 144
Altstätten community 255–56
Amerbach, Bonifacius 182n, 196, 196n, 200
Ammann, Johann Jakob *105*, 587
Amstein, Pelagius 259, 261
Ämter (rural districts) 127–28, *129,* 142–43, 150–51, 154–55
Anabaptism/Anabaptists
  anticlericalism of 392
  and apocalypticism 417, 419
  artisans as 309, 392
  banned assemblies of 432
  Bible schools of 393–95
  characteristics of 167–68, 196n, 269, 310, 398, 405, 413, 416, 418, 423, 435–36, 443
  and civil authority 260, 389–90
  and civil government 417
  compared to Donatists 112
  and the Confederation 76, 81, 112, 124, 169, 407, 493
  as distinct from Baptists 8n
  distinctives of 441–43
  on divorce 554n
  execution of 112, 160–61, 167–68, 197
  individuals: Blaurock 81–82, 309, 412, 571, 585
  Calabrese 319
  Carlin 185
  Hottinger 389–90
  Joris 208, 439
  Margaret Hottinger 390
  Senger's wife 309n, 430
locations of: Aargau 160, 432
  Appenzell 260–61, 277, 394, 416, 419–25
  Basel 185
  Bern 160–62
  border areas 434–35
  Chur 310
  Davos 310
  Graubünden 286
  Ilanz 310
  Lucerne 269
  Maienfeld 310
  Nikolsburg 391
  rural areas 411–12
  Schaffhausen 223–24, 227, 229–30
  southern Germany 390
  Southern Valleys 330
  St. Gallen 245, 394, 419–25
  Three Leagues 3–9, 298, 309–10, 339
  Toggenburg 252
  Waldshut 391
  Zug 270
  Zurich-St. Gallen compared 419–20
and the Lord's Supper 81, 87–89, 161, 406, 416, 423
mandates against 185, 197, 228–29, 404–5, 433–34
Manz's protestation 401–4
Müntzer/Grebel letter 399
on oath-taking 417
origins of 391–95
prosecution of 310
and Radical Reformers 397–401
and reading circles 393–95
and Reformers: Bullinger 94, 111–13, 437
  condemned by 114, 228, 355
  evangelicals 185
  Oecolampadiius 426–28
  Zwingli 80–81, 400

Anabaptism/Anabaptists (cont.)
as research subject 8, 399n, 406n, 408–11
and Schleitheim Confession/Articles (1527) 82, 411, 414–19
secret networks of *435,* 439
and separatism 395–99, 405–8, 412–13, 416–17, 420–21, 436–38, 441
social ethic of 396, 424, 431–32, 442
women's roles 440, 554
as Zwinglian 269
Andreae, Jacob 165, 209–10, 385
Andreoscha, Anton 360
angels *561,* 582
Anshelm, Valerius 35, 137, 140
anthropology, as dualistic, in Schleitheim Articles 418
anticlericalism 136, 138, 392, 395, 405–6, 491
anti-Trinitarians 318, 321n, 331, 339
apocalypticism 111n, 417–19, 431
Apostles' Creed. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Appenzell
alliances: the Confederation 28–29
Swiss Confederation 258–59
Zurich 600
and Anabaptists 416
at Baden Disputation 261
at Bern Disputation 261
as Confederation member 590
map of *239*
parishes of 258, 260–61
Reformation failure in 259, 277–78
rural areas of 593
Appenzell Außerrhoden 614
Appenzell Innerrhoden 614
Ardüser, Hans 349
Arians 323, 339, 355
Arona 592
Arth village 281–83
articles of faith. *See* creeds/confessions/covenants
artisans
and Anabaptism 309, 398, 426
in Basel 175
in Bern 127, 135
and Bible reading circles 393–95
in Fribourg 271
as Large Council members 24–25
and sausage eating affair 392
in Schaffhausen 216, 223
in Zurich 64
Asper, Hans, portraits of reformers *67, 92*
astrology/astrologers 574, 580
Augsburg 86–87
Augsburg Confession/Apology. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Augustinian church 188–89
Augustinian Hermits 64
Augustinianism 570
Augustinians 187

Backus, Irena 12
Baden 29, 275–76. *See also under* disputations/colloquies
Baker, J. Wayne 480–81, 483, 486
Balgach 255
Baling/Balingius, Nikolaus (Pfister) 312, 317, 321
Ballor, Jordan 485
baptism. *See also* Lord's Supper; sacraments
Anabaptist believers' 81, 223–24, 227, 245, 395–97, 400, 403–5, 407–8, 410–13, 422
and circumcision 479
compulsory for infants 404
and covenant theology 479–80
ethical aspect of 404, 436–37
Grebel's view of 245
Hofmeister/Meyer views of 224
Hubmaier's view of 409
Karlstadt's view of 398
lay/emergency administration of 316
Manz-Zwingli discussions of 403
in Reformed churches 227
Renato's views of 320n
in St. Gallen 245, 247–48, 421–22
in the Three Leagues 315n, 354–55
in Toggenburg 252
Zwingli's view of 479–80
Basel. *See also under* councils; preachers/preaching
alliances: anti-Habsburg coalition 89
Bern 169, 197
Birseck (dissolved) 279
Catholic cantons 610
Christian Civic Union 90, 190–91, 249
the Confederation 230–37
exclusion from 208

Fribourg 190–91
Geneva 212
imperial towns 35
Mülhausen 190–91
reformed territories 86
Schaffhausen 190–91
Schmalkaldic League 379
Schwyz 190–91
Solothurn 190–91
Strasbourg 190–91, 197, 201
and trade negotiations 600–601
Unterwalden 190–91
Uri 190–91
Zug 190–91
Zurich 86, 190, 197, 201, 212
and Anabaptists 112, 160, 425–29
as Confederation member 28–29, 41, 590
confessional neutrality of 206–8
and *Consensus Tigurinus* 606
cuius regio, eius religio policy 279
and disputations: at Baden 143
at Basel 186
at Bern 143–44
economic development of 21–22
as episcopal seat 20, 172
evangelical beginnings (1518–25) 85, 179–84, 188, 190–93
as humanist center 278–79
intellectual/religious life of 175–78, 606
as Lutheran camp 606
population of 22, 171
pre-Reformation period of 170
and prince-bishop 606
printing presses in 47, 177
rebellion/violence in 23, 184, 191n
Reformation era in 179–93, 213–15
Reformation mandate (1529) 249
as reform mediator 10
religious refugees in 208
and rural churches 188, 207, 210, 212–15
and Schaffhausen reform 225
trade route economy of 179
and Treaty of Baden (1585) 212
view of the city *172–73*
Basel Confession. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Basel Reformation ordinance. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Battle of the Giants 43–44
Bauhin, Jean 208
Beatrice of Marckelssheim 574
Beccaria, Giovanni 281, 345
Beck, Sebastian 167
Beghards 47
Beguines 47, 133
Belfort 291n
Bellinzona 19
Benedict, Phillip, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed* 7
Bennwald, Karl 428
Berbenno 346
Bergell 286, 289, 291n, 294, 301n, 304n, 324–25, 327, 340, 344. *See also* Val Bregaglia
Berger, Peter L. 265n
Bergsten, Torsten 409
Bern. *See also under* councils
administrative units of 127–28
alliances 86
Basel 169, 197
Christian Civic Union 86, 90, 249
the Confederation 28, 35, 128, 168–69, 230–37
France 387, 610
Fribourg 601–2
Geneva 157–58, 162–63, 373, 493, 602–3, 610
military (1612/15) 614
Neuchâtel 366
with Protestantism 372
Solothurn 272
and trade negotiations 601
Valais 602
Vaud 603
Zurich 19, 28, 85, 190, 387
and Ämter grievances 154–55
and Anabaptists 112, 160–62, 167, 429–32
and Baden verdict 143
and Beckenried agreement 142
Bird's-eye view of *130*
and Burgundian War 369
Calvinist-Zwinglian conflicts 381
catechism in 525
Chorgericht, and matrimonial cases 550
church record keeping in 507
confessional boundaries within 168–69
education in 521–22, 534
and Farel 370–73, 601–2

Bern. *See also under* councils (cont.)
and food blockade/embargo 90
founding of 20–21, 126–27
and France 599
and francophone territories 362
iconoclasm record *148*
industrial development of 21
Oberland opposition to reform 150–51
and Pays de Vaud 370
piety/devotion in 132–34
political positioning of 280, 372
population of 22, 126–27
and pre-Reform ecclesiastical authority 491–92
as Protestant 368
rebellion/violence in 23, 42–43
reform and state-building in 10, 503
Reformation and authority in 85, 126–28, 137–57, 429
Reformation mandates 185, 249
and Savoy/Lausanne territories 34, 143, 601
and Schaffhausen reform 225
and seized ecclesiastical goods 377
and social discipline 566
St. Vincent Minster 132
territorial church establishment in 157–64
and trade/transit routes 374
and Wittenberg Concord 107–8
worship order in 506
as Zwinglian 375, 380
Bern Disputation 10 Theses. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Bernegg, Fortunat Sprecher de 348
Berner Synodus. See under creeds/confessions/covenants
Bernhard, Jan-Andrea 11
Berri, Christian 305n
Berthelier, Philibert 370
Bertschi, Marcus 182, 182n, 184n, 198n
Besançon 592
Bessler, Peter *573*
Bever 328, map *307*
Bex 369
Beza, Theodore 163, 210
at Bern colloquy (1588) 166
and Bullinger 381
as Calvinist 375
and Montbéliard Colloquy 165, 385
and Reformed consensus 382–86
teacher at Lausanne academy 37
as temperate moderator 388
and Zurich theologians 108–9
Bianchi, Bernardino 287
Bible. *See also* scripture
burned in Zug 270
commentaries of 87, 104, 116, 423–24, 454, 463, 471–72, 579–80
concordances of 422–24
and covenant theology 476–77
education in 588–89
exegesis of, taught in *Lectorium* 535
as gift from Bullinger to Luther 594
lectio continua 454
lectures on 587
mandatory instruction on, in Basel 191
Pellikan's commentary on 104
Reformation views of 452–53, 497
superiority of 180
unity of the testaments 484
versions: Erasmus' Greek New Testament 68, 177, *178*
French Protestant 454
Luther's translation 236, 453–54
Olivétan translation 454
Prophets' (1529) 78
Septuagint and Vulgate 496–97
Swiss vernacular 519
Vulgate 78
Zurich 78, 116, 454, *455,* 571
as Word of God 114
Zwingli's exegesis of Psalms 68
Zwingli's study of 68, 570
Bible reading circles (*Bibelkreise*) 587
in Aarau 429
and Anabaptism 393–95, 413, 426
banned in Zurich 404
and believers' baptism 406
in Bern 429–30
of Castelbergs 393n
and Lord's Supper 430
as radicalized *sola scriptura* 422
Ulimann as founder of 420
Bibliander, Theodor 104, *105,* 111, 317, 450, 471, 516
Biel (Bienne) 85–86, 592
Biel, Gabriel 477

Bifrun, Jachiam Tütschett 328, 343, 348–49
Bilger, Bartholomäus 302
Binzli, Georg 570
Birseck 279
Bisaz, Johannes Cönz (Contius, Zuoz) 348, 353, 358n
Bivio enclave 343
Black Death 22–23. *See also* plague illness/death
Blanke, Fritz 5, 448
Blarer, Ambrosius 262, 465, 594, 604
Blarer, Diethelm 250
Blarer von Wartensee, Jacob Christoph 212, 279
Blasius, Johannes 312, 314, 316–18, 321n, 325, 327, 330, 347
Blaurock, Georg (Georg Cajakob) 81–82, 309, 412, 571, 585
Blickle, Peter 491
Bodin, Jean 293
Bodler, Johann 269
Bohemia, and Anabaptists 435, 439
Bolsec, Jérôme 163, 380
Bolsec Affair 380
Bolt, Eberli 421n, 425–26, 433
Bolt, Ulrich 296n, 298, 301, 309
Bomgartner, Martin 426
Bondo 327, map *307*
Bonifaci, Daniel 349
Book of Confessions (United Presbyterian Church USA). *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Bormio town 36, 292, 337n
Borromean League 609
Borromeo, Charles/Carlo 287, 345, 351, 608
Bothanus, Hieronymus 188n
Bovio, Gian Battista 346
Brecht, Martin 265
Bregaglia. *See* Bergell
Val Bregaglia
Breitinger, Johann Jakob 124–25, 166–67, 283
Bremgarten 92–94, *578*
Brennwald, Heinrich 76, 429
Brenz, Johannes 88
Brethren of the Common Life 477
Briçonnet, Guillaume 370
Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament (Luther). *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Brötli, Johannes 81, 223, 396n 404, 419
Bruening, Michael 11
Brugge, Johan van (David Joris) 208, 439
Brugg Latin school 153, 531
Brun, Rudolf 62
Brunner, Jörg 137–38
Brunner, Otto, *Ganzes Haus* 543
Brusio 289, 344, map *307*
Bryner, Erich 10
Bucer, Martin
  and Basel 201–2, 204
  and Bern Disputation 144
  and Calvin 379
  on church discipline 468
  ecclesiolgy of 461
  Eucharistic theology of 317–18n
  and First Helvetic Confession 107, 594
  and Lord's Supper 206
  and Marburg Colloquy 88
  sacramental theology of 470–71
  and Synod of Bern (1537) 159
  and Tetrapolitan Confession 594
  and Wittenberg Concord 107, 594
  and Zwinglians 503
Bullinger, Heinrich
  and Anabaptists 112–13, 311, 437–38
  apocalypticism of 111n
  on Augsburg Interim 605
  at Bern Disputation 94
  at Bremgarten 94
  and Calvin 376–77, 381
  on church discipline 470
  correspondence of 118, *119 map,* 256–57, 328
  on covenant theology 480–84
  and crisis of 1547/48 605
  on death penalty 579–81
  at Dort 166–67
  ecclesiology of 462
  and education reform 515, 528–30
  and the European Reformed 607
  and the Genevans 109
  at Grossmünster 78, 100
  on justification 458
  life/career of 93–96, 198
  liturgy/order of worship of 508
  and Lord's Supper 162
  and Luther 108, 594
  on miracles 579

Bullinger, Heinrich (cont.)
and Myconius 201
as playwright 568
portrait of, by Asper *92*
publishing program of 116
replaces Zwingli 495
as research subject 5–6
and Ritter-Burgauer dispute 230–31
sacramental theology of 472
and Schaffhausen 230–32
and Second Helvetic Confession 382–83, 454, 456
signs *Consensus Tigurinus* 605
and social welfare employment 565
and Sulzer 209
and the Three Leagues 311, 313, 324
and transnational web 607
on two kingdoms 464–66
and Vadian 256–58, 317
on witchcraft 577–89
and Zug 270
and Zurich's Protestant ties 14
and Zwingli 94, 119–20
Bullinger works
A Brief Exposition of the One and Eternal Testament or Covenant of God (1534) 480–81
Catechism for Adults 101
Christian Estate of Marriage (1540) 500, 547
Common Places of Christian Religion 101
Confessio Helvetica Posterior 113
Confessio Helvetica Prior 107, 594
Consensus Tigurinus notes 109
On Councils (1561) 111
De institutione eucharistiae 472
De origine erroris in negocio eucharistiae ac missae (1539) 472
De sacrificio missae 472
De scripturae sanctae authoritate (1539) 472
De testamento seu foedere dei unico ... 482
Diarium 93, 578
On the Dignity of Sacred Scripture (1571) 236
Epistle to the Hungarian Church and Clergy 101
Five Decades of Sermons 100
Gutachten 110
History of Lucretia play 568, *569*
Matthew commentary (1542) 472
The Old Faith (1537) 484
On the Origins of Anabaptism (1560) 112
Orthodox Confession of the Ministers of the Zurich Church (1545) 472
Reformation History (illus.) *73, 84, 87, 145, 148, 187, 433, 586, cover illustration*
sermon notes *509*
Theatrum de veneficiis (1586) 480–81
Treatise on Forbidden Arts 578
Wahrhaftes Bekenntnis der Diener der Kirchen zu Zürich (1545) 108
Wider die schwarzen Künste (1568–73) 578–82
Bullinger family
Adlischwyler, Anna (wife) 94
Elisabetta (daughter) 575
Margaretha (daughter) 575
Bundestage. See councils/territorial assemblies
Bündner Oberland (Surselva) 291n
Bünzli, Gregor 570
Burgauer, Benedikt 144, 225–26, 230–31, 237, 242, 247–49
Burgdorf 47, 153–54, 531
Burghartz, Susanna 543–44
Burgundian Wars (1474–76) 363, 367–69. *See also* warfare/wars
Burnett, Amy Nelson 10
Bursella, Johann 305n
Büsser, Fritz 5, 448, 451

Cabasso, Simon 360
Cajakob, Georg (Blaurock) 309
Calabrese, Francesco 319
Calancatal (Val Calanca) 291n, 294, 344–45
Calandrini, Scipione 350–51
Calvin, Jean
and Bullinger 381
on church-state relationship 377, 470
and *Consensus Tigurinus* 109, 605
and covenant theology 483, 485–86
criticized by humanist circle 208
development of Reformed Orthodoxy 166
ecclesiology of 461–62
on education 528
on excommunication 514

and Geneva 162, 602–3
Institutes of the Christian Religion 588
(*See under* creeds/confessions/covenants)
on justification/sanctification 459
and Lord's Supper dispute 162
and Luther 603
as marriage counselor 518
and Melanchthon 603
and paths to reform 492–93
portrait of *376*
as research subject 4
Rusca's *Acts ...against Calvin* 360–61
sacramental theology of 473
and Schleitheim articles 414
and Servetus 231
as skeptic of signs/portents 577
and Synods of Lausanne 375
views of: Augsburg Interim 605
Synod of Bern (1537) 159
Zwinglianism 603
and Zurich theologians 108–9
Calvinism
on church-state relationship 377–78
crypto-Calvinists 204
decline of in the Confederation 381
on excommunication 378
in Geneva 384
myths about 450–51
and Pays de Vaud 376
scholarship of 450–51
and Zwinglianism 362–63, 375–82
Camogli, Niccolò 346–47
Campi, Emidio 10–11, 567
Canonicis, Lavinia de, wife of J.J. Grynaeus 210n
capital punishment. *See* executions
Capito, Wolfgang 279
at Bern Disputation 144
and First Helvetic Confession 107
as humanist 177
sacramental theology of 470–71
sermons 180
and spread of Luther's works 179–80
at Synod of Bern (1537) 155, 159
and Wittenberg Concord 594
Capol, Luzius de 348
Capuchins 262, 277, 282, 609
Carinus, Georg 348
Carthusians 83, *84,* 142, *172,* 176–77, 191n, 193
Casaccia-Maloja 327, 355, map *307*
Casimir, Johann 210
Caspano 320, 346, 350
Castasegna 327, map *307*
Castelberg, Andreas 309–10, 393n, 397–98, 404
Castelberg, Christian von 345n
Castellio, Sebastian 208, 606
Castelmur, Bartholomäus de 305n
catechetical instruction 524–27
catechisms
Anabaptist, on baptism 423–24
in Bernese education 153–54
Biofrun's translation of 328
of Bucer 326n
catechetical songs 234
in Chur 330
Comander/Blasius (1538) 315–17, 317n, 318, 325, 328
in the Confederation 100–101
French translations of 163
Heidelberg Catechism (1563) 101, 109, 234, 607
Instruction for the Education of Youth 343
in Italian and Romansch (1552) 324
Jud-Ulmer version 232–34
Jud version: Large and Small (1534–35) 100–101, 317, 325
in Three Leagues 527
wall catechism 525, *526,* 527
in Zurich 510
Megander's *Kinderbericht* (1536/38) 159
Oecolampadian/Myconian 194, 194n, 202, 212
and Reformed identity 208–13
in Romansch 27, 317, 329, 343, 349
in rural areas 506
in St. Gallen 248
Surselvan 360
taught in Latin/German 586
of Vergerio (1549) 325
wall catechism 525, *526,* 527
in Zurich 510
Catholic Confederates 151, 160–61, 168–69, 281, 344–45, 351, 411, 595–96, 615
and Basel 610
and Habsburgs 596
Catholic League 610, 614
Catholic-Reformed cooperation 489

Catholics/Catholic Church. *See also* counter-reformations; Inquisition
and Basel 172–75, 186–87, 610
in Bern 128, 132–37
in central Switzerland 595–98
Como Diocese 287–88
in the Confederation 592
emigration of, from Basel 196
execution of Thurgau bailiff 86
Golden League cantons 609
and Kappel and Gubel battles 90–91
in Locarno 281
and Lord's Supper controversy 86–89
and Peace of Kappel (1531) 272
post-Reformation education for 538–39
in pre-Reformation Confederation 490–91
and Reformation in the Three Leagues 305
schools in Swiss lands 521
St. Alban 188
St. Ulrich 188
and the supernatural 583
in Toggenburg 251
and tradition 496
celibacy 71, 73, 150, 543–44
Cellario, Francesco 338
Celsi, Mino 357
Ceporinus, Jacob 571
Chablais 386
Chamues-ch 330
charities. *See* social welfare
Charles II (duke) 35, 368
Charles III (duke) 370, 373, 386
Charles V 144, 461, 564, 596, 599, 604, 606
Charles VIII 41
Charles the Bold 38–40, 44, 362, 366, 368–69
Charles Emmanuel I 387, 610
Chiampell, Chasper 315
Chiampell, Durich (Ulrich Campell)
and Chur 352–53
On the Duty of the Magistrate 338, *339,* 357
Historia Raetica 303n
proclamation 297n
On Providence and Predestination 358
Raetiae Alpestris topographica descriptio 353
Rhaetian History 340–41
Romansch translations 314, *329,* 343, 348
Chiavenna 36, 285–88, 292, 320–21, 327, 337, 345–46, 350, 355
children. *See* families
Chioergnia, Christoph 358n
Chorgericht 152, 168–69, 550
Christian Civic Union (*Christliches Burgrecht*)
alliances: Basel 90, 249
Bern 86, 90, 169, 197, 249
Zurich 85–86
members of 85–86, 226–27, 249, 594
strength of 596–97
and war against Zurich 90
and warfare losses 250
Zurich revision of 595
Christian Union (*Christliche Vereinigung*) 86, 249n, 596
Christology
of Anabaptists 401
and ecclesiology 460
and Eucharistic theology 209–10
of Huber 165–66
of John of Damascus 570
Reformed doctrines of 452, 460
and sacramentarianism 454–55
and Schleitheim Articles 415
Socinian 354
Chur
Anabaptists in 309–11
authority to call a pastor 297n
cessation of mass 296
disputation, confessions of faith, and institutionalization 314–36
as episcopal seat 20
execution of Schlegel 311
first Church Ordinance 312–13n
Latin School in 529
peasant uprising in 303
Reformation in 285–86, 301–3, 305, 311
trade route economy of 19
view of, from Merian *304*
churches/ecclesiastical institutions. *See also* ecclesiolgy
adjudicated by magisterial councils 168–69
Amsoldingen collegiate church 132
Augustinian, evangelical reforms at 183
Baptismal Book (Bern, 1528) 507

in Basel 176
in Bern 132–34
clearing of, after Bern Disputation 146, 149
Dominican church (Bern) 133
Franciscan (Basel) 180, 189–90
Franciscan church (Basel) 187
Franciscan church (Bern) 133
Grossmünster theological school 64, 68–69, 77–79, 100
Holy Ghost Spital/Upper Spital (Bern) 133
as lay foundations 294
Lower Spital (Bern) 133
Nydegg chapel (Bern) 132–33
overseen by town councils 25
patronage of 133
in pre-Reformation Bern 132–33
in pre-Reformation Zurich 65
Simultankirchen in Toggenburg 253
St. Agnes (Schaffhausen) 220
St. John (Schaffhausen) 220
St. Vincent collegiate church (Bern) 132
St. Vincent Minster (Bern) 132
in Three Leagues 294–300
church fathers
and covenant theology 477
Cyprian 235
Erasmus's editions of, printed in Basel 177
on infant baptism 427
Oecolampadius as translator 181–82, 427
Zwingli's study of 68
church membership, as voluntary 442
church-state relationship
and Anabaptists 155, 157, 161–62, 389–90, 437–38, 469
in Basel 171–75
in Bern 150–57
and church discipline 384, 469
and godly society 584–89
and Ilanz Articles 296
in Middle Ages 491–92
and morals conduct/ordinances 519, 565
and Reformed Orthodoxy 121–25
and structures of authority 498–505
in the Three Leagues 295
views of: Bullinger 466–67, 479
Calvinists 377, 470
Calvinist *vs.* Zwinglian 377
Jud 479
Zwingli 389, 466
in Zurich 495
Cistercian abbey (Kappel am Albis), accepts Reformation 94
citizenship
in Basel 175, 184–85, 425–26
in Bern 126
Burgrecht/combourgeoisie in Biel 592
and church-state relationships 377
oaths of: in Basel 184, 193
and Einsiedeln abbey/Zurich 266
in St. Gallen 246
in the *Orte* 9n
of refugees 282, 603
restricted in 1600s 617
rights and duties of 24
clergy. *See also* preachers/preaching
and Ämter grievances 154–55
Anabaptist 394–95, 417
and anticlericalism, in Bern 136
in Basel 176–77, 193–94, 196, 202–3, 206–7, 213–15
benefactors of 134
and Bern council 165
Calvinist, on church-state relationship 377
citizenship oaths of 184, 246, 266, 501
and civic debate 91–92, 95–96
conduct of, addressed in Ilanz Articles 295
and the Confederation 209
education and career of 12, 515–16, 530
appointed by magistrates 501
apprenticeships 499
Catholic ministers become Protestant 505
confessional conflicts of 206
as confessors for indulgences 136
development of truly Reformed 505
dynasties of 505–6
Examinatorenkonvent, in Zurich 500–501, *502*
Examiners Committee (Zurich) 98
financial support of, for education 505, 515–16, 530, 535
as mouthpiece of magistrates 121–22

clergy. *See also* preachers/preaching (cont.)
as overseers of parishioners' beliefs 498
and pastoral care levels 499
priestly immorality 295
secular duties of 501
synodal oversight of 314–15, 501
as uneducated 529–30
and University of Basel 176
as educators, in Schaffhausen 227
families of 499–500
generational conflicts 209–10
held in low esteem 505
and Ilanz Articles 285, 295, 299
and Jetzer affair 136–37
and the *Kirchenrat* 51
and marriage 499, 544–45
in Neuchâtel 504
and popular beliefs 12
priests, education of, after reform 539
Reformation challenges for 494
Reformation doctrine of 464–65
and secular authority 498–99
of Southern Valleys 331
in St. Gallen 243, 246–48
subsistence of 500
of Swiss Reformed 519
in Three Leagues 294–300
and Toggenburg reforms 252
and urban authorities 501
and *Wächrteramt* office 467
Clichtove, Josse 186
col de Joux, trade route 365
Collin, Rudolf 94, 587
colloquies. *See* disputations
Comander, Johannes (Dorfmann) 296–97, 301, 303–6, 310–19, 324–25, 328, 331, 333
communion. *See* Eucharist; Lord's Supper
Confederacy of the Eight Old *Orte* 62
Confessio: Fides et Placita synodi. See under creeds/confessions/covenants
confessionalization 322, 339n, 342
confessional politics, and the Confederation 89–92
confessional relationships/formation of 106–15
confessions. *See* creeds/confessions/covenants
Confessio Raetiae. See under creeds/confessions/covenants
Consensus Tigurinus. See under creeds/confessions/covenants
consistories 549–50
consolidation
of Confederation 52–56
and doctrinal disputes 354–59
in Ilanz Articles 336
in St. Gallen 246–48, 250
in Three Leagues 340–41, 354–59
Constance
alliances: Christian Civic Union 249
Reformed 85–86
Zurich 85, 595
at Bern Disputation 143–44
as episcopal seat 20
and Lord's Supper 594
Tetrapolitan Confession 89
convents. *See* monasteries/convents
Cordier, Maturin/Mathurin 532–33
corpus christianum view of Zwingli 82–83
councils/territorial assemblies. *See also* disputations/colloquies; synods
Aarau: (1536) and First Helvetic Confession 107, 112
(1585) on Anabaptism 112
Appenzell: adopts reformation 259
Inner Rhoden/Outer Rhoden resolution 262–63
toleration principle of 258, 260–62
Augsburg Diet, *Tetrapolitan Confession* (1530) 594
Basel: adopts the Reformation 190–94, 209, 279
appoints Grynaeus head of the church 210
and Baden disputation 186–87
on church governance 194
and church-university relationship 198, 200–201
and clerical factionalism 206–7
edict allowing mass and evangelicalism 188–89, 279
intellectual/religious movements in 45–48, 50
mandate against Anabaptists 185, 429

matrimonial court of 549
relationship with bishop 175
restructures ecclesiastical life 193–94
and social welfare 562–63
supports Sulzer 206–7
takes over college 540
and Wittenberg Concord 107–8, 201
Bern: and Augustinian resistance 151–52
Brunner case 138
business of 126–27
on Calvinism-Zwinglianism 381
edicts for preaching 140, 142
and Farel 371
on the Lords's Supper 162
the *plus* (*Mehr*) 372
as responsible for true Christian faith 150–52
on role of pastors 165
and Synod of Dort (1618) 166–67
Chur, and evangelicalism 312
Davos (1526, 1539, 1544, 1552) 297–98, 310, 318, 320–21, 330
Geneva 162, 528
Imperial Diet, on poor relief 557
and morals mandates/regulation 517
in Neuchâtel, and Farel 503–4
as overseers of clergy 503
Schaffhausen: adopts the Reformation 225
issues *Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung* 226
protects Hofmeister from the pope 221
and Ritter-Burgauer dispute 237
socioreligious considerations 223
and social welfare 558–59
St. Gallen: and the abbey church 249–50
consolidates Reformation in 246–48
Reformation resolution 244
tensions and disputes 244–46
Three Leagues, and Ilanz Articles 293
Toggenburg, early reform measures of 252–353
Trent 110–11, 203, 287
Waldshut, approves Anabaptism 408
Zurich: Alms Statute (1520) 561
as church leaders 121
colloquy (1523) 73
elects Bullinger to replace Zwingli 94–95
Examiners Committee 98
on infant baptism 81, 397
matrimonial ordinance/decision 547–48
provides education for boys 505
responsibility of, for doctrine/practice 71–72, 74–75
social composition of 25–26
social welfare laws 561–63
synod (1528) 66, 79–80
and Zwingli 63–64
counter-reformations
after Council of Trent 287, 608–11
and armed conflict 287–88
in Inner and Outer Rhoden 277
in Inner Rhoden/Appenzell 262–63
in Lucerne 268–69
in Milan 287
in rural states and territories 273–83
in Southern Valleys 343–44
and Toggenburg 253
Covenant of Stans (*Stanser Verkommnis*). *See under* treaties/agreements
covenant theology 476–86, 527
Cratander, Andreas 179, 182n
creeds/confessions/covenants. *See also* catechisms; liturgies
XXII Articuli (Mainardo, 1548) 320–21
Anabaptist ordinances, in Bern 431
Apostles' Creed 114, 146, 240, 314, 513
Augsburg Confession/Apology (1530) 206, 461–62, 591
Augsburg Interim 604–5
Basel Confession (1534/1547/1563) 167, 202, 206, 210, 212, 462
Basel Reformation ordinance (1529) 226–27, 467
Bern Disputation 10 Theses 146, 150
Berner Synodus 155–56, *156,* 157, 159, 469
Book of Confessions (United Presbyterian Church in USA) 114
Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacrament (Luther) 108
Confessio: Fides et Placita synodi (1552/53) 323

creeds/confessions/covenants. (cont.)
Confessio Raetiae (1552/53) 324, 331–34, *334–35,* 345, 355, 360
Consensus Tigurinus (1549) 109, 163, 208, 231, 258, 333–34, 473, *474,* 476, 605, 607
Constitutions et ordonnances (Farel) 504
Davos proclamation of religious freedom 297–98, 323
Decalogue 513
Definitio of Chiavenna (*Definitio Clavennensis ecclesiae ex vulgari nostro de verbo ad verbum*) 345n
Definitio of Three Leagues 354
Description of the Rites and Institutions of the Zurich Church (1559) 98
First Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Prior*) 107, 231, 462, 472, 594
Formula of Concord (1577) 209–10
Genevan academy confession 537
Genevan *Confession de foy* (1536/37) 462
Helvetic Consensus (1675) 114, 359
Ilanz Articles (1524/26) 11, 144, 285–86, 293, 295–96, 298, 303, 306, 323, 336
Institutes of the Christian Religion (Calvin) 163, 360–61
Interpretation and Explanation of the Articles (*Auslegen und Begründen der Schlossreden;* Zwingli) 1
Leuenberg Concord (1973) 110
Locarno Statement of Faith (1551) 281
Ninety-Five Theses (Luther) 179
Orthodox Confession of the Ministers of the Zurich Church (1545) 472
Reformed confession, in Three Leagues 341–54
Rhaetian Confession (1552/53) 462
Sargans Articles 296
Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung 226, 228–29
Schleitheim Articles/Confession (1527) 82, 411, 414–19
Second Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Posterior*) 109–10, 114, *115,* 167, 207, 231, 258, 262, 336, 359, 361, 382, 454, 456, 462, 487, 607–8
Short Christian Introduction (Zwingli) 75–76
Short Explanation of the Creeds (Vadian) 240
and *sola scriptura* 453
Tetrapolitana (1530) 39, 89
Wahrhaftes Bekenntnis der Diener der Kirchen zu Zürich (1545) 108
Wittenberg Concord (1536) 107–8, 159, 201–2, 206, 231, 379, 475, 594
cuius regio, eius religio 91, 596, 606
Curio, Valentin 179
Curione, Celio Secondo 208, 532, 606

Daux, Isbrand 387
Davos 293, 297–98, 302, 310, 318, 330, 347, 350, 353
Davos proclamation of religious freedom. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
deacons 504
death penalty. *See* executions
Definitio of Chiavenna Reformed. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Definito of Three Leagues. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
democracy 293, 298, 298n, 299, 303, 324–25
Denck, Hans 426
Dietrich, Christian 411
Diets. *See* councils/territorial assemblies
discipline
the ban: Anabaptist view of 406n, 408, 412–13, 415–16, 418, 427–28, 432, 549
ban brothers 214
in Basel 194, 196
in Geneva 549
in Bern 496, 516–17
Berner Synodus on excommunication 378
Chorgericht 517
church: in Basel 196–97
in Bern 163, 168
Heidelberg dispute 384
Hubmaier/Anabaptist view of 408–9
and church-state relationship 467
clergy-teachers disagreements 537
and excommunication 467–68
Farel's attempt at 504
moral: administered by clergy/magistrates 121–22
and Anabaptism 167, 408
and Chorgericht 168–69, 517
edicts of (1587) 164–68
of pastors 165

in Schaffhausen 79, 228–29
secret overseers of 164
in Zurich 79
in Neuchâtel 505
and poor relief 560
in Reformed churches 516–19
at Schaffhausen 510
in Schleitheim Confession 82
and *Sittenzucht* 566
social 12, 566
theological distinctives 463–70
in Three Leagues 353–54
views of: Beza-Bullinger 384
Calvinist 359, 375
Calvinist-Erastian 384
Calvinist-Swiss 386
Calvinist-Zwinglian 363, 377–78
Oecolampadius 467
Vermigli 469
in Zurich 98, 117, 469
Disentis district/abbey (Mustér) 291n, 343, map *307*
disputations/colloquies. *See also* councils/territorial assemblies; synods
at Baden (1526) 84–85, 142–43, 186, *187*
Appenzell represented at 261
St. Gallen represented at 248
at Basel (1523 and 1524) 182
on clerical marriage 544–45
at Bern: (1528) 85, 94, 144–49, *145,* 159, 249, 261, 371, 453
(1588) 166
(1548) 380
(1531, 1532, 1538) 436
at Chur: (1531) 310, 313–46
(1543) 319
as foil to heresy 322
at Ilanz (1526) 297, 305
at Lausanne (1536) 374–75, 602
at Locarno 281
Marburg Colloquy (1529) 88, 197
Montbéliard Colloquy (1586) 165–66, 385–86
at Susch (1537–38/1544) 315–16
at Teufen 260–61
at Tirano and Piuro 361
university debates 540–41
of Vadian/Hofmeister/Schappeler 243
Viret-Zébédée 379–80
Zofinger Anabaptist (1532) 161, 432, 436
at Zurich: (1523) 72–76, *73,* 81, 138–40, 219–22, 259
(1525) 309
(1523) 395–96
(1525) 395–96
Zwingli *vs.* Lambert (1522) 71
divorce. *See* marriage
doctrine
Anabaptist characteristics 389–90, 405, 413, 418, 435–36
and church-state relationship 437
in *Consensus Tigurinus* 109
of election (*See also* predestination); and sacramental theology 475–76
Genevan, Lord's Supper 162
in Grebel letter 399–404
in Hubmaier's *Summary of the Whole Christian Life* 408–9
of justification 442, 457–59
sacramental 109
and Schleitheim Articles (1527) 418
in Three Leagues 354–59
two kingdoms (Luther) 464–66
Dominicans 64, 136, 182, 193
Domleschg 291n, 295, 308, 341–54. *See also* Lower Engadin
Domnik, Stephan 358
Dorfmann, Johannes Comander 296–97
Döring, Johannes 251, 251n, 258–59
Dubino 346

ecclesiology. *See also* churches/ecclesiastical institutions; discipline
Anabaptist 81, 394–97, 400–401, 405–7, 412–13, 417–19, 422, 463
of Basel 172
and Christian magistrate 469
church as visible/invisible 461
church government and discipline 463–70
under city governments 170
congregational authority (Anabaptist) 405
defined at Bern Disputation 146
and Grebel/Müntzer letter 400
nature of the church 460–63
Reformation models of 193–94, 607
revisionist history of 405–6

ecclesiology. *See also* churches (cont.)
in Schaffhausen 228
in Schleitheim Articles 418
separatist, of Anabaptists 395–97, 399, 405–8, 412–13, 416–17, 420–21, 436–38, 441
and soteriology 460
theological distinctives 463–70
in the Three Leagues 299
two kingdoms doctrine (Luther) 464–66
views of: Augustin (*corpus permixtum*) 462
Bullinger 468
Calvinist/Zwinglian 378
Jud 468
Luther 453
Zwingli 82–83, 396, 453
Echallens 370
Eck, Johannes 84–85, 142–44, 186–87, 223
economic/industrial development
in Appenzell (textiles) 262
and the Confederation 169
in Fribourg (artisans) 271
and mercenary services 267–68, 270 (*See also* mercenaries)
Middle Ages to 19th century 16–20
printing/publishing 25, 47, 116, 177, 179, 278–79
St. Gallen (linen) 238–39
of towns 20–21
edicts and mandates. *See also* matrimony/morals ordinances
against Anabaptists 161, 167–68
in Bern 150–57, 510
of Nantes 388
Neuchâtel, on reformation of vices (1538) 550
against the poor 560
for preaching 140–43, 188–89
in the Vaud, for Reformation 375
Viti et Modesti (1523) 143
Zurich, mandate to use tithes for education 77
Edlibach, Jakob 80
education. *See also* Bible reading circles (*Bibelkreise*)*;* catechetical instruction; catechisms; Latin schools
academies 534–41 (*See also* music)
Anabaptist 395
Appointees for Teaching and School (Zurich) 102
boarding schools 530–31
catechetical instruction 524–27
for Catholic students 538–39
choir schools 523
city authorities' roles 521
of clergy 12, 165, 176, 499, 505, 515–16, 530
as coeducational 523
as confessionally integrated 350–51
curricula 153, 350–51, 516, 519, 527, 536–37, 540, 585–88
on exegesis 535, 587
Farel's reforms 504
financial support of 530
Geneva Academy 163, 587, 603
Geneva/Zurich compared 587
Grossmünster theological school 77–78
Gymnasium/Collegium publicum 571, 586
higher levels 535–36, 540
of households 510
and humanist sodalities 394–95
of laity 589
the *Lectorium* (*Prophezei*) 505, 516, 535
locations: Aarau 531
Basel 202–3, 520–21
Bern 152–54, 1530–154, 343, 521–22, 535–36
Brugg 153, 531
Burgdorf 531
Cistercian abbey (Kappel am Albis) 93
Geneva 521n, 528, 537–38, 586, 588, 603
Germany 153
Lausanne 163, 531–32, 536
medieval cities 521
Milan, *Collegium Helveticum* 609
Romansch-speaking areas 348–49
Three Leagues 347–48, 350
Zurich 102, 505, 530, 532, 535–36, 571, 586
Academy 314
in Zurich 101–2, *103,* 408–14, 585–87
and municipal vernacular schools 521
as parental responsibility 553
post-Reformation 524–34

pre-Reformation 520–24
and printing press 177
Prophezei theological school 77, 94, 101–2, 198, 496, 515, 535, 571, 577
Reformation priorities for 523–24
as reform foundation 515–16
religious 454, 510 (*See also* catechetical instruction)
and rise of writing 26–27
and rural pastors 213–15
Schola Tigurina 102–4, *105,* 116
School Lesson, from Urban Wyss *528*
student scholarship funding 531–33, 535–37
for Swiss students 538
teachers, advertisement for *524*
teachers' salaries 101, 521, 532–33
unfunded 529–30
universities 534–41
University of Basel 46–47, 170, 175–76, 198, 200, 212, 520–21, *522*
University of Cologne 93
University of Freiburg im Breisgau 521
University of Heidelberg 210
varieties of in the Confederation 541
vernacular schools, in Zurich 528
views of: Bullinger 515, 528–30
Calvin 529
as well funded 530
egalitarianism, of Anabaptists 394, 431–32, 440
Eggenstorfer, Michael 218, 218n
Egli, Emil 5, 74, 448
Egli, Raphael 350
Egli, Tobias 350, 355
Eidguenots, and the Swiss 369–70
Einsiedeln abbey 18, 68, 266, 278
elites 23, 26, 267. *See also* nobility
Emden, poor relief in 559
emigration 21, 196, 439
Emmanuel-Philibert (duke) 386–87
Engadin 318. *See also* Lower Engadin; Upper Engadin
episcopal seats, and rise of towns 20
Erasmus of Rotterdam 67–68, 177, 278, 497
Annotations on the New Testament 242
Enchiridion militis Christiani 218, 470
Greek New Testament title page *178*
Erastus, Thomas 210n, 384, 579, 607
eschatology, in Schleitheim articles 415
ethics 85, 231, 396, 424, 432, 442
Etterlin, Petermann 47, 55–56
Eucharist. *See also* Lord's Supper; mass
and Basel controversies 185
Bucer's theology of 317–18n
coena mystica concept of 107
defended at Bern disputation 261
Reformed style of 513
and Wittenberg Concord 107
evangelicalism
accelerated by printing press 170, 179 (*See also* printing/publishing)
and Anabaptism 432
in Appenzell 258–59
in Basel 179–85, 432
in Bern 140, 144, 170, 372
of Bullinger 93
and Calvinist missionaries 381
in Chur 312
and confessionalization/institutionalization of 314, 340–41
of Farel 370–73
in Geneva 370
and humanism 179–80
and Lord's Supper controversies at Basel 185
in Neuchâtel 370
and preaching/teaching *183*
in the Three Leagues 298, 301–14, 340–41
in Valais 368
in Zurich 79–80, 102, 109
excommunication 196, 513–14, 517. *See also* discipline
executions
of Anabaptists 585, *586*
in Bern 160–62, 168
Bolt 433
Falk *586*
Krüsi 433
Landis 113
Manz 160, 415
Margret Hottinger 390
of Retmann *586*
Sattler 441
in Schaffhausen 228
in Toggenburg 252
in Zurich 86, 112–13, 160–61, *586*

executions (cont.)
of Berthelier 370
Bullinger's approval of 437
of Catholics 86, 311, 312n
for iconoclasts 584
of Planta 338
of Schlegel (abbot) 311, 312n
of Servetus 381
exorcisms. *See* supernatural

Fabri (Peter Spyser) 305n
Fabri, Johannes 73–74, 144
Fabricius, Andreas (Schmid) 302
Fabricius, Erasmus (Schmid) 219, 317
Fabricius Montanus, Johannes (Hans Schmid) 340
faith 389–90, 456–57
Falck, Peter 271
Falk, Jacob *586*
families
and catechetical instruction 100
development of, in Reformation 546–47
in early modern society 542–43
and illegitimate children 553
as model Christians 499
parental responsibility within 553
and patriarchy 547, 552–55
in Reformation era 546–47
and social order 555
Fanas 342
Farel, Guillaume
as *Agent Bernois* 370–73
in Aigle district 371
at Basel disputation 183
and Bern 601–2
as Calvinist 375
failure of, in Porrentruy 265, 279
and Geneva 158, 162, 602–3
and Neuchâtel 504
portrait of *371*
in Swiss districts (1529–31) 157–58
and the Vaud 602
Farner, Oskar 5, 74, 448
Fast, Heinhold 420
fasting, and Affair of the Sausages 3, 70, 392
Fehler, Timothy G. 559–60
Feldiserberg 344
Ferdinand of Habsburg-Austria 86, 197
Ferin, Margaret 552
feudalism. *See* nobility
Fieri, Ludovico 354–55
Fiez, Reformation in 373
Filisur 344
Fininger, Moritz 181
Finsler, Georg 5
Fiorillo, Simone 354
First Helvetic Confession. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Fisch, Hans Ulrich I, stained glass window *129*
Fischer, Thomas 560
Fisher, Jeff 458
Fisher, John 186
Florio, John 286
Florio, Michelangelo 354–55
Flüe, Nicholas of 48–49, *49,* 50n, 611
food shortages, as socioeconomic/political crisis 90–91
Foppa (Gruob) 302, 306, 308n, 349
Formula of Concord. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Forrer, Josef 260
France
alliances: Bern 387, 610
the Confederation 36, 44, 598, 612
Solothurn 610
Zurich 612
replaces Holy Roman Empire 599
Franciscan church (Basel) 180, 189–90
Franciscans 64, 136, 218–22
Franco, Girolamo 110
francophone territories, and the Confederation 11, 362–63
Frauenberger, Peter 182
Frauenfeld, as Diet meeting place 30
Fraumünster abbey 64, 76–77, 505–15, 530–31
Frederick III 113–14, 383, 607
freedom of conscience. *See* religious freedom
Frei, Jakob 254
Frell, Georg 355–56
Fribourg map *364*
alliances: Basel 190–91
Bern 169, 601–2
the Confederation 602–3
Geneva 602
Schwyz 600

Bird's-eye view of *271*
and Burgundian War 369
as Catholic 368
and the Confederation 28–29, 157–59
failed Reformation in 271–72
and francophone territories 362
and Geneva 158
Guggisberg's view of 265
industrial development of 21
Jesuit college in 539
oath-taking for old faith 272
population of 22
Fricker, Thüring 25
Fridbolt, Christian 250
Fries, Hans, *Works of Charity* painting *561*
Fries, Peer 557, 559
Froben, Johann 177, 179
Froschauer, Christoph 70–71, 116, *147,* 235, 392, 508
Frutigen district 151
Ftan, Anabaptism in 319
Furrer, Joseph 261
Fürstenland 238, 254
Furter, Michael 47
Furtmüller, Valentin 255

Gabriel, Stefan 360
Gaffori, Cesare, *The Tirano Disputation ...* 361
Gaisberg, Franz 249
Gaismair, Michael 298, 303n
Gallicius, Philipp 305n, 308–9, 314, 317–18, 330, 333, 342–43
Gantner, Johannes 323, 332, 355–57
Gast, Johannes 552
Gebweiler, Johann 181
Geneva map, *364 See also under* councils
alliances: Basel 212
Bern 157–58, 163, 373, 387, 493, 602–3, 610
the Confederation 363, 493
France 387
Fribourg 602
Zurich 397, 602–8, 610
as banking center 22
and Beza 382–86
and the Confederation 4, 34–35
and *Consensus Tigurinus* 109
consistory of 549, 566
development of 366–67
distinguished from Zurich 567–68
Ecclesiastical Ordinances (1541) 510
economic development of 21–22, 366–67
education in 163, 533–34, 537–38
as episcopal seat 20, 157
and *Escalade* (1602) 362, 387–88
and "eternal treaty," 158–59
and Farel 373
and German-speaking cantons 362
Latin school of 521, 532–33
liturgies in 511
Lord's Supper in 514
and paths to reform 492–93
population of 22
and refugees 607
and Savoy 159
siege against (1530) 158
social welfare in 564–65
and the Swiss Reformation 157–59, 370
and the Vaud 168
Gering, Beat 380
Germany, and Swiss German Reformation 604
Gesellschaft zur Constaffel 63
Gessner, Conrad 104, *105,* 116, 535, 575
Gestrich, Andreas 543
Gex 386–87
Ghislieri, Michele 338
Gierfalk, Thomas 183
Giger, Gabriel 421
Giselbrecht, Rebecca 567
Glarean, Heinrich, Swiss humanist 68, 177
Glarus/Glarner
alliances: Toggenburg 251
Zurich 600, 614
as Confederation member 28–29
failed reformation in 254, 277–78
peace treaty with reformed communes 86
political entities of 614
population of 22
Zwinglian Reformation in 67–68, 83, 85
Golden League 609
Gordon, Bruce 7–8, 567, 583
grace. *See* soteriology
Graf, Urs the Elder 47
Grandson 157–59, 369
Grasland (Schwarzenburg) 157–59

Graubünden/Grisons/Three Leagues 34. *See also* Three Leagues
alliances: the Confederation 33–34, 36, 285
the *Zenden* 615
failed Reformation in 265, 281, 285–89
geography of 286
morals/matrimonial court of 551
rebellion/violence in 289, 303n
religious freedom in 285–86, 297–98, 323
war with Habsburg Tyrol 40–41
Great St. Bernard 19–20
Grebel, Conrad/Konrad
and Anabaptists 80–81, 223, 420
and Bible reading circles 393n
death of 82, 246, 310
escape from jail and death of 82
as founder of *Prophezei* 571
in Grüningen 412
and Hubmaier 401, 408–10
letter, to Müntzer 397–401
as missionary 408
as Müntzerite 112
Snyder's view of 408–9
in St. Gallen 245
and Zurich disputation 395, 404
Grebel, Jakob 80
Gregorian calendar, opposed by Protestants 120–21, 262
Greyerz, Kaspar von 12
Grey League. *See* Three Leagues
Grisons. *See* Graubünden/Grisons/Three Leagues; Three Leagues/Grisons
Groß, Jakob 430
Grosse, Christian 511–12
Grossmünster
Bullinger's preaching services at 100
education at 529, 571, 586
in pre-Reformation Zurich 64
Prophezei school at 571
and signs and portents 576
tower fire at 576–77
worship order in 506–15
Zwingli's reforms at 78–79
Grüningen/Grüninger Amt 112, 412
Gruob (Foppa) 302, 306, 308n, 349
Grüsch 342, map *307*
Gruyère, geography/development of 367–68
Grynaeus, Johann Jacob 209–10, 210n, *211,* 212, 385, 606–7
Grynaeus, Simon 107, 159, *198,* 200–202, 202n, 471
Grynaeus, Thomas 209n
Gubel, battle of 90
Guggisberg, Hans R. 265, 267, 492
guilds 62–64, 127, 134–35, 175, 183, 190–92, 269, 560
Guillimann, Frank 612
Guldin, Niklaus/Nikolas 421n, 426, 430
Gwalther, Elisabetta 575
Gwalther, Magdalena 575
Gwalther, Rudolf
commonplaces of 588
and *Consensus Tigurinus* 231
as dispute mediator 388
education of 120
examines Chiampell's text 358
head of Zurich church 384
and Lutherans 108
vilifies Sulzer 209
and Viret 384
Gwalther works
Comoedia sacra, Nabal 120
De syllabarum et carminimum ratione (1542) 120
poem in honor of Zurich 59n
sermons 120
translations, poems, songs, odes, homilies 120
Gypsies, in Zurich 560

Habsburgs 20, 36–38, 216
Haller, Berchtold
and Anabaptists 169, 431
at Bern Disputation 143–44
death of 159
early Reformer 222, 386
and education 153
and Farel 370
letter to Zwingli 430
on music 508
portrait medallion of *154*
as priest 138
as senior minister 506
as town historian 35
Haller, Johannes 159–60, 377, 380, 384, 505, 605

Hamm, Berndt 457
Harnack, Adolf von 448
Hartmann, Christian 302, 305n, 308
Hartmannis, Hartmann de 350
Haslibacher, Hans 161
Hasli district 151
Hätzer, Ludwig, exiled from Zurich 404
Haubenschmid, Caspar 358n
Heckel, Johannes 464
Hedio, Kaspar 88, 180, 470–71
Heidelberg, church discipline dispute 384
Heimlicher (secret overseers), of morals 164–65
Heinzenberg 308
Hellwart,Margaret 440n
Helvetic Consensus. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Henny, Sundar 11
Henrich, Rainer 340n
Henry II, king 610
Henry III, king 610–11
Henry IV, king 611–12, 614
Hess, Johannes 259
historiography
of Anabaptists 8n, 399n, 408–11, 413
and the Confederation 14–15, 52–56, 612–13
Murerplan map of Zurich (illus.) *60–61*
research subjects 4–6, 8, 283, 399n, 406n, 408–11
revisionist, for Anabaptism 8, 399–400, 408, 419
sources for Anabaptism 413
of Swiss Reformation 448, 487–88
Hochberg, Jeanne de 366
Hochrütiner, Laurenz 245, 392, 393n, 396, 398, 420, 425–26
Hoen, Cornelis 88, 471
Hofer, Roland E. 551
Hofmann, Konrad 71, 75
Hofmeister, Sebastian
and Anabaptists 396
banished from Schaffhausen 222n, 223, 225–26
on the Lord's Supper 221n
at Lucerne 268–69
and Luther 220
notes of, on Lord's Supper 221n
reformatory ideas of 219–20
Sebastiani Apologia (lost) 220
as senior minister 506
A True Exhortation to the Strong, Noble, Steadfast, Pious and Wise Confederates … 221
at Zurich Disputation 222
and Zwingli 219–22, 226
Hohenlandenberg, Hugo von 65, 67, 71–72
Holbein, Ambrosius, advertisement (1516) *524*
Holbein, Hans the Younger 47, 116
Eve's creation from Adam's rib *572*
holidays/rest days, recognized by Reformed churches 507, 510
Holy Roman Empire, Reformed territories of 602–8
Horb, Anabaptists in 418
horse breeding, by Einsiedeln monks 18
hospitality, ritual forms of 50–52
Hotmann François 37
Hottinger, Jakob 389–90, 392, 410
Hottinger, Margaret 390, 440
House of God. *See* Three Leagues
Huber, Samuel 165–66, 386
Hubmaier, Balthasar
and Anabaptist movement 391, 396, 408–11
baptism of 409
on church-state relationship 410
and Grebel 408, 410–11
role of, among Anabaptists 410–11
seeks consensus with Reformers 410
and St. Gallen reform 242
Summary of the Whole Christian Life 408–9
Hübner, Peter 165–66
Huguenots, French Protestants 367n
Huif, Hans 398
humanism
and biblical scholarship 453, 470, 476
and education curriculum 539, 585
and evangelicalism 179–80
Glarean (Heinrich Loriti) 47, 177, 300n
and intellectual development 300–301, 393–94
Italian *vs.* Zwinglian 570
knowledge transfer and intellectual development 300–301
locations: Adelphi 218

humanism (cont.)
Basel 67–68, 208, 426
Fribourg 271
Lucerne 268–69
Three Leagues 300–301, 348
and printers/publishers 47, 177
and Protestantism 273
and proto-Anabaptism 393–94
and Reform culture/education 568, 587–88
and sacramental theology 470–76
and Zwingli 570
humanists
Bauhin 208
Bodler 269
Brötli 426
Capito 177
Castellio 208
Curione 208
Eggenstorfer 218
Erasmus 177
Falck 271
Grebel 426
Hubmaier 426
Oecolampadius 177
Pellikan 177
Perna 208
Pico della Mirandola 570
Pirckheimer 177
Platter 294
Reublin 426
Rhoenanus 177
Russinger 300
Sattler 426
St. Jerome as patron 497
Stumpf 426
Tschudi 276
Vadian 68, 239–40
Zwingli 68, 300n 570
humanities, as *Lectorium* curriculum 535
Husenegk, Rudolf 47
Huter, Diepold 260–61
hymnbooks, in Reformed churches 508. *See also* music

iconoclasm/image removal
by Anabaptists 392
in Augustinian church 189
and Baden Disputation 85
and Bern Disputation 148–49
depicted in Bullinger's *Reformation History* *148*
and Eucharistic host 379
in the *Fürstenland* 254
in Geneva 158
in Glarus 278
Hofmeister's defense of 222
locations: Appenzell 259, 262
Basel 189–90, 192–93
in Casaccia 327
Chur 311
Schaffhausen 229
St. Gallen 246–47
abbey church 249–50
Three Leagues 308
Toggenburg 274
Zurich 75–76, 81, 83, 567
replaced by biblical texts 527
Ilanz 302, 305, 310, 353, map *307*. *See also under* disputations/colloquies
Ilanz Articles. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
and consolidation of Reformed presence 336
Im Hof, Ulrich 538
Immeli, Jakob 182
indulgences 135–36, 140, *141*
industrial development. *See* economic/industrial development
Ingold, Evelyn 548
Inquisition 136–37, 287, 303–4, 318, 322, 338. *See also* Catholics/Catholic Church
Institute for Swiss Reformation History 5, 259
intellectual innovation, and religious movements 45–50
Ittinger, arson of Carthusian monastery 83–84, *85*, 142

Jean II (count) 367
Jeanne (countess) 372
Jecker, Hanspeter 425–26, 428, 442
Jecklin, Conrad 344, 348
Jenatsch, Johann 348
Jesuits 279, 539–40, 609
Jetzer, Hans 136
Jetzer affair 136–37
Jews, murdered by Christian mobs 23

John (of Neuchâtel) 505
John Frederick I of Saxony 604
Jonas, Justus 88
Joner, Wolfgang 94
Joris, David (Jan/Johan van Brugge) 208, 439
Jos, Jakob (Barbla) 302
Jud, Leo
  Anabaptist view of 396
  and Bullinger 317
  on church discipline 468
  First Helvetic Confession 107, 594
  Large and Small Catechisms 101, 317
  and sacramental theology 471
  as Second Zurich Disputation 75
  wall catechism of 100–101, 525, *526*
  Zurich Preacher/Synod Ordinance of 96–97
Jura (Jougne and Joux) passes 374
Jussie, Jeanne de 553
justice. *See also* matrimony/morals ordinances
  and Ilanz Articles 286
  infractions and punishments 517–18, 525
  low justice in St. Gallen abbey 274–75
  for prostitution 518
  radical, in the Three Leagues 338
  in rural communities 518–19
justification, and soteriology 456–59
Justinger, Konrad 53, 134
Jütte, Robert 557
Juvalta, Fortunat de 348

Kaiser, Jakob 86
Kappel am Albis 90
Kappel wars. *See under* warfare/wars
Karlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von 179, 185–86, 200, 202, 397, 471
Kempten, signs Augsburg Confession 591
Kessler, Matthias 259
Kessler/Keßler, Johannes, *Sabbata* 242–45, 249–50, 254, 257, 420, 424–25
Kingdon, Robert 563–64
Klarer, Walter 259–61
Kleinbasel 176–77, 190–91
Knights of St. John 135, 176–77
Koch, Konrad 167
Köhler, Walther 5, 448, 549
Kolb, Franz 144, 159
Krüsi, Hans 396n, 419, 421n, 423–25, 433
Kunz, Peter 143, 159, 379
Kyburg family, as town founders 20

La Faye, Antoine de 165
laity
  and Bible reading circles 393–95
  and education 587
  and endowment of foundations 295
  and Ilanz Articles 296
  and proto-Anabaptism 394–95
Lambert, François 71
Landis, Hans 113
Landolfi, Dolfin 317
language/linguistics
  and Bible study 453
  and democratic construct 293–94
  emphasized in higher education 587
  Hebrew taught in Basel 540
  of Valais 593
  Zwingli's study of 571
La punt-Chamues-ch 330, 342, map *307*
Latin schools
  in Aarau 153
  in Bern 153, 531
  in Brugg 153, 531
  in Chur 347
  in the Confederation 523
  curricula for 533
  in Emmerich 93
  in Fraumünster abbey 529
  in Fribourg 521
  of Fribourg 521
  Geneva 521, 532–33
  in Geneva 521, 532–33
  in Grossmünstrer collegiate church 529
  at Lausanne 532
  in Schaffhausen 516
  in St. Nicolai 316
  in Thun 153
  and vernacular schools 528–34
  in Zofingen 153
  in Zurich 77–78, 505, 521
Lausanne
  at Bern Disputation 143
  and Calvinism 381
  conspiracy against 387
  education in 531–32, 534, 536–37
  as episcopal seat 20

Lausanne (cont.)
Farel in 157, 373
Latin school at 532
and Pays de Vaud 363
and the Reformation 370, 373
Lausanne Academy 163–64, 375
Lavater, Hans Rudolf 575
Lavater, Ludwig
De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae tigurinae (1559) 581–82
on education 586–87
encourages Pontisella 340
life of 575
On the Rites and Institutions of the Zurich Church (1559) 5–8, 98, 570
A Short Report on Ghosts ... (1569) 582
on social welfare for former nouns 584
son-in-law of Bullinger 575
and the supernatural 575–77
on witchcraft 583
League of God's House (*Gotteshaus-bund*) 291, 592. *See also* Three Leagues/Grisons
League of the Ten Jurisdictions (*Zehngerich-tebund*). *See* Three Leagues/Grisons
Leemann, Burkhard 101, 120
Lefèvre d'Etaples, Jacques 219
Le Landeron castellany 279–80
Lentolo, Scipione 346, 350, 355, 358, 358n
Orthodox Response 360
Leonie, Pietro 354–55
Leopold III, and battle of Sempach 37
Leu, Urs B. 414, 439, 567
Leuenberg Concord. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Leuk, and Valais reform efforts 284
libertarianism, within Swiss Reformation 487
Lichtensteig, accepts reformation (1528) 252
Lindau 89, 594
Linggi, Heinrich 230
literature
anti-Catholic 288
and spread of Reformation 284
theological, published in the Confederation 116
True and amazing story ... of Peter Bessler 573
liturgies. *See also* worship order, in Reformation
Alsatian and Swiss Protestant 511
Apostles' Creed 513
in Basel: and church discipline 196
Oecolampadian 187–88, 188n
reforms of 183–84
in Bern, translated into French 163
Calvinistic 511, 513
Canzel und Agend Büchli (Bern) 506
as devotional books 511
Form vnd gstalt Wie das Herren Nachtmal ... (Basel, Augsburg 1526) 187–88n
Genevan 511–12
for Lord's Supper 512
Romansch liturgical/scriptural material 314–16
simplified (Oecolampadius, 1525) 187
Strassburg and Genevan 510–11
Ulmer's order of worship 234–35
in Zurich: *Action or Practice of the Lord's Supper* (Zwingli) 78
communion 513
Rites of ... Zurich Church (Lavater) 98
and music 79
oldest ordinance for (1535) 98
Order and Practice form (1535) 99
Zwinglian (1525) 514
Liver, Peter 283
Locarno 281–83
Locarno statement of faith. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Locher, Gottfried W., *Zwinglische Reformation* 5, 8, 255, 448, 486
Lord's Prayer, and Reformed worship order 511–12
Lord's Supper. *See also* Eucharist; sacraments
Anabaptist practice of 81, 87–89, 161, 406, 413, 416, 432
and Augsburg Interim 604
and the ban 168, 196, 378, 514, 549 (*See also* discipline)
and Basel controversies 184–87
and Bible reading circles 430
breaks Lenten fast, at St. Martin's 187
conflicts/wars over 86–89

and *Consensus Tigurinus* 109–10, 380
and disputes in Bern 159–60
at Easter 187, 296
elements for 162, 166, 514–15
and excommunication/exhortation
formulas 511
frequency of 510
Geneva doctrine of 162
German *vs.* Swiss students' views 209
and Huguenot refugees 385
for laity, in St. Ulrich 183
linked to preaching service 79
liturgy for 187n, 514–15
and Marburg Colloquy 88–89
non-communicants 196
Reformed 208–9, 513
conflicts about 206
in St. Gallen 247
in Toggenburg 252
replaces mass 76, 78
in Schaffhausen 226–28
in Southwest Germany 594
and sumptuary laws 515
Vadian's *Aphorisms on the Eucharist* 257
views of: Bullinger *509*
Calvinist 377–79, 549
Karlstadt 185–86
Oecolampadius 185–86
Renato 320n
Ulmer 232
Zwingli 78–79, 87–88
Zwinglian 378–79, 471
and Wittenberg Concord 107
Louis III (king) 366
Louis XI (king) 368
Lower Engadin 330
Lucerne
and Basel 190
and Beckenried Agreement 142
and Bern 169
Bird's-eye view of 268
as Confederation member 28–30
execution of Krüsi 425
failed Reformation in 267–69
Guggisberg's view of 265
Hofmeister's condemnation of 222
itinerant printers in 47
and league of burghers 600
Musegg-Umzug parade 269
population of 22
rebellion/violence in 42–43
and Swiss mercenaries 84, 268–69
trade route economy of 19
Lugnez (Val Lumnezia) 291n
Lüthardt, Johannes 181
Luther, Martin 88
and Bullinger 108, 594
and Calvin 603
condemned by the University of Cologne 93
ecclesiology of 461–62, 464
and Eggenstorfer 218n
and Hofmeister 220
impact of incendiary works of 180
and impact of printing presses 179
influence of, in Bern 137–38
on justification 459
and Oecolampadius 186
signs Wittenberg Concord 594
and Zwingli 68–69, 69n, 108
Luther works
95 Theses 179
Babylonian Captivity of the Church 453
Brief Confession Concerning the Holy Sacraments 108
The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (1526) 454, 471–72
Septembertestament (1522) 453–54
Lutherans/Lutheranism
banned in Valais 284
at Bern Disputation (1528) 144
defended by Hofmeister 222
and First Helvetic Confession 107–8
and Formula of Concord 209
imprecise definition of 204
Law and Gospel theology of 486
and Leuenberg Concord (1973) 110
on Lord's Supper 87–88
and Montbéliard colloquy 165–66
opposed in Fribourg 270–71
and Protestant Union 614
in Schaffhausen 218–19
Schmalkaldic League 107
and Schmalkaldic League 604
in Southern Germany 606
in the Three Leagues 306

Lutherans/Lutheranism (cont.)
in Vergerio's catechism 325–26
and Zwingli 376–77

Maag, Karin 12
Madulain 342, map *307*
magic. *See* supernatural
magisterial reformation, in the Confederation 495–98
Mähr, Lorenz 301
Maienfeld (town/castle) 291n, 295, 301, 310, 356n, map *307*
Mainardo, Agostino *319,* 319–21, 354
Maissen, Thomas 12
Malans 296n, 301, 312, map *307*
Malenco 346
Maler, Gregor 309
Malingre, Thomas 378
mandated territories (*Gemeine Herrschaften*) 274–77, 281–83, 372–73, 595, 597, 600–601
Manuel, Niklaus *139,* 140, 491
"On the Contrast between the Pope and Christ" play 140
"On the Pope and His Priests" play 140
"Seller of Indulgences" play *141*
Manz, Felix
banishment of 309, 428
in Basel 425–26
and Bible reading circles 393n
drowning of *433*
execution of 160, 415
extradited to Zurich 309n
as first Anabaptist martyr 82
as founder of *Prophezei* 571
hidden in Grüningen 412
and Karlstadt 398
Protestation (*Schutzschrift*) 401–4
in Zurich 80–81
and Zurich disputation 395, 404
maps
Appenzell *239*
Bern 130–31
the Confederation *591*
Fribourg/Geneva *364*
Pays de Vaud *364*
Savoy *364*
St. Gallen *239–40*
in Stumpf's chronicle 612
Three Leagues *307–8*
Marbach, Johann 206, 209
Marbach community 256
Marcourt, Antoine 378
Marian devotion 65, 72, 135–36, 220. *See also* religious practices
Marignano, battle of 43–44
Marius, Augustinus 185, 188–89
marriage
within Catholicism 546
to concubine 183
and divorce 545, 552
engagement rules 548
gender roles in 554–55
matrimonial ordinance (1525) 548
as only in church 545–46
as a public institution 542
in Reformation era 543–48
regulation of: in Bern 174
in the Confederation 518
in Schaffhausen 228
in St. Gallen 247–48
in Zurich 79, 98
and sexuality 543–48, 555–56
martyrdom
and Anabaptist self-conception 413
in Bern, from Basel 431
as research subject 440–41
martyrs
Blaurock 82, 585
Bolt 425, 433
Catholics in Zurich and Schwyz 86
female Anabaptists 440
Grebel 82
Kaiser 86
Krüsi 433
Kürsi 425
Manz 82, 415, *433*
Sattler 82, 414–15, 441
Schlegel 312n
St. Stephen 574
Ulimann 420–21
masculinity varieties 556
mass
cessation of, in Three Leagues 296, 311
in Chur 311n
mocked by Protestants 379

reintroduced in St. Gallen abbey 250
replaced by Lord's Supper 76, 185–88
in Schaffhausen 222, 225
in St. Ulrich and St. Alban 188
subject of Baden Disputation 85
Zwingli's pamphlet against 87–88
matrimony/morals ordinances/courts
adultery/drunkenness/violence 518
Catholic-Protestant cooperation 489
clerical marriage 544
and fornication 544
Great Mandate (1530) 548
Lavater's *De ritibus* ... 582
locations: Basel 549
Bern 548
Chur 312–13n
Graubünden 551
Schaffhausen 548–49
St. Gallen 249
Three League 295
Toggenburg 252
Zurich 79, 98, 517–19, 548
and pastors 501
and sociopolitical development of 164, 228–29, 577
Maturo, Bartolomeo 327
May, Bartholomäus 137
McCoy, Charles S. 481, 483, 486
McNeill, John T., *History and Character of Calvinism* 4
Medici, Gian-Angelo de (Pius IV) 312n
Medici, Gian Giacomo de 303
medieval communes 24–27
Megander, Kaspar 107, 317, 471, 506, 605
Kinderbericht (1536) 159
Mei, Ottaviano, *The Tirano Disputation* ... 361
Mela, Pomponius, *De cosmographia* 242
Melanchthon, Philipp 88, 179, 218n, 603
Meltinger, Heinrich 186, 190, 191n, 192
Memmingen 89, 594
men, and citizenship 24
Mennonites 8, 113, 391
mercenaries
of Basel 68
and foreign policies 614
of post-Reformation Confederation 598
during Thirty Years' War 616
used against Calvinists 610
Zwingli's view of 68
Merian, Matthaeus, map of Bern 130–31
Mese 346
Mesocco 344–45, map *307*
Meyer, Adelberg 190–91, 191n
Meyer, Leonhardt 221n
Meyer, Sebastian 139–40, 159, 167, 222, 222n, 223, 225–26, 236
Meyer von Knonau, Hans 71
Michel (Gruyère count) 367–68
Milan 18, 287
Milanese, Girolamo *319*
Miles, Beda 421
mining/mineral extraction, in the Jura and foothills 18–19
miracles, Bullinger's sermon on 579
Misox (Val Mesolcinia) 291n
missionary activity
of Anabaptists 406, 440
of Bolt 425
of Calvinists 381
of Grebel 408
of Krüsi 423
of Vergerio 326–27
Moeller, Bernd 74, 566
monasteries/convents
Augustinian: Interlaken 132, 151
Augustinian canons 177
in Basel 193–94
Beguines 133
Benedictine: All Saints 216, 218
Einsiedeln 18, 68
Engelberg 10, 28
Schaffhausen 219, 230
at Schaffhausen 216, 219
St. Agnes 216
St. Gallen 2, 10, 27, 238, *239–40,* 249–50, 254–55, 492
St. Johann 252
Brothers of St. Anthony 133, 140
Carthusian 83–84, *85,* 142, 177
Cistercian abbey (Kappel am Albis) 276
Cluniac priories: at Gruyère 367
Münchwiler 132
at Münchwiler 132
at St. Alban 177
dissolution of 76–77, 137, 315–16

monasteries/convents (cont.)
Dominican: Bern friary 133, 140, 149
Inselkloster 133
Klingental 177
Maria Magdalena in den Steinem 177
St. Nicolai 311, 311n, 315–16
Embrach 76
Franciscan: Gnadental 177
St. Clara 177, 193
Fraumünster cloister 76–77
and Ittinger Storm 83–85
patronage of 133
secularization of 591
St. Luzi 311, 315–16
St. Vincent Minster 132
in the Three Leagues 299n, 311, 311n, 315–16
Wettingen abbey 276
monstrosities 574–75. *See also* supernatural
Montbéliard (Mömpelgard) 165–66, 385, 592
Monter, William E. 551
Morand, Jean 378
Morat, battle of 39
Moravia, and Anabaptists 435, 439
Morbegno 346
Morges (port city) 363
Môtiers 550
Mt. Cenis, transport routes in 19–20
Mülhausen/Mulhouse
alliances: Basel 190–91
Christian Civic Union 90
with Confederation 35
Reformed 86
Rottweil 592
Zurich 86
and Schaffhausen reform 225
Muller, Richard 451
Müller, Sebastian 192
Münster, Anabaptist kingdom 112, 437
Münstertal (Val Münstair) 291n, 301n, 319, 343
Müntzer, Thomas 112–13, 397–401
Muralt, Leonhard von 448, 563n
Murer, Christoph, *Wilhelm Tell* etching *6n*
Murten 157–59, 369
Musculus, Abraham
advances unity in Bern 384–85
on church-state relationship 467
scholarly characterization of 450
temperate handling of disputes 388
Musculus, Wolfgang
in Bern 160, 384
at Bern colloquy (1588) 166
on covenant theology 485
death of 384
Loci communes 485
at Montbéliard colloquy 165–66
on predestination 166
and Sulzer 605
music
congregational singing 79, 120, 187–88, 234, 508
first hymnal 234
at Grossmünster church 79
"Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee," 249
Psalm singing, in Latin schools 534
psalter, at Bern 508
removed from liturgy 79
Romansch translations of songs 314
Schaffhausen hymnal (Ulmer) 234
singing as part of religious education 248
singing of Decalogue 513
Zili's St. Gallen hymnbook (1533) 242
Mustér (Disentis district/abbey) 291n
Myconius, Oswald 68, 91
and Bullinger 201
death of 203
education and career of 198–203
excused from disputations 200n
and First Helvetic Confession 107
and Karlstadt 200
Life of Zwingli 570–71
in Lucerne 268
and Oecolampadius' catechism 202
as Oecolampadius' successor 198–203
portrait of *199*
and sacramental theology 470–71
and Synod of Bern 159
mystics/mysticism 47–48, 218
myths/half-truths of Swiss Reformation 447–50

Nägeli, Hans Franz 159, 161
Nancy, battle of 39
Natter, Heinrich *450*
Negri, Francesco 320, 320n, 350

Neuchâtel
alliances: Bern 366, 372
the Confederation 157–59, 362, 603
annexed by the Swiss 366
and *Congrégation des ministres* 503
ecclesiastical ordinances of 503
evangelicalism in 370
and Farel 158, 280, 372
geography/development of 365–66
and Le Landeron castellany 280
and mandate against vices 550
as market town 365
the *Ministraux* and the eighty 503
and Second Helvetic Confession 114
Neunkirch-Hallau territory, and Schaffhausen 216
Nicholas of Flüe 48–49, *49*, 50n, 611, *617*
Nicodemites, in Arth 282–83
Nikolsburg 391
Ninety-Five Theses (Luther). *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Ninguarda, Feliciano 346
nobility. *See also* elites
evolving status of 23
as feudal overlords 253–54
and Ilanz Articles 299
replaced by communes 293
succeeded by politicians 26
and unrest in Chur 303
weakening of 37, 284
North America, and Anabaptist migration 439
Novara, battle of 43
Nuremberg, represented at Bern Disputation 144

oaths
Anabaptist view of 417
of citizenship 184, 193, 246, 266, 501
of confederation *217*
for old faith 272
post-Reformation 599
Oberer Bund 291, 295, 344
Oberhalbstein (Surses) 291n, 342–43, 349
Obernald, opposed to Bernese reform 150–51
Ochino, Bernardino 106, *319*
Öchslin/Oechslin, Hans 83
Öchslin/Oechslin, Ludwig 218–19
Oecolampadius, Johannes
and Anabaptists 426–28
at Baden Disputation 187
and Basel churches 190, 193–98, 279
at Bern Disputation 144
characterization of 181–82, 450
on church-state relationship 467
and covenant theology 477–78
death of 198, 198n
vs. Eck 84–85, 142–43
as humanist 177
on justification 458
liturgy of 187–88
and Marburg Colloquy 88
and path to reform 492
portrait of *182*
and sacramental theology 471–72
and Schleitheim articles 414
on *sola scriptura* 453
writings of: *Genuine Exposition of the Lord's Words ...* 471
On the Genuine Exposition of the Words, "This is my Body"... (1525) 185
Oratio de reducenda excommunicatione 467–68
Offenburger, Egli 192
Olevianus, Caspar, *De substantia foederis gratuiti* (1585) 384, 485–86
Ollon 369
Operinus/Oporin, Johannes 552, 568
Orbe-Echallens 157–59, 370
d'Orléans-Longueville, Louis 366
Ormont, Upper and Lower 369
Orte (13 cantons), development of 9n, 28–29
Osiander, Andreas 88, 385
Osiander, Lukas 165
Ott, Johann Baptist, *De ritibus et institutis ecclesiae tigurinae* 570
Oversimmental district 151
Ozment, Steven 547, 552

pacifism, as Anabaptist characteristic 417–19, 430, 439
Palatinate, and Reformation in 607
pamphlet war, between Wittenberg and Zurich 87
Panex (Vaud), salt deposits in 18
Paravicini family 346

Parisotto, Pierto 328
pastors. *See* clergy
patriarchy. *See* families
Pavia, battle of 43
Pays de Gex 386–87, 602
Pays de Vaud, map *364*. *See also* Vaud
  acquired by the Confederation 38
  and the Burgundian Wars 369
  as "Calvinism's First Battleground," 376
  catechism in 525
  conquest of (1536) 373–75
  education in 532
  political development/history 363–65
  population of 363
  and the Reformation 370, 374
  Savoyard conspiracy against 387
  trade routes in 374–75
peace treaties. *See* treaties
peasantry
  and Anabaptists 411–12
  demands of: for abolition of small tithe 254, 392
    for evangelical reforms 184
  and Ilanz Articles 298n
  imprisonment of 184
  Ittinger Storm against monastery 83–84, *85*
  and Krüsi 424–25
  migration of, to towns 21
  revolts/uprisings of 64, 76, 83–84, 302–3
  in the Rheintal 255
  sociopolitical power of 17
  of Toggenburg 251–52, 258
Peasants' War 8, 76, 593–94
Pelagius, Ambrosius 188n
Pellikan, Konrad 94, 177, 181, 317, 471
  Commentaria Bibliorum 104
  portrait of *105*
Pergola family 346
Perna, Peter 208
Pestalozzi family 346
Petri, Adam 179, 221
Pfister, Ulrich 297, 302n, 311, 321, 347n, 353n, 359, 359n
Pfistermeister, Hans 428–30
Pfistermeyer, Hans 160, 428
Pfyffer von Altishoffen, Ludwig 610
Philibert I (duke) 368
Philibert Berthelier 370
Philip II (king) 386, 388, 609
Philipp I of Hesse 88–89, 197, 594, 604, 607
Philipp II 610
Philippe (count) 366
Phrygio, Paul 198, 200
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni and Gianfrancesco 570
Pietism, persecution of 439–40
piety 65, 177, 394
Pirckheimer, Caritas 553
Pirckheimer, Willibald 186
Piuro 327n, 346–47, 361
plague illness/death
  Black Death 22–23
  of Grebel 82
  of Grynaeus 202, 202n
  of Karlstadt 202
  of Myconius 203
  prayers for 235n
  of Salzmann family 312
  as widespread 123
  of Zwingli 69
Planta, Johannes 338, 343
Platter, Thomas 203, 284
Polanus von Polansdorf, Amandus 212
political world of Confederation 23–45
Pontisella, Johannes 340, 347, 354
Pontresina 328
poor relief. *See* social welfare
popes/papacy
  Eugenius IV 46
  Felix V (antipope) 46
  Gregory XIII 351
  Julius II 43–44, 66
  Martin V 46
  Pius II 46–47, *522*
  Pius IV 312n
  Pius V 338
  ridiculed in Bern 140
  Sixtus V, and Counter-Reformation 609
population, of urban communities 22, 62, 126–27, 171, 216, 239, 363
Porrentruy/Pruntrut 173–74, 279, 539, 601
Poschiavo 289, 317, 324–25, 328, 343–44, 353, 357n, map *307*. *See also* Val Poschiavo (Puschlav)
poverty. *See also* social welfare
  addressed in Ilanz Articles 295
  and almsgiving, in Schaffhausen 222

and church resources 504
of clergy 505
in early Reformation era 494–95
as endemic 564–65
Frail Beggar (Meyer; 1654) *557*
and indulgence sales 136
and poor laws 104–6
poor relief and social welfare 556–58
Prata 327n, 346
Prättigau 291n, 300–303, 342
prayers. *See* liturgies
preachers/preaching. *See also* clergy; sermons
institutionalization of 571–72
Lectio continua practice of 454
locations:
Basel, depicted in *Baszler Chronick* *183*
education of 200
endowed preacherships 176
evangelical popularity 182
by mendicant clergy 176
of polemic 188–89
regulation of 180–82, 184, 188–93
in rural parishes 214
Bern 140–41, 155
Schaffhausen 227–29
Southern Valleys 330
in Toggenburg 252
Zurich 72–74, 95–96, 100
regulation of 96–98, 100
Zwinglian 69, 72, 89–90
and *Praedicatio verbi Dei est verbum Dei* 114
on predestination 380
and sociopolitical elite 26
and *sola scriptura* 454
Swiss Reformation emphasis on 506
and Synod Ordinance (1532) 96–97, 100
predestination
and Bern Colloquy (1588) 166
and Bolsec Affair 380
Bolsec-Calvin dispute 163
Calvinist view of 377, 380–81
Chiampell's treatise 358
disputes over, in Three Leagues 357–58
and Reformed Orthodoxy 359–61
rigidity of, at Dort 486
and Synod of Bern (1588) 386, 388
Pries, Edmund 417
priests. *See under* clergy
printing/publishing
of Bern Disputation records *147*
of Bullinger's sermons 100
of Calvin's *Institutes* (1539) 284
as economic/industrial development 25, 47, 116, 177, 179, 278–79
and education 177
of Erasmus' editions of church fathers 177
and evangelicalism 170, 179
of francophone literature 602
and humanists 47, 177
of hymnals 508
of Ilanz Articles 295
impact of 25, 179, 278–79, 521
and intellectual exchange and influence 47
Italian/Romansch catechisms 324
of Karlstadt's works 397, 426–27
and knowledge transfer 300–301
Landolfi print shop 288, 317
locations: Augsburg 295
Basel 47, 170, 177, 212–13, 278, 680p6
Lucerne 47
Porrentruy 279
Poschiavo 324
Oecolampadius' defense of Luther 181
and paper mills of Basel 177
of propaganda pamphlets 611–12
and spread of Reformation 273, 284
of translations 179
types of (1523–75) 116
and University of Basel 521
Vadian's *Epistola orthodoxa* (Zurich 1539) 317
prophecy 569–77, 581. *See also* supernatural
Prophezei theological school. *See under* education
prostitution, Reformation suppression of 545
Protestantism
in Bern and Neuchâtel 372
and Gregorian calendar 120–21, 262
and Lord's Supper controversy 86–89
and Marburg Colloquy 88–89
and marriage 547
peculiarities of 56
political advantages of 372
in Valais/Wallis 284

proto-Anabaptists. *See* Anabaptism/Anabaptists
Puntstagen. *See* councils/territorial assemblies
purgatory 85, 135–36, 582
Puritans of England, and Bullinger's *On Councils* 111
Puschlav (Val Poschiavo) 291n, 294, 353
Pusterla, Jacobo 351

Quatre Mandements 369–70
Qur'an, Bibliander's edition of 104

Radical Reformation 8, 554. *See also* Anabaptism/Anabaptists
Raetia 353
Ragaz 301
Rapperswil. *See* St. Gallen
rebellion/violence
  in Basel 23, 184, 190–93, 191n
  in Bern 23, 42–43
  in Kleinbasel 191
  in Lucerne 42–43
  in Schaffhausen 224
  in Solothurn 23, 42–43
  in Stammheim 142
  in Strasbourg 23
  in Toggenburg 251
  in Zofingen 23
  in Zurich 23, 62–64, 76, 83–84, 142
Rebhan, Leonhard 188n
Reformation
  beginnings of (*See also* individual locations)
    in Appenzell 258–59
    in Basel 85, 179–84, 188, 190, 193
    in Bern 143–50
    in Bregaglia 325
    in the Confederation 179–84
    in Fläsch 301
    in Poschiavo 325
    in the Rheintal 255–56
    in Schaffhausen 218–24
    in St. Gallen 239–44
    in Three Leagues 300–314, *307–8,* 308–9, 318, 324
    in Zurich 7–72, 395
  chronological limits of 8–9
  and conformity 498
  diversity of 493–94
  failures of 264–67
  focus of reformers 497
  geopolitical effects of 591
  as gradual process 74–75, 137–42, 171–75, 183
  and humanism 300–301, 395 (*See also* humanism)
  impact of 11–12, 83–86
  and knowledge transfer 300–301
  magisterial 407, 495–98
  and marriage/family development 546–47 (*See also* families)
  and printing/publishing 25, 179, 278–79, 521
  social-revolutionary aspects of 14–15, 255
  sociopolitical/religious origins of 9
  stability, as principle of 495
  structures of authority 498–505
  and symbols/rituals of commonality 50–52
  and withdrawal from imperial politics 107
  Zwingli's understanding of 79–80 (*See also* Zwingli)
Reformation culture 590–618
Reformation principles
  Christian liberty 496
  legitimacy 495–96
  Religio 496
  stability 495–98
Reformation studies 7–13
Reformed churches. *See also* Protestantism
  in Basel: conflicts over Lord's Supper 206
    establishing identity of 208–13
    governance of 193–94
    organization/development of 204–5
    Reformation Ordinance (1529) *195*
  in Bern 157–64
  in the Confederation 204–5
  holidays/rest days of 507, 510
  institutionalization of 314–15
  molding of, in the Confederation 493–94
  and music 508
  St. Gallen ordinance adopted by Appenzell 262
  Swiss distinctives of 12
  in Three Leagues 314–15, 332–33, 340–41

and transnational network 607
in Zurich 93–96
European persecution of 124
institutionalization of 120–25
organization/development of 96–106
Reformed confessions of faith. *See* creeds/confessions/covenants
Reformed identity in Basel 208–13
Reformed Orthodoxy
in Basel 170–75
in Bern 166
of Breitinger 124–26
as Calvinist 386
and covenant theology 477
in the Three Leagues 359–61
in Zurich 121–25
Reimann, Heini *586*
Reinhart, Anna, marriage to Zwingli 71
religious freedom. *See also* toleration/coexistence
Hottinger's Anabaptist view of 389–90
and religious toleration 339
in the Three Leagues 285–86, 297–98, 323, 336–39
in Waldshut 410
religious movements
and Berger's "heretical imperative," 265
and printers/publishers 46–47
variety of in 14th century 47–48
religious practices
Marian devotion 65, 72, 135–36, 220
veneration of saints 135
religious refugees
from Arth 283
in Basel 208
Huguenots, and communion 385
from Italy 318
from Locarno 282
Protestants as 606–7
and social welfare 564–65
in Three Leagues 304n, 324
in Zurich 106
Renato, Camillo 319, *319,* 320–22
Reublin, Wilhelm 81, 180, 223, 392n, 396n, 404, 409, 419
Rheintal, the, early reform movements 255–56, 274–75
Rhenanus, Beatus, as humanist 177
righteousness 75, 458–59. *See also* soteriology
riots. *See* rebellion/violence
Rischl, Albrecht, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation* (1870–74) 442
Ritter, Erasmus 225–26, 230–31, 237
rituals and symbols of commonality 50–56
Robustelli, Giacomo 287
Rodolphe (count) 366
Roggenacher, Antoni 421n
Röist, Marx 71, 74
Röist family, and Zurich reformation 65, 490–91
Roll, Walter 281
Romansch translations 314–16, 324, 327, 329, 343, 348–49
Rome, and Zurich 65–66
Roper, Lindal 547
Rosin, Albert 110
Rosius à Porta, Petrus Dominicus 297–98, 308n
Rottweil 35, 592
Rublack, Hans-Christoph 265
Rublack, Ulinka 547
Rüeggisberg priory 132
Rüetschi, Kurt-Jakob 358n
Rüff, Jacob / Jakob Ruf, *Trostbüchlein* obstetrics handbook 124, 574
Rüff, Johann 579
Rugglisberger, Sebastian 421n, 423
Rusca, Nicolò 615
Acts of the Tirano Disputation ... 360
Russinger, Johann Jakob 300n
Rütimeyer, Marx 167
Rütiner, Johannes 555
Ryff, Fridolin 189, 191n, 198n
Ryter, Jacob Christoph 178

sacramental theology 109, 470–76
sacraments. *See also* baptism; Eucharist; Lord's Supper
Anabaptist, in Zollikon 406
medieval ones rejected 496
reduced to two 545
theology of 470–76
Safiental 291n, 308
Salis, Friedrich de 350
Salis, Rudolf 317

Salis-Samedan, Friedrich de 345–46
Salis-Soglio, Herkules von 320
Sallmann, Martin 8
salt, and trading commodity 19
Salzmann, Jakob 301, 305n, 312
Samedan 328, 353, 360, map *307–8*
sanctification, and justification 458. *See also* soteriology
Sanson, Bernhardin 136–37
Sargans, failed reformation in 276
Sargans articles. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Sattler, Michael, and Schleitheim Confession/Articles 15, 82, 414–15, 418, 441
sausage eating affair (*Wurstessen*) 3, 70–71, 392
Savoie, Jean de 370
Savoy
  alliance with Charles the Bold 368
  and Burgundian wars 368
  and the Confederation 34–36, 157
  conspiracy against Pays de Vaud 387
  defeat of 602
  divided between Bern and France 374
  and Emmanuel-Philibert 386
  and Geneva 158, 367
  as *Mammelus* 369
  map of *364*
  and rise of towns 20–21
Schaffhausen
  alliances: Basel 190–91
    Christian Civic Union 90, 226–27
    the Confederation 28–29, 216, 230–37
    Zurich 86
  and Anabaptists 112
  and Baden Disputation 143
  Bird's-eye view of 217
  early reformation in 85, 218–24
  geopolitical situation of 216–17
  mandate for Reformed liturgy 508–9
  mandates to be announced by pastors 228–29
  and Neunkirch-Hallau territory 216
  oath of confederation *217*
  political realities and reform 10
  population of 22, 216
  rebellion/violence in 224
  Reformation path of 216–18
  Reformation resolution (1529) 249
  Reformation without a reformer 225–30
  theological development of 231–32
Schaffhauser Reformationsordnung. See under creeds/confessions/covenants
Schams (Val Schons) 291n, 309, 349
Schanfigg (St. Peter) 291n, 330
Schappeler, Christian 242, 249, 396
Scharnschlager, Leopold 310, 319
Schatzgeyer, Kaspar 181
Scheidegger, Christian 414, 422, 441
Schiller, Friedrich, source material for *Wilhelm Tell* 612
Schilling, Diebold the Elder
  illustrations from: *Die Luzerner Chronik 45, 49, 174, 217*
    the *Spiezer Chronik 54*
Schlarigna/Celerina 343, map *307*
Schlegel, Theodul 305, 305n, 311, 312n
Schleitheim Articles/Confession. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Schmalkaldic League 379, 604
Schmalkaldic War 602–4
Schmid, Andreas (Fabricius) 302
Schmid, Erasmus (Fabricius) 219
Schmid, Hans (Fabricius Montanus) 340
Schmid, Konrad 269, 380
Schmid, Regula 8
Schmidt, Heinrich R. 551
Schmitten 342, map *307–8*
Schnell, Rüdiger 543
Schnider, Jakob 421n
scholarship 453, 487–88
Schola Tigurina 102–4, *105,* 116, 121
Schorant. *See* Ulimann (Uolimann), Wolfgang (Schorant)
Schriber, Hans, *Weisses Buch* 53–55
Schürer, Michel 426
Schurtanner, Jakob 259
Schwarzenburg (Grasland) 157–59
Schweizerhalle, salt deposits in 18
Schwenckfeld, Caspar von 437
Schwyz
  alliances: Basel 190–91
    Fribourg 600
    Toggenburg 254
  and Beckenried Agreement 142
  as Confederation member 28–29

execution of Catholics 86
freedom of rural areas 593
supports mercenaries 84
and Zurich 600
Scotism, of Zwingli 570
Scramentarians 454
Scribner, Robert 265
scripture. *See also* Bible; *sola scriptura*
Anabaptist proof texts 422
and baptism proof text 423
church as interpreter of 143
and covenant theology 484
and preaching 69, 71, 140–42, 227
Romansch translation of 314
and Schleitheim Articles 418
and tradition 452–53
views of: Oecolampadius 498
Zwingli 498
Scrofeo, Fra Modesto 303–4
Second Helvetic Confession (*Confessio Helvetica Posterior*). *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Seewis i. O. (Sevgein) 297n
Seewis i. P 342, map *307–8*
Segers, Martin 301
Sempach, battle of 36–37
Senger, Rudolf 430
separatism. *See under* Anabaptism
serfdom 64, 593
sermons. *See also under* individual names
Anabaptist attendance monitored 161
at Bern Disputation (1528) 146
evangelical 100, 180, 182
in Grossmünster and Fraumünster 78, 100
handwritten notes for *509*
importance of, in Swiss Reformation 587
as replacing the mass 149
subjects of, in Geneva 511–12
Servetus, Michael 163, 231, 381
Seuse, Heinrich 47–48
Sevgein (Seewis i. O.) 297n
sexuality
and celibacy 544
extramarital as normal 555
homosexuality 556
jokes about, censured by consistory 556
and marriage 543–48
premarital sex 544
reappraisal of, by Reformers 543–48
resources for study of 555–56
and social control 566
and Swiss Protestant morality 551
Sierszyn, Armin 412
signs and portents. *See also* supernatural
and St. Bartholomew's Day massacre 576
Zwingli's belief in 574–76
Silvio, Bartolomeo 355–57
Simler, Josias 94, *105,* 113, 341, 575, 587
biography of Bullinger 575
De Alpibus commentarius (1574) 116
De republica Helvetiorum (1576) 104, 116
Life of Gessner 575
Life of Vermigli 575
Narratio, de ortuo, vita et obitu Bullingeri (1575) 119–20
On the One Person and Two Natures ... 356
Simler, Peter 94
Simon, Christian 551
singing. *See* music
Sion 20, 143, 284
Snyder, Albert C. 399n, 406n, 408–11
social stratification, in 14th and 15th centuries 26
social unrest. *See* rebellion/violence
social welfare. *See also* poverty
almsgiving and private foundations 562
begging prohibited 562
in Bern 133
and confiscated wealth 562
deserving/undeserving poor 560
of deserving/undeserving poor 560
development of 558–59
early modern definitions of 565–66
excluded classes 562–63, 572
and famines 1570s/1590s 564–65
for former nuns 584
in Geneva 563–64
and iconoclasm 584–85
Liber vagatorum (1510) 561
and mandates against beggars 560
Mushafen at Basel 563
and poor relief 556–58, 564–65
as salvific work 134
and secularized monastic property 563n

social welfare. *See also* poverty (cont.)
and soteriology 562
three pillars of 562
and work ethic 558–59
in Zurich 77, 104–6
Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
sociocultural development
and conformity 164–68
of families 542–43
and humanist sodalities 393–94
and impact of Reformation 567–70
in post-Reformation Zurich 584–89
and "prophecy," 574
and rise of Protestantism 284
and the supernatural 577–89
sociopolitical development
and morals ordinances 79, 98, 229–30, 517, 519, 544–55, 566
rise of towns 20–23
supervised by clergy/magistrates 122
Soglio 327, map *307–8*
sola scriptura
Anabaptist view of 422
in Chur 311
and exegesis 454
in Ilanz Articles 296–98, 306
and Manz's *Protestation* 403
of proto-Anabaptists 400
variety of interpretations 452–56
views of: Anabaptist 422
Karlstadt 398
Oecolampadius 453
Solothurn
alliances: Basel 190–91
Bern 169, 272
France 610
Le Landeron 280
Swiss Confederation 272
and the Confederation 28–29, 35, 157–59
failed 272–73
and Geneva 158
Guggisberg's view of 265
medieval education in 521
mob violence in 23
population of 22
Sondrio 327–28, 337n
Sondrio-Monte 327
sorcery. *See* supernatural
soteriology. *See also* justification; righteousness
and alien righteousness (*iustitia aliena*) 457
in *Confessio Raetica* 331
and covenant theology 483–84
debated at Bern 261, 281
and ecclesiology 460
of Hofmeister 220–21
Huber-Musculus debate 166
and justification 456–57
in pre-Reformation Bern 134–35
priesthood of believers 464
sanctification and justification 458
and social welfare 562
of Zwingli 69
South Germany, impact of Zwinglian reformation 83–86
Sozzini, Camillo 346
Spalenvorstadt 190
Spavento, Marco 296
Spital, the 187, 189
Sprecher, Andreas de 348
Sprecher de Bernegg, Fortunat 348
Spreiter, Jakob 301–2, 309
Spyser, Peter (Fabri) 305n
stability, as principle of reform 495
Staedtke, Joachim 448
Stagel, Elsbeth 48
St. Alban parish (Basel) 176, 180, 182, 188, 194, 392, 392n
Stammheim, rebellion/violence in 142
Stampa-Borgonovo 327, map *307–8*
Stancaro, Francesco 321, 321n
Stanser Verkommnis (Covenant of Stans). *See under* treaties/agreements
statements of faith. *See* creeds/confessions/covenants
Steiner, Werner 270, 556
Steinlin, Martin 219
St. Gallen
alliances: Christian Civic Union 90
the Confederation 230, 257
Zurich 85, 250
Anabaptism in 394, 419–25
baptism and marriage records established 247–48
Benedictine monastery of 492
and Bern Disputation 144

Christian Civic Union member 249
as Confederation member 591
consolidation of the Reformation in 246–48, 250
economic development in 17–18
and guild revolution (1336) 62
as imperial free city 238
industrial development (linen) 238–39
and Kappel Wars 250
map *240*
and paths to reform 492–93
population 239
and pre-Reformation ecclesiastical authority 491–92
rebellion/violence in 245–46, 249–50
Reformed church in 85, 256–58, 274
rural reformations 251–56, 273–74
and Schaffhausen reform 225
signs *Consensus Tigurinus* 258
signs Second Helvetic Confession 258
territorial map of *239*
St. Gallen abbey 591
failed Reformation of 273–74
iconoclasm at and return to abbots 249–50
revolts/violence in 277
and the Rheintal 255–56
and Toggenburg 253–54
St. Georgen 424
St. Jerome, as humanist patron saint 497
St. Leonhard parish
after Basel reform 194
in Basel 176–77
and evangelicalism 187
evangelical sermons in 182
exempted from celebrating mass 188
iconoclasm in 189–90
St. Margrethen community 256
St. Martin parish
after Basel reform 193
in Basel 176
and evangelicalism 187
exempted from celebrating mass 188
iconoclasm in 189
St. Maurice in the Valais, and Black Death 22
Stockar, Hans 226
Stör, Stephan 183, 544–45
St. Peter parish (Basel) 176, 190, 193–94
St. Petersinsel convent (Bern) 132
Strasbourg
alliances: anti-Habsburg coalition 89
Basel 190–91, 197, 201
evangelicals 197
with evangelicals 86
Zurich 86
and Augsburg Confession 206
and Bern Disputation 144
and imperial towns 35
and Lord's Supper 594
rebellion/violence in 23
Tetrapolitan Confession 89
Strübin, Leonhard 207–8
Strübind, Andrea 11
St. Stephen of Acts 7, 571, 574
St. Theodor parish in Kleinbasel 176, 194
Stucky, Wilhelm 385
St. Ulrich parish (Basel) 176, 182–83, 188, 194
Stumpf, Johannes
Chronicle of the Confederation (1547/48) 116
Description of the Deeds … 612
Stumpf, Simon 81, 395–96
St. Vincent Church/Minster (Bern) 133, 135, 137, 140, 506
Sulzer, Simon
and confessional conflicts 159, 162, 206–7, 379–80
confessional neutrality of unworkable 208
epithets for 209n
and generational conflict 209
and Haller 605
painting of *205*
and politics of concord 202–8
supernatural 577–89
and 1 Samuel 582–83
Bullinger's work on witchcraft 579–82
Burning of Verena Trost, Barbara Meyer, and Anna Lange *579*
burning of witches 578
exorcism, anointing with oil 427
ghosts, as superstition 582
and natural disasters 577
in pre-Reformation Zurich 65
signs and portents *573*
and Swiss Reformation beliefs 5
women worse than men 580

Surselva (Bündner Oberland) 291n, 342–43, 360
Surses (Oberhalbstein) 291n
Susch 343
Swabia, and Oecolampadius' letter 186
Swabian War 41
Swiss Alps, origin of Rhine, Rhone, Ticino, Inn rivers 15–16
Swiss Anabaptism. *See* Anabaptism/Anabaptists
Swiss Brethren 435
Swiss Confederation. *See also* councils/territorial assemblies; disputations/colloquies
alliances: Appenzell 28–29, 258–59
Basel 230–37
Bern 28, 35
early modern 9–10
emperor/Empire 595
with foreign powers 12
France 612–13
francophone territories 362–63
Geneva 493
Graubünden/Grisons/Three Leagues 33–34, 36, 285
in post-Reformation 598
Schaffhausen 216
Solothurn 272
St. Gallen 230
as strengthening the Confederation 591–92
structure of 27–34, 54–56, 128, 142
Swabia 595
Vaud 493
Zurich 28–29, 35
Anabaptists in 81–83, 112, 433–34
Baden Diet 597
Beckenried agreement 142
Bern territorial church 157–64
confessional differences and Diet debates 600
and *Consensus Tigurinus* 605
and *cuius regio, eius religio* 596
De republica Helvetiorum (1576; Simler) 104, 116
entanglement/plurality of allegiances of 266
and European diplomacy 31
evangelical beginnings (1518–25) 179–84
external cooperation and internal autonomy of 230–37
failed reformations in 266–67
formation of 590–91
and Francophone territories 362–63
geopolitical development of 9n, 157–59
and guild revolution (1336) 62
historical commonalities of 612
honored by Pope Julius II *44*
intellectual innovation and religious movements in 45–50
international networks and foreign policy 614–18
and Kessler 244
lack of uniary structure 599
and Little Ice Age 22, 124
map *591*
members 593 (*See also* individual cities/regions)
Appenzell 28–29, 258–59, 277
Basel (1501) 18, 28–29, 170–71
(illus.) *174*
Bern (1353) 128
Fribourg 28–29
Glarus/Glarner 28–29, 278
Lucerne 28–29
Pays de Vaud 362–63
political map of *28–29*
the Rheintal 255–56
Schaffhausen 216–18
Solothurn 28–29
St. Gallen 238
Zug 28–29
mercenary service of 44
missing common ground 598–600
national identity during crisis 611–13
and Neuchâtel 366
Old and New Prophet of Switzerland poem *613*
oldest university (Basel) 170
and Pays de Vaud 374
physical and economic environment of 15–23
political evolution of 23–45, *28*
as politically neutral to Europe 609
political structure of 9–10
pre-Reformation ecclesiastical authority in 491–92

and Reformed clergy 209
reformed polities of 490
as refuge for believers 606
religious stalemate/confessional alignments 590–92
Schaffhausen 216
and Schmalkaldic War 602–8
on Servetus 231
shared interests and joint enterprises 600–602
socioeconomic/political/theological crises 89–92
solidification of 606–7
tensions mount as Reform proceeds 142
and Three Leagues 296
and Toggenburg 251, 253
and warfare 36–45
Zurich (1351) 62
Zwinglian Reformation impact 83–86
Swiss humanists. *See* humanists
Swiss mercenaries
and 14th/15th-century warfare 36–45, 66
in Appenzell 258
as danger to Reformation 80
and France 128, 272
Grebel as martyr for 80
and Jetzer affair 136–37
opposition to: by Comander 311n
by Zwingli 68, 80, 84, 269
as revenue source for elites 267–70
rhetoric against 290
and Schmalkaldic War 203
in Zug 270
Swiss Reformation
and Affair of the Sausages 3, 70–71, 392
and Calvinism 375–82
compared to Genevan Reformation 467
and covenant theology 486
created by multiple factors 490–91
flexibility of 503
geographical impact of 236–37, 293
myths and half-truths of 447–51
occurred during hardship years 494
origins of 489–92
reformer/magistrate confluence 492
similarities/differences of, with European Reformation 486–87
success of, in the Confederation 492–93
theological profile of 447–88
Swiss Reformed Churches, polity and worship in 489–92
symbols and rituals of commonality 50–52
synods. *See also* creeds/confessions/covenants; disputations/colloquies
as constitutive for Reformed Church 96–97
development of, in Zurich 463–64
for eastern Switzerland 250
as overseers of clergy conduct 501
Preachers and Synod Ordinance (1532) 96, 468–69
schedules for 352n, 353
suspension of (1560s) 207
in the Three Leagues (1561) 353, 355
Synod of Bern
(1532) 155–57, *156*
(1537) 159, 161
(1588) 385–87
(1542) 503
Synod of Dort (1618) 13, 125, 166–67, 359
Synod of Lausanne (1537–38) 375
Synod of Three Leagues (Evangelisch-rätischen Synode) 314–15, 319–24, 331–32
Synod of Toggenburg 252
Synod of Zernez 358
Synod of Zurich (1528) 79–80, 94, 96–97, 100–101

Tablat 424
Tauler, Johannes 218
Teglio 327, 346, 350, 357n
Tell, Wilhelm 55, *610,* 611
Ten Jurisdictions. *See* Three Leagues
territorial expansion, as ending during the Reformation 592–93
Teutonic Order 132–33, 177
the ban. *See under* discipline; Lord's Supper
the Confederation 29
theological culture 568, 587
theological distinctiveness 463–86
theology
Anabaptist topoi 413, 423
and Apostles' Creed 11
of Bullinger 93–94
Calvinism *vs.* Zwinglianism 362–63
in *Confessio Raetica* 331–32

theology (cont.)
conformity required in Bern 165
covenant 476–86, 527
Eucharistic, of Grynaeus 209–10
Lutheran/Swiss Reformation 452–69
and Pico della Mirandola 570
predestination conflict 206
in Protestant cantons and French-speaking allies 388
of proto-Anabaptists 399n
Reformed exclusivity of 121
and Reformed Orthodox 359–61
Socinianism, in Three Leagues 354–55
of Sulzer 204
the Rhoden, Inner/Outer confessional peace 277–78
Thöni, Georg 320
Thrana, Johann 348
Three Leagues (*Drei Bünde*)
Anabaptists in 310–11
catechisms in 527
and the Confederation 592
education in 529–30
Grey League 592
League of Ten Jurisdictions 592–93
reform complicated by Ilanz Articles 11
and Thirty Years' War 615
and Venice 614
Three Leagues/Grisons. *See also* Graubünden/Grisons/Three Leagues
Bundesbrief as legal foundation of 293
democracy of 293
doctrinal disputes 354–59
evangelical ties with Zurich 317
and feudal lords 299
geography/language/history 293–94
and Ilanz Articles (1524/26) 293
and Ilanz Disputation 297, 305
independence of 299
map *292*
Reformed confessionalization in 318, 593
in step with Zurich confessional identity 317
as trilingual 294
and Zurich 341
Thun 153, 531
Thurgau 38, 83, 275, 598
Thusis 353, map *308*
Tirano 327
tithe/tithing 254, 392, 497
Toggenburg 83
alliances: Schwyz and Glarus 251
Zurich 254
and Anabaptists 252
and Battle of Gubel 253
constitution repealed (1531) 254–55
map of *239*
political independence of 252–53, 273–74
rebellion/violence in 251–52, 274
Reformation in 251–53, 274, 598
toleration/coexistence. *See also* religious freedom
in Appenzell 262–63, 277
in Basel 196
in Bohemia and Moravia 435
in Glarus/Glarner 278
in Moravia 390
in the Three Leagues 287–89, 336–39
in the Thurgau 275
in Toggenburg 274
in Valtellina 286
town councils. *See* councils
trade/transit networks
Alpine regions 19
Bernese control of 157, 168–69
camino de suizos 610
camino español 610
of the Confederation 600–601
development of 19–20
endangered by the Vaud 158
Geneva 366–67
Graubünden's valleys/passes 615
Great St. Bernard 19–20
meat/dairy 18
of Neuchâtel 365
paper mills (Basel) 177
and Schaffhausen 216
and smuggling of reformatory literature 257
of St. Gallen (linens) 238–39, 257
Traona 346, 350
Travers, Anton 317, 327
Travers, Johann (Gian) 317, 342–43, 350
treaties/agreements. *See also* councils/territorial assemblies; edicts
alliance perpétuelle 610

Beckenried agreement 142
Bern-Geneva 382
of Burgundian War (1475) 368–70
combourgeoisie (Geneva/Fribourg) 367, 370, 381
Covenant of Stans (*Stanser Verkommnis*) 33, 40, 48, *49*
Erbeinung (1477/1511/1519) 596
"eternal treaty" of Geneva (1536) 158
with France (1516) 36, 44, 362
with Geneva and Lausanne 369–70
of Glarus/Glarner 86
Meilen Agreement (1531) 91, 95
milk soup reconciliation at Kappel 86, *87*
Peace of Augsburg (1555) 606
Peace of Basel (1499) 41
Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) 386, 609–10
Peace of Kappel 606
(1531) 11, 91, 197–98, 250, 272, 274–77, 281, 290, 596 (1529), 86, 197
Peace of St. Julien (1530) 158, 373–74
Solothurn-Le Landeron treaty 280
Swiss mercenaries/Pope Julius II 43
Toggenburg peace with Schwyz/Glarus 253
Treaty of Lausanne (1564) 386
Treaty of Saint-Julien (1603) 611
Zurich-Habsburgs 568
Zurich-Philipp of Hesse 594
Trivulzio, Gian Francesco 344
Tschlin 316
Tschudi, Aegidius 276, 278, 609, 612
Turriani, Girolamo 346–47, 354–57
To What Extent it is Allowed to Punish Heretics 357
Tyrol, and the Confederation 33, 36

Ulimann (Uolimann), Wolfgang (Schorant) 245–46, 309, 420–23, 428
Ulm 86
Ulmer, Johann Conrad 231–32, *233,* 234, 237
Ulmer works
Chorus Orthodoxus (unfinished) 236
liturgy and music 234–35
Symbola, or the Old Faith … 235–36
translation of Cyprian's *De mortalitate* 235
A Work of Consolation for Tested and Saddened Hearts … 235
Ulrich, duke of Württemberg 594
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 114
universities. *See under* education
University of Basel 534, 540, 607
Unterwalden 22, 28–29, 84, 142, 190–91
Upper Aargau 432. *See also* Aargau
Upper Engadin 324, 328–29, 342
Upper Germany, moves toward Lutheranism 594
Upper League/Gray League (*Oberer* or *Grauer Bund*). *See* Three Leagues/Grisons
Upper Surselva 343, 341–54
urban development 17–18, 20–27
Uri 28–29, 84, 142, 190–91
Ursinus, Zacharias, *Summa Theologiae* (1584) 486
Utenheim, Christoph von 279
Uznach 112

Vadian, Joachim (Joachim von Watt)
on Anabaptism in Bern 431
and Anshelm and Meyer 140
Aphorisms on the Eucharist 257
at Bern Disputation 144, 249
and Bullinger 256–58, 317
characterization of 396, 450
education and career of 239–40, 242–44
and Eggenstorfer 218n
Epistola orthodoxa (1539) 317
Epitome trium terrae partium 258
as mayor of St. Gallen 246
and path to reformation 492
as poet laureate 240
portrait of *241*
A Short Explanation of the Creeds 240
and St. Gallen 591
as Swiss humanist 68
and Zwingli 243
Valais/Wallis 33–34, 265, 283–85, 362, 368, 592–93, 601–2
Valangin, consistory 550
Val Bregaglia 286–87, 291n. *See also* Bergell
Val Calanca (Calancatal) 291n, 294, 344–45
Val de Travers 365, 550

Valentini, Filippo 346
Val Lumnezia (Lugnez) 281n
Val Mesolcina (Misox) 291n, 342
Val Müstair (Münsteral) 291n
Val Poschiavo (Puschlav) 288, 291n, 294
Val Schons (Schams) 291n
Valsertal 291n
Valtellina 285–88, 292, 304, 318, 327–28, 607
Valtellina Murders 288
Valzeina 342
Vasella, Oskar 264–65
Vaud. *See also* Pays de Vaud
  alliances: Bern 603
    the Confederation 493
  catechism/liturgy in French 163
  and church discipline 469–70
  consistory of 550–51
  and Farel 602
  and Geneva 158, 162–64, 168
  preaching restricted in 163
  Reformation of 157–59, 593
  salt deposits in Panex 18
  as Zwinglian-Calvinist battleground 603
Venice 614
Vérassat, and Black Death 22
Vergerio, Pier Paolo 111, 288, 324–25, *326,* 326–28
Vermigli, Peter Martyr 6, 104, *105,* 458–59, 469, 485–86, 579–80, 588
Vicosoprano 304n, 327, 353, map *307–8*
Vier Dörfer 291n, 295, 301, 341–54
Villa di Chiavenna 327n
Vinschgau 291n, 296, 319
Viret, Pierre 157–58, 162, 372–73, 378
  banished from Lausanne 381
  and Calvinist-Zwinglian conflict 375–76
  and Count Michel 367
  on discipline 550–51
  on excommunication 378
  and Geneva 158, 373
  portrait of *376*
  and sacramental theology 473
visitations, in Basel 194, 206
Vogler, Hans 255, 266
Vogt, Simprecht 230
Volpi, Gianantonio 338
Vorderprättigau 342
Wädenswil 112
Waldshut 391, 401, 408–11
Wallis. *See* Valais/Wallis
Wandel, Lee Palmer 567
warfare/wars. *See also* treaties/agreements
  aftermath of *45*
  battles: Battle of the Giants 43–44
    Gubel 90, 197–98, 250
    Kappel (1531) 86–87, 90–91, 161, 272
    Marignano 43–44
    Morat 39
    Nancy 39
    Novara 43
    Old Zurich War 37–38
    Pavia 43
    Sempach 36–37
    of Sempach 36–37
  Burgundian (1474–76) 363, 367–69
  cessation of, in Graubünden and Valais 593
  civil and religious of 16th century 616–18
  commemorated locally 53, *54*
  concerning Lord's Supper 86–89
  and the Confederation 169
  as driving force for change 36–45
  effect of, on Reformations 290
  Escalade (1602) 362, 387–88
  financed via indulgences 135
  and food shortages 90–91
  Graubünden/Tyrol 40–41, 303n
  Kappel Wars 197–98, 250
  military recruiters *42*
  Musso War (1524–26) 303
  Old Zurich War 568
  rural revolt against 598
  Schmalkaldic War 203, 602–8
  Swabian War 41
  Valtellsina Murder 352n
  Zurich/Schwyz 283
Waser, Heinrich, as research subject 283
Watt, Joachim von. *See* Vadian, Joachim
Wattenwyl, Niklaus von 139
Weber, Max 557–58
Wedel, Christine Christ-von 567
Welsche emancipation 602
Wengler, Elisabeth 553–54
Wesoly, Kurt 554–55

Westerburg, Gerhard 397
Wetter, Wolfgang 242, 248
Wick, Johann Jakob 573
Widerkehr, Anna, mother of Bullinger 93
Wiesner, Merry 547
Wil, Anabaptism in 423
Windhorst, Christof 409
Wissenburg, Wolfgang 10, 180–81, 183, 196, 200
witches/witchcraft. *See* supernatural
Withers, George 384
Wittenberg Concord 107. *See under* creeds/confessions/covenants
Wolf, Thomas 179
Wolfhart, Bonifatius 10
women. *See also* supernatural
  Anabaptist missionaries 440
  and citizenship 24
  former nuns 584
  as participants in ceremonies 51
  and patriarchy 547, 552–55
  in the Radical Reformation 554
  as Reformers 553–54
  and social welfare 561
  as students/teachers 523
work ethic, as Reformation phenomenon 558–59
worship order, in Reformation 497, 506–15
  in Bern 150
  confession of sin 507
  in Schaffhausen 227, 233–37
  Ulmer's version of 234–35
  varieties of 494
Württemberg, and the Confederation 592
Wyss, Urban 529

Yolande (regent for Philibert I) 368
Yvonand, Reformation in 373

Zähringen/Zähringer family 20–21, 126
Zanchi, Girolamo 206, 355
Zébédée, Andre 379–80, 473
Zehngerichtebund (Ten Jurisdictions) 291, 293, 295, 303n, 347
Ziegler, Paul 296, 303, 312n
Zili, Dominik 242, 248–49
Zimmern, Katharina von 76–77
Zofingen 23, 153, 531
Zollikon 391, 406, 408, 421–22
Zug 22, 28–29, 84, 142, 190–91, 265, 270–71
Zuoz 342–43, 348, 352–53, map *307–8*
Zurich. *See also* councils; education
  alliances: anti-Habsburg coalition 89
    Appenzell 600
    Augsburg 87
    Basel 86, 190, 197, 201
    with Basel 197
    Berm 594
    Bern 19, 85, 190, 387
    Biel 86
    Christian Civic Union 85–86, 249
    Christliches Burgrecht (1528) 594
    the Confederation 28–29, 35, 230–37
    Constance 85, 594–95
    France 612–13
    Geneva 397, 602–8, 610
    Glarus 600, 614
    Habsburgs 596
    military (1612/1615) 614
    Mülhausen/ Mulhouse 86
    Rome 65–66
    Schaffhausen 86
    St. Gallen 85, 250
    Strasbourg 86
    Swiss evangelicals 197–98
    Toggenburg 254
    and trade negotiations 600–601
    Ulm 86
  alliances, Ulm 86
  and Anabaptists 80–81, 111–14, 123–24, 160, 390–97, 404–11, 433 (*See also* Anabaptism/Anabaptists)
  and Bern Disputation 144
  Catholic worship restricted 86, 122–23
  demographics of 21–22
  as distinguished from Geneva 567–68
  economic/political/theological crises 89–92
  education in 77, 534–35
  and Einsiedeln rights 266
  executions of heretics in 86, 113
  and food blockade/embargo 90, 253
  and France 599
  and guild revolution 62–63
  historiography of 62–64
  Latin school in 521

Zurich. *See also* councils; education (cont.)
Lectorium of 535
mandate to use tithes for education 77
marriage/morals court of 79, 98
as medieval religious center 20
Murerplan map of *60–61*
order of worship 508
phases of 395
population of 22, 62
and pre-Reformation ecclesiastical authority 491–92
rebellion/violence in 23
receives religious refugees 282–83
Reformation established in 503
in Reformation period 36–45, 96, 116–20
reform of 10
and refugees 607
rejects Baden verdict 143
religious refugees in 106
and the Rheintal 255
and Schaffhausen reform 225
and Schwyz 600
and social welfare 77, 104–6
split in reform party 396
synod formation in 464
and the Three Leagues 341
and Toggenburg reform 254
and warfare 36–45, 91, 197, 250
and Wittenberg Concord 107–8
as Zwinglian 375–76
Zwingli, Huldrych. *See also* disputations
and Anabaptists 80–83, 400
appeal for unity on Lord's Supper 185
and Appenzell 259
and Augustine 68–69
and Baden Disputation (1526) 85, 142–43
and Basel's reformation 19
and Bern Disputation (1528) 144, 249
and Bishop Hugo 71
born in Toggenburg 274
and Bullinger 94, 119–20
on church-state relationship 389
condemns mercenary service 68, 80, 84, 269
and *Constaffel* 90
on *corpus Christianum* 82–83
and covenant theology 477–79
death of, in battle (1531) 90, 250, 447
early life of 66–71
and Eck 223
and Haller 430
and Hofmeister 219–20
humanism of 570
on justification 457–58
legacy of 119–20
as *Leutpriester* for Grossmünster 68–69
linguistic syncretism of 571
memorial of, at Wasserkirche in Zurich *449*
on mercenaries 598–99
originality of ideas/theology of 69–70
and paths to reform 492–95
portrait by Hans Asper, (illus.) *67*
portrait by Silbereisen *266*
and prophecy 570–71, 574–75
as research subject 4–6
resigns priesthood 72
and Röist family 490
and sacramental theology 471–72
and Schleitheim articles 414
on serfdom 76
study of Greek and Hebrew 571
support of government-led reform 396n
and the Three Leagues 310–11
on tithing 74–76
and Toggenburg 251–52
and Vadian 243–44
Zwingli works
Action or Practice of the Lord's Supper (liturgy) 78
An Account of the Faith (1530) 89, 461
An Exposition of the Christian Faith 461
An Exposition of the Faith (1531/36) 89
Apologeticus Archeteles 72
On Baptism, on Re-baptism and on Infant Baptism (1525) 245, 407, 478
On the Choice and Freedom of Foods 70
On the Clarity and Certainty of the Word of God 72
Commentary on True and False Religion (1525) 87, 471
On Divine and Human Righteousness 75
The Education of Youth (1523) 100
exegesis of Psalms 68
Fidei ratio 325n, 457

Friendly and Serious Exhortation to the Confederates 221
Interpretation and Explanation of the Articles (*Auslegen und Begründen der Schlossreden*) 243
Petition of Certain Preachers of Switzerland to the Most Reverend Lord Hugo, Bishop of Constance 71
"Plague Song," 69
The Providence of God (sermons) 69
A Refutation of the Tricks of the Anabaptists 479
Reply to Hubmaier 479
sermon on danger to reformation 80
A Sermon on the Eternal, Pure Virgin Mary 72
The Shepherd (sermon) 259
Short Christian Introduction 75–76
A Short Reply ... In which the Question of the Eucharist is Discussed 80
Sixty-Seven Articles 74, 243
Subsidiary Essay on the Eucharist 479
Those who Give Cause for Tumult (tract) 81
Zwingliana journal 5
Zwinglianism
and Anabaptism 391–92, 441
on baptism 478
of Bern 380
and Calvinism 362–63, 375–82
Calvin's view of 603
on church-state relationship 377–78
on ecclesiology 461
on excommunication 378
myth of 448–50
in Upper Swabia 594
Zwinglians, and Bucer 503